LANDSCAPE AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN POST-CONFLICT AYACUCHO, PERU: NARRATIVES AND PHOTOGRAPHY OF SURVIVORS

by

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ABSTRACT

Peru was enveloped in an internal armed conflict from 1980 to 2000. The Shining Path, a militant communist group, sought to revolutionize Peru through violence. Indigenous Peruvians were targeted in extrajudicial massacres and killings. Nearly 70,000 people, mostly indigenous, were either killed or disappeared by both the Shining Path and government military forces (CVR 2004). Today, post-conflict Peru still grapples with the human rights violations of the past and is challenged to achieve reconciliation. For the victims of violence, how the memory of the conflict is conveyed is an important element of the transitional justice process (Alexander et al. 2004). My interdisciplinary research explores collective memory, the shared representation of the past that is socially constructed by a group of people (Halbwachs 1992). The Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission identified the region of Ayacucho as the epicentre of violence during the conflict (CVR 2004, 21). With the guidance of the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (EPAF), I travelled to this region to the community of Huamanquiquia in 2012 and 2013. For this photovoice project, I gave ten participants digital cameras and asked them to "illustrate their memories" of the conflict. The conversations we elicited from the participant photographs revealed six themes: violence—places where violence occurred; loss—memories of loved ones; fear—places marked with anxiety and anticipation of violence; survival—places of hiding and routes of escape; resilience—positive change within the community that mark a positive outlook; and empowerment—the use of self-representation and storytelling. Collectively, the photographs showed a deep connection to the land—a landscape of memory—where participants presented themselves as survivors and expressed feelings of catharsis with the process of memory photography.

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List of Acronyms

AD	Anno Domini
APRA	*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana - Partido Aprista Peruano* / American Popular Revolutionary Alliance - Peruvian Aprista Party
BC	Before Christ
BP	Before Present
CVR	*Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación* / Truth and Reconciliation Commission
ELN	*Ejército de Liberación Nacional* / National Liberation Army
EPAF	*Equipo Peruano de Antropología Forense* / *Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team*
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPS	Global Positioning System
INEI	*Instituto Nacional de Estadistica e Informatica* / National Institute of Statistics and Information
MIR	*Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria* / Revolutionary Left Movement
MRTA	*Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru* / Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PAR	*Programa de Apoyo al Repoblamiento* / Repopulation Support Program
PCP	*El Partido Comunista de Perú* / Peruvian Communist Party
PCP-SL	*El Partido Comunista de Peru por el Sendero Luminoso de Mariátegui* / The Communist Party of Peru on the Shining Path of Mariátegui.
PSP	*Partido Socialista del Perú* / Peruvian Socialist Party
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
UNBC	University of Northern British Columbia

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

> *I don't know how to describe this time, but I think it's better not to remember … my brain is ill, it doesn't function adequately. I am so traumatized.*
>
> *—AGREPINO*[1]

A thesis is a story; a narrative that explores, discovers, and—in the end—creates knowledge. This thesis is a narrative of narratives, one that is thinking *with* stories. The stories here are provided by brave survivors of a violent time in the Ayacucho region of Peru. Thinking *with* these stories alludes to the idea that these narratives are more than just objects, in a sense they are collaborators themselves (Morris 2001). Embedded in a feminist theoretical approach, this thesis narrative is buttressed by literature on collective memory, visual methods and trauma theory. I explore the relationships between collective memory, identity, and landscape—within the shadow of the Peruvian armed internal conflict from 1980 to 2000. This introduction will lay out my thoughts and positioning on collective memory and I will discuss my fascination of the visual methods I utilized. I will also give a generalized context of Peru and impressions from my travels in 2012 and 2013. Finally, I will pose the thesis questions that drove this analysis.

Images of Memory

Perhaps memory is one of the most ubiquitous concepts we do not think about, even while we are. For all of our lives, memory—either as a faculty of the mind, or a social function—is at one a process and a product. It happens without thinking about it and becomes a fundamental component of our identity and culture.

[1] In this thesis, research project participants and interviewees are referred to by their first names or their preferred pseudonym in CAPITALS. When participants did not give pseudonyms but still requested to be anonymous I created a name for them.

While we experience memory internally, on the level of the individual, we interact with memory, socially on the level of the group. This is collective or social memory—the shared representations of the past (Halbwachs 1992). As young children, we are exposed to the smallest scale of collective memory, experiences shared with our families and friends. Enculturation and social learning drives our absorption of greater scales of collective memory, from community to the nation. With decades of experience, our library of collective memory becomes extensive. In old age, with our neurology under the threat of deterioration, we cling to a lifetime of collectively shared ideas and moments—the foundation of our identity.

As a child, I developed my personal sense of collective memory through photographs. My father indexed shoeboxes of photographs, in envelopes by month and year. Sifting through these photos, listening to my parents' accompanying stories, was a favourite pastime. The stories often differed from my own memory. Still, these photo-induced manufactured memories would form part of my own recollection. Today, reminiscing with my family provides a form of collective nostalgia. Memories can slip through the cracks of the mind. But "memory strings" like photographs, provide a conduit to reflection, and mend that fear of losing who you are.

Our senses trigger memory: the smell of the hot summer pavement; an old love song; the familiar face of a parent; or even a place, where all the senses interact on a spatial plane. These "memory strings" tie our memories to a landscape of recollection. Memory has been discussed as a spatial concept inherently connected to place throughout social science literature (Nora 1989; Tuan 2001; Fentress and Wickham 1992; Ingold 1993; Platt 1996; de Certeau 2002), and now within the discipline of neuroscience (Meyer 2014). For me,

memories are often dressed-up as nostalgia, that sentimental longing for joyful times of the past. But memories are not always happy; they are also dressed with sadness, pain and suffering. Globally, millions of people haven been confronted by horrendous experiences such as intense fear, violence, and trauma. I have been fortunate. My knowledge of violence and trauma stems from what I have read and not what I have experienced. Further, my perspective of how I view the violence and injustice in the world has been largely shaped by how it is framed in the media. This research in post-conflict Peru has changed that frame.

Consider Peru

The Republic of Peru spans a number of diverse geographic regions (see Map 1.1). The coast, including the capital, Lima is situated in a band of narrow, dry desert. The highlands rise up along the Andean peaks to a height of over 22,000 feet. The lowlands of Amazonian basin are lush jungle plains. Peru's population of 32 million is significantly indigenous, however the exact ethnic proportion is not clear. The National Institute of Statistics and Information (*Instituto Nacional de Estadistica e Informatica)* (INEI 2007, 15) has estimated from a household survey that 57.6% of the population is *mestizo* (mixed European and Indigenous) and 22.5% were Quechua. The remaining population identified as white (4.8%), Aymara (2.7%), from the Amazon (1.7%) and 9.1% were other or did not know. The Peruvian Truth and Reconillation Report (CVR 2004, 23) cited a 1993 census where 20% of the population were Quechua-speaking. Still, the different methods in defining ethnicity, a preference to avoid indigenous marginalization, and rural migration is thought to have biased *mestizo* identification.

Map 1.1: Peru
(Source: Nations Online Project 2017)

Thousands of tourists come to Peru to marvel at its mysterious archaeological treasures, such as Machu Picchu and the Nazca lines. In 2012, I came to Peru to study collective

memory and identity associated with a set of atrocities that is not so much mysterious, but baffling. The Peruvian internal armed conflict began in 1980 initiated by the rise of the Shining Path,[2] a radical Maoist-inspired guerrilla movement. The Shining Path was led by philosophy professor Abimael Guzmán with the intention to change the political structure and social order of Peru through fear, coercion and brutality. When the state military intervened in the early 1980s in the highlands the violence intensified. Mass murders and disappearances by both sides peaked in the early 1990s until Guzmán was captured. State terror continued by security forces under President Alberto Fujimori until 2000. The Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2004, 10) estimated almost 70,000 Peruvians were either killed or disappeared during the period of civil violence.[3] Indigenous, Quechua-speaking Peruvians accounted for nearly three-quarters of the death toll. The province of Ayacucho (see Map 1.2) was the birthplace of the *Sendero Luminoso* movement and the epicentre of violence. The people of Ayacucho were affected particularly hard.

I first arrived in Peru with the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) Field School delegation in 2012. We were guided and accompanied by the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (*Equipo Peruano de Antropología Forense,* EPAF). EPAF is a non-governmental organization that was formed just after the creation of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission to perform forensic exhumations and identification of the bodies uncovered in graves from the internal armed conflict. Internationally, EPAF is focused on the

[2] Known in Spanish as *Sendero Luminoso.* Formally referred as the Communist Party of Peru Shining Path (*Partido Comunista del Perú -Sendero Luminoso*, PCP-SL). Often referred by survivors as Senderistas.

[3] Perpetrators were primarily the Shining Path and state security forces, with a small portion of and violence attributed to the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*, MRTA) (CVR 2004).

investigation of serious human rights violations, in addition to the strengthening of democratic governance and human development in post-conflict settings. In Peru, EPAF's work is community-based, supporting the survivors and victims of the conflict in a multifaceted role of forensics, justice advocacy and social-economic development. Working along side families, EPAF's anthropologists seek the truth of what happened during the internal armed conflict in the social memory and the forensic investigation. When I returned to Peru for my fieldwork in 2013, the EPAF team supported me throughout the process.

The focus of my research is within the small village of Huamanquiquia (pronounced WYE-a-MAN-ki-ki-a) in the Andean highlands (see Figure 1.1) Huamanquiquia is isolated by a slow, five-hour (185 kilometre) drive from the regional capital of Huamanga (also called Ayacucho) (see Map 1.2).

Figure 1.1: Huamanquiquia, by ANONALISA

Map 1.2: Ayacucho
(Adapted from Open Street Map data accessed via scribblemaps.com)

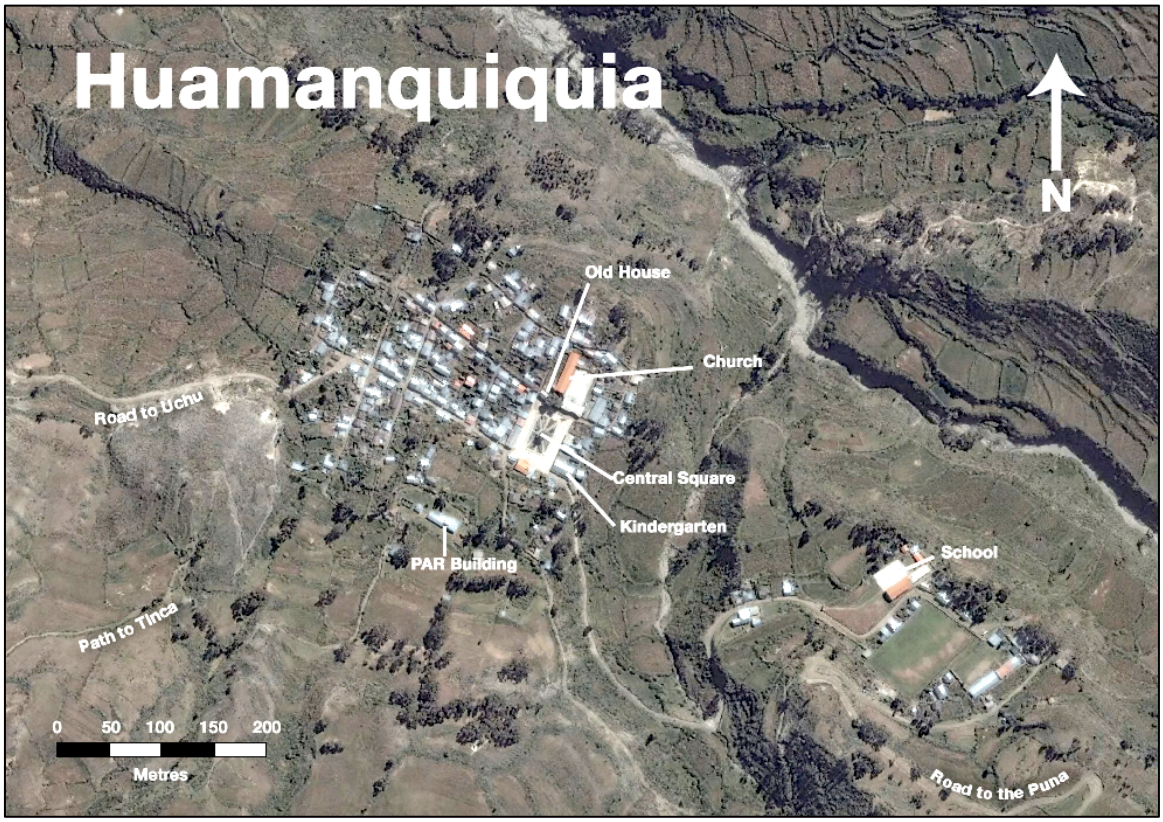
The district of Huamanquiquia has a population of 1,271 (INEI 2007), while I estimated the population of the village itself to be around 500. The village sits in a rugged valley at an elevation of 11,000 feet (~3350 m). Ripples of narrow terraces mark the valley sides, extending above and below the village. These fields are the primary source of food, used for corn, tubers, quinoa and beans. Pasturelands are above and beyond the village valley, in the *Puna* zone where sheep, goats, cattle and llamas roam. Not far away are ruins of the pre-Incan cultures. The residents of Huamanquiquia are *campesinos*, Indigenous peasant farmers

who live a subsistence existence. Homes are constructed with adobe bricks and have dirt floors. Small fires are used for cooking. There is no heat and access to clean water is limited. Ayacucho is a region whose people are intimately connected to the indigenous past through "language and culture, socio-economic institutions, and historical memory, setting them apart from 'creole' society (Stern 1993, 186).

I was in Ayacucho after the harvest season, when corn is dried and quinoa is winnowed. Work is always being done. In addition to preparing the grains for storage, *uchu* (straw) roofs were repaired, and adobe bricks were made for construction. The children always found time to play. They would giggle at me when I tried to speak Quechua to them. You would never know about the violence that occurred here.

Terror, Truth, and Reconciliation

The central square of Huamanquiquia is the focus of activity—the social hub. The municipal hall, the church, the community centre, the pharmacy, and the preschool all line the perimeter (see Map 1.3). It is in the main square where EPAF community liaison, Percy Rojas, introduced the UNBC students to EPIFANIA, a victim of the internal armed conflict. EPIFANIA stood before us, very quiet, almost sullen, her outfit highlighted by her lime green fleece vest and her traditional black bowler style hat. We followed her and Percy into the preschool yard on the southwest corner of the square. The entire complex was relatively new in Huamanquiquia. The painted frescos on the walls, encircling a small playground, looked new. The children were laughing and making noise, adding a contrasting mixture of both pleasantry and distraction to our conversation.



Map 1.3: Satellite image of Huamanquiquia
(Adapted from Digital Globe data accessed via scribblemaps.com)

Speaking in Quechua, EPIFANIA began to tell the story of the 1992 massacre when 18 villagers were killed by the Shining Path at this site, before the preschool was built. Her sentences were short, truncated by the pause of Quechua-Spanish-English translation facilitated by our team and the swells of her emotion. The memory of the 20-year-old event was fresh, even raw. Neither the transformation of the physical appearance of the location, nor the presence of young laughing children could hide the fact this was a place of painful recollection. Her story had now changed my impression of the preschool as well. Later, I would tell her story to members of my field school cohort. The meaning of the preschool became convoluted with the imagination of her traumatic story. The violent past of Peru's internal armed conflict was changing the sense of place, not only for EPIFANIA, or the people of Ayacucho and Peru, but for outsiders as well. The collective memory of a violent

event in 1992 had increased its group of knowledge holders by a van full of university students and faculty.

EPIFANIA's story strongly connected to place. Even as a shared story, the preschool became a physical reminder of violence for all us visitors. When it was told in the place it occurred, that place now became a physical reminder for all of us visitors. This social memory connection to place exemplifies my research on collective memory. Anthropological, sociological, geographical theory interconnects the triad of collective memory, identity and landscape. These concepts are interwoven and interdependent on each other. In the context of Peru's internal armed conflict, violence shifts this conceptual triad to one that is defined by traumatic experience. Political violence is known to have a fracturing effect on collective memory, in that fear inhibits the voicing of collective and individual stories of traumatic experience (Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000). Much of indigenous Peru today, especially the region of Ayacucho, is in a period of healing and reconciliation, even though it has been over fifteen years since the violence stopped. In 2003, the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR 2004) issued its final Spanish language report, stating that the conflict fractured more than memory, but also social relationships, community structure, and created diasporic migrations away from home communities.

Reconciliation has been complicated by two factors. First, by the complexity of the conflict where multiple actors used violence and coercion (in an environment that held previous rivalries) created deep and varying perspectives of what happened (Aroni Sulca 2006). Second is the limited government intervention to provide reparations or search for the 15,000 disappeared victims (EPAF 2012a). For this reason in particular, it has been the EPAF mission to expand local narratives of the violence in an effort to reassert the truth about what

happened over the master narratives provided by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission reports (EPAF 2012b). The collective memory in Huamanquiquia, I anticipated, would be quilted, differing and complex. In the community of Huamanquiquia, I sought to investigate the collective memory of Peru's internal armed conflict through a participatory project that empowers participants and provides a medium for voices stymied by marginalization and social disharmonization. I wanted to know:

1. What are the narratives expressed within the collective memory of the internal armed conflict by various victims of Huamanquiquia?
2. How are the variations of collective memory expressed in terms of sense of place and spatiality?
3. In this context, does participatory photography work to unify the collective memory and empower the community?

My first research question will be answered using the methods of participatory photography (commonly called *photovoice*), where photographs are used to elicit discussion. The photographs taken by participants to "illustrate their memory of the conflict" become the conduit of conversation. Analysis of the narratives presented with the photographs revealed six themes: violence—places where violence occurred; loss—memories of loved ones; fear—places marked with anxiety and anticipation of violence; survival—places of hiding and routes of escape; resilience—positive change within the community that mark a positive outlook; and empowerment—the use of self-representation and storytelling.

Initially, my second question was to be answered with the spatial analysis of photographs through the collection of geographic positioning system (GPS) coordinates and geographic information system (GIS) software. The topographic and technical challenges of geo-tagging made this task challenging, so I altered my spatial analysis to be qualitative

within the idea of place and landscape. My final question regarding collective memory and empowerment is answered through observation and community discussion. Upon reflection, it is clear that a unified collective identity of survivors emerged through the diversity of personal experience presented.

Chapter 2 – Historical Context

> *The tree of life knows that, whatever happens, the warm music spinning around it will never stop. However much death may come, however much blood may flow, the music will dance men and women as long as the air breathes them and the land plows and loves them.*
>
> *—Eduardo Galeano (1997, 278)*

Introduction

In 2004, I spent four months backpacking throughout Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. It was my first experience in South America. In Brazil, I was intrigued by the semantic meaning embedded in *knowing* place. In speaking with locals and discussing the various regions and cities of Brazil, they would often ask me in English, "Do you know this place?" I struggled with my semantic interpretation of this question. Did it mean was I *aware* of the place? Or had I actually *been* there? Or do I *really know* it? In my mind, as a visitor, I could only really 'visit' or 'see' a place. With my worldview, in order to *know* a place, I required an understanding of the history, or the collective cultural memory. I would need to live in place much longer than a few short weeks to gain the meaning and symbolism embedded in the landscape. As an outsider, I will never fully *know* Huamanquiquia. Having the historical context helped me frame the experiences and testimonials of the research participants. This chapter will present the historical context leading up to the internal armed conflict of the 1980s and 1990s in Ayacucho, Peru.

Eduardo Galeano's poetic quote above, about Nicaragua, could be easily applied to Huamanquiquia. The imagery evoked reminded me of my fieldwork in the highlands. In the wake of the trauma and death of the internal conflict, I sensed resilience while observing the *herranza* celebration, the festive livestock branding ritual accompanied by singing, dancing

and music. The ritual honours the Incan fertility goddess, *Pachamama,* providing proof of the strength of Incan indigenous traditions. The terraced field, where the *herranza* takes place, also represents the interface of spatiality and the past. The remarkable terraces that create steep Andean valley slopes into staircases of productivity have been used for over a thousand years (Haas et al. 2013). Resilience in Peru is formed into the landscape.

Collective memory is intrinsically connected to history and intricately made up of the social dynamics of a society. In Peru, especially in Ayacucho, these social dynamics are very complex. While Quechua-speaking Andean Peruvians share values and beliefs, Miguel La Serna (2012) argues that indigenous peasant consciousness is also shaped by local events, local practices and local power relationships. The social landscape for the indigenous *campesinos***,** mired in economics and politics, has a complexity that was forged decades, even centuries, before the Shining Path and Peruvian military traumatized communities. In this chapter, I provide a brief outline of aspects of Peruvian history that have created the socio-economic and political context of Ayacucho.

Ancient Civilizations (~12,000 BP to 1532 AD)

The foundation of the Peruvian story is its connection to the ancient cultures that have occupied the area for most of history.[4] The socio-economic disparity between Peruvian indigenous and non-indigenous peoples is rather ironic, considering Pre-Columbian cultures form a significant portion of Peruvian national identity today, primarily promoted for tourism. "Inca" Cola, sold throughout the country, has become so iconic that T-shirts bare the logo. Machu Picchu is promoted as the quintessential tourist destination. The famous Nasca

[4] I refer to history with an understanding that history includes the written, but also oral traditions and the archaeological record (Vansina 2006).

lines have inspired the iconography of Peru's tourism trademark. The ancient indigenous cultures of Peru are glamourized externally, yet indigenous *campesinos* are marginalized—an ironic characteristic of Latin American neo-colonialism. The Inca Empire was remarkable and yet it only lasted 100 years. The rich history of human civilization that has created the complexion of Peru dates far beyond the brief reign of Incan imperialism.

Evidence from the earliest human occupation in Peru dates to 12,500 years before present (BP) (Heilman 2010, 68). The fertile valleys of the coastal desert biome have been the nexus of human settlement in the region. Evidence suggests that the Norte Chico civilization was a complex chiefdom, based on maritime subsistence. Located at Caral, north of Lima, Norte Chico was the earliest city in the Americas, dated at around 5,000 years BP (~3000 BC) (Haas et al. 2013; Haas, Creamer, and Ruiz 2004), a foundation for the proceeding cultures in Peru over the next 5,000 years. The Chavin, the Moche, the Nazca, the Huari, the Tiwanaku and the Chimu each represent unique styles of lithics, metallurgy, stonework, pottery and monumental architecture, but also a continuum of indigenous civilization.

During my interviews, JESUSA mentioned caves located high in the mountains above Huamanquiquia, where she hid during the violence. Inside these caves were also, "the bones of the gentiles" or ancestors.[5] She did not know how old they were, or who they were; only they were ancestors. The Huamanquiquia region was populated with ethnically diverse indigenous settlements, derived by the Inca government's *mitimaes*[6] policy. In the

[5] There are eight archaeological sites in the Pampas-Qaracha basin, most of which are located on top of mountains above 3,500 metres above sea level, belonging to the Chankas people (González 2011).
[6] *Mitima*es or mitmaqkuna was a forced resettlement policy. The Incas forcefully migrated extended families and ethnic groups from their home territory to recently conquered lands (Silverman and Isbell 2008).

communities of Huamanquiquia, Carapo and Huambo ancestral people were called the *Lucanas Andamarkas*, in the community of Alcamenca they were called the *Huayllas* and the *Quichua*, and in communities of Sancos and Sarhua Lucanamarca they were called *Wanka* (Alarco 1989; cited in Aroni Sulca 2006).

The centre of the Huari cultural sphere was less than 100 kilometres (km) from Huamanquiquia, near Huamanga. The Huari culture, lasting from 500 AD to around 1000 AD, was contemporaneous with the Tiwanaku, based on Lake Titicaca. This was also the time period for the development of vertical terracing agriculture and llama herding (Bruhns 1994). Cuzco, the centre of the Inca Empire is approximately 140 km to the east of Huamanquiquia. The predominant hypothesis for the emergence of the Inca suggests that approximately 400 years after the fall of the Huari and Tiwanaku, an organized group from the Valley of Cuzco gradually subjugated surrounding ethnic groups. The strategic location and influence from both the Huari and Tiwanaku were prime factors of the rise of Inca Empire (*Tahauntinsuyo* in Quechua) in 1438 (McEwan 2010).

By 1532, the Inca Empire controlled a multitude of ethnically and linguistically distinct polities within a landmass that was 4,000 km in length from Chile's Maule River to the borders of modern-day Colombia. In addition to the well-known monumental architecture, this massive empire was connected with an extensive road system, introduced a heavy labour tax for public works and a food re-distribution system (Bruhns 1994). The Incan imperial conquests were successful because of the wide-support network, but also because they had developed strategies of cultural integration to strengthen relationships with subordinated ethnic groups (Covey 2006; Bruhns 1994). Incan imperialism is interpreted as another form of colonial subjugation (Wernke 2013). However, Covey (2006) argues that

Incan imperialism was based on cultural diversity and inclusion, contrary to Spanish policies of exploitation and exclusion. The colonist perspective that the indigenous peoples were sub-human (Bhambra and Narayan 2016) was in contrast to the familiarity brought by a continuum of indigenous cultural tradition, imperialist or not.

Conquest, Colonialism & Independence (1532 – 1826)

Spanish conquest of the Inca began years ahead of the military campaign. Smallpox spread its way into the heart of the Incan Empire, leading to the death of emperor *Huayan Capac*. The competition for the throne between his sons, Huascar and Atahualpa, led to a civil war. When conquistador Francisco Pizarro arrived in 1532, the Incan Empire was already vulnerable and divided (Meltzer 2005). Spanish colonial ambitions would further divide and marginalize indigenous peoples, creating a legacy of social fractures. The Catholic missionaries that followed the conquest endeavoured to convert the indigenous peoples. The vast topography and geographic distances encouraged the ongoing practice of traditional indigenous beliefs, though, so that the dominant form of Catholicism would be syncretic (Hunefeldt 2004).

The Viceroyalty of Peru, which included portions of modern Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile, was founded in 1572. The Spanish colony's settlement strategy included *encomiendas,* grants of land that included their indigenous occupants, to former conquistadores and elites. The *encomienda* was also a forerunner of the *hacienda*[7] system that assigned the labour of indigenous peoples living on that land to the owner. This process effectively transferred land ownership and stewardship from the indigenous peoples to the Spanish (Hunefeldt 2004).

[7] *Hacienda* is an agricultural operation controlled by a dominant landowner and a dependent labour force, organized to supply a small-scale market by means of scarce capital (Wolf and Mintz 1957).

The authoritative distribution of land was a key element in the transformation of indigenous organization and social relations, and colonial orders challenged the ancestral structure of authority (Rosas 2010). Viceroy Toledo's *Reducción General de Indios (*General Resettlement of the Indians) required indigenous people to abandon their homes and move to new towns. These *reducciones* had "a uniform, quadrilateral street grid surrounding a central square and church, governed by indigenous men holding Spanish municipal offices," (Mumford 2012, 10). Silver and gold mining operations were supplied with forced indigenous labour by leveraging the Incan *mitas* system of labour tax and tribute payments. Toledo also instituted reforms to suppress Andean customs and religion, including the production of traditional crops such as quinoa. By 1620, changes in health and a series of pandemics reduced the indigenous population to 600,000 from a peak of 10 million (Rosas 2010).

The continuous Spanish exploitation stimulated ongoing rebellions from the indigenous populations throughout the 18th century. In 1780, José Gabriel Condorcanqui assumed the name Túpac Amaru II after the last Inca emperor and led the most significant Inca rebellion (de la Vega 2006). Outbreaks of violence followed the news of Túpac Amaru II's rebellion through the highlands, resulting in a death toll estimated to be as high as 100,000 (Walker 1998, 278). During an attempt to lay siege to Cuzco, Túpac Amaru II was captured and publicly executed (Hunefeldt 2004).

The growing dissent towards Spain's rule stimulated independence movements around the continent. Venezuelan Simón Bolívar and Argentinean José de San Martín led military campaigns against Spanish colonists in the early 1820s (Rosas 2010). The final and decisive battle took place near Huamanga, when General Antonio José de Sucre (Bolívar's

second-in-command) defeated the Spanish-patriot army on December 9, 1824. The etymology of Ayacucho derives from this event—because of the number of casualties on the battlefield, locals called the place *Ayacucho,* meaning “corner of the dead” (La Serna 2012, 1).

The Republic of Peru—Seeds of Revolution (1826 – 1960)

After independence, Bolívar was the first of twelve presidents of the fledging republic between 1826 and 1845. During this time Peru struggled with its political and social stability because of "the lack of physical internal infrastructure; deep-rooted distances and suspicions between social groups; the complete disorganization and disarray of public finances; and, last but not least, the absence of an accepted and legitimate group of leaders" (Hunefeldt 2004, 110).

The creation of the Republic saw the *encomienda* entirely replaced by the Spanish *hacienda* system, where c*ampesinos* required money to make tribute payments, and thus required employment. A new civil code in 1852 and the abolition of tribute payments in 1854 were two steps to redefine the relationship with Peruvian indigenous people (Larson 1999). However, without tribute payments, *hacienda* landowners experienced labour shortages, so they expanded their *haciendas* to expropriate entire communities and coerce workers (Gonzales 1987). The revolutionary sentiment held by indigenous *campesinos* grew to included *mestizo* (mixed European-indigenous) peasants and the rural elites, as Peru’s indigenous policies were radically altered and then sometimes reversed. The re-introduction of the Indian head tax in the 1860s culminated in the department of Puno where the Huancane rebellion saw clashes between *campesinos* and state troops (Hunefeldt 2004). The government responded by giving itself the right to massacre and imprison indigenous peoples

through an emergency “Law of Terror” that “redefined Indians – all Indians – as tributaries without rights, and as potential enemies of the nation,” (Larson 1999, 627).

The fight with Chile and Bolivia, from 1879 to 1885, over the nitrate-rich Acamada Desert was called the War of the Pacific. The resistance from peasant guerrilla bands to fight the Chilean invaders continued after the war ended. These peasant movements in the Central Highlands were viewed as a crisis of patriotism and civic virtue; Peru’s loss of the War of the Pacific would be because of the “Indian race” (Larson 1999, 654). New social critics and intellectual thinkers emerged during this time to change the conversation. In 1888 philosopher Manual Gonzalez Prada criticized the brutal oppression of Peru’s indigenous, assessing that "Peru today is a sick organism: wherever you poke your finger, pus erupts" (Heilman 2010, 41). Prada argued that the primary problems for Peru's indigenous were neither religious nor cultural, but social and economic. Meanwhile, the Peruvian government posed further colonial strategies to deal with the issues of *campesinos* such as: increased European immigration and Spanish literacy education through obligatory military service, inclusion into the tax system, and educational reforms (Hunefeldt 2004). In 1895 President Piérola Villena abolished the tribute tax and declared himself "Protector of the Indians." A short while later his government created a salt monopoly accompanied with an increase in the salt tax. Indigenous *campesinos* were the least able to afford the tax increases. The Salt Tax Revolt ensued becoming another in a series of rebellions brought on by the neo-colonial views that *campesinos* were a subordinate racial and social group (Gonzales 1987).

Manual Gonzalez Prada is considered the founder of Peruvian *indigenismo,* which is defined as the incorporation of indigenous peoples into civil society while preserving their culture (Davies 1971). In 1908, the government of President Leguía promoted an official

position of *indigenismo*. Although Leguía did not know Quechua, he gave speeches in the language. He introduced a national indigenous holiday called *Dia del Indio* on June 24, and officially recognized indigenous communities through legislation. But still, unrest among the indigenous peasants continued (Hunefeldt 2004). In 1920, the Central Committee for Indian Rights (*Comisión Central Pro Derecho Indígena*) was established which became the national *Tawantinsuyo* movement that "sought to end extreme poverty, political exclusion and social-cultural denigration that defined indigenous life" (Heilman 2010, 42). The *Tawantinsuyo* movement attracted broad support throughout Peru, including in Ayacucho, where violent clashes broke out in attempts to regain past land appropriations (Rosas 2010). Issues around land and unfair taxation did not lead every district in Ayacucho to violence. Some districts focused purely on letter writing campaigns (Heilman (2010).

For the rest of Peru, *indigenismo,* as an intellectual concept, moved into the popular political sphere through intellectual writers. Of those writers, Jose Carlos Mariátegui was greatly influenced by Prada. The perceived "problem of the *indio"* for Mariátegui was not a question of culture, but rather economic and social equality (Saroli 2011, 320). Mariátegui was convinced Peru could not realize a national socialist program without involving the indigenous peoples. Both Mariátegui and his contemporary, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, argued that the primary issue for indigenous Peruvians was land redistribution (La Serna 2012, 103) While exiled in Mexico in 1924, Haya de la Torre founded the Alliance for Popular Revolution in America (APRA) as a strategy "that could coalesce general dissatisfaction among several social groups throughout Latin America" (Hunefeldt 2004, 193). Four years later, Mariátegui founded the Peruvian Socialist Party (PSP), envisioning a long-term strategy of consciousness building and the organized assembly of all exploited

classes (Hunefeldt 2004, 212). However, the PSP would have a short life. After Mariátegui's death in 1930 the PSP became the Peruvian Communist Party, and then was entirely dismantled during the Depression. Both the APRA and PSP would become key political and ideological players precipitating the Shining Path and the internal armed conflict.

In 1927, President Leguía's government outlawed the *Twanantinsuyo* movement and banned the Central Committee and all branches. Heilman (2010, 68) argues that this betrayal was in response to the growing indigenous mobilization that created 'friction' by obstructing and distorting the work of the government. It was during this period that apprehension over the label 'indigenous' increased, giving rise to the term *campesinos*. Self-labeled *campesinos* "embraced political projects that offered primarily class-based analyses, programs, and visions, stressing that inequalities based on wealth were the root of Peru's troubles and therefore the necessary focus for any solution" (Heilman 2010, 69). In Ayacucho, the change in sentiment towards indigenous identity fed well into the rise of the *Aprista* movement to focus on regional inclusion in a broad social justice and working class alliance program (Heilman 2010, 93).

Peru's population tripled from around seven to 22 million people after World War II. In the 1950s and 1960s, successive governments attempted to achieve better social integration by expanding the role of the state and its bureaucracy. President Belaúnde Terry had made efforts to develop peasant communities by introducing economic and infrastructure policies, providing what Heilman (2010) argues to be one of the first times that *campesinos* in the highlands had a real sense of national political inclusion. In 1956, in response to the growing demographic pressure, newly elected President Manuel Prado created the Institute

for Agrarian Reform and Colonization that would conduct research used by later governments to begin land reform (Hunefeldt 2004, 218).

The population increase, coupled with crop failures, factored into further economic crisis in Peru. Some community members from Huamanquiquia were forced into a seasonal migration to the coast to make a living. During the rainy season, from January to May, some would travel to Ica to work on the cotton plantations then return to the community for the crop harvest (Aroni Sulca 2006, 267). Shantytowns around Lima and large cities began to develop as migration to find better economic conditions drove *campesinos* to urban centres (Hunefeldt 2004, 215; La Serna 2012, 104). The rural to urban population shifts created a demographic vacuum in Ayacucho that disrupted kinship networks and ultimately challenged the local authority structure that was traditionally held by village elders (La Serna 2012, 39). During this time, *campesinos* began to mobilize against *haciendas* in the highlands, occupying thousands of acres. In Huamanquiquia, the land availability for grazing and farming was contested among surrounding communities (Aroni Sulca 2006, 280). The longstanding inter-communal conflicts over boundaries and resource territories would provide a foundation for polarizing Shining Path support or opposition (La Serna 2012, 164).

In 1959 news of the Cuban Revolution became an inspiration for many in Peru. Near Cusco, Hugh Blanco led a series of successful land invasions. From 1959 to 1963 when he was captured, Blanco mobilized 300,000 *campesinos* and took over 300 haciendas (Campbell 1973, 45). Meanwhile in Arequipa, Abimael Guzmán Reynoso completed dual degrees in philosophy and law. In 1962, Guzmán took the position as head of the philosophy department at the newly reopened *Universidad de San Cristobal de Huamanga* (University of Huamanga) in Ayacucho. Blanco's success inspired both the National Liberation Army

(ELN, *Ejército de Liberación Nacional*) and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR, *Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria*) to attempt Castro-like revolutions (Campbell 1973). Both attempts at guerrilla action were quickly quashed by the Peruvian military (Mealy and Austad 2012).

In 1964, Abimael Guzmán became involved with the pro-Chinese faction of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP), called *Bandera Roja* (Red Flag). Guzmán's view intensified after visiting the People's Republic of China in 1965 where he became "familiar with the radical ideology of the Gang of Four" (Gorriti cited in Mealy and Austad 2012, 549). Guzmán's Maoist-oriented doctrine did not align with *Bandera Roja* and he formed his own organization after his return (Ash 1985). Guzmán called his group *El Partido Comunista de Perú por el Sendero Luminoso de Mariátegui* (PCP-SL) or the Communist Party of Peru on the Shining Path of Mariátegui.

The Blossoming of Violence (1960 – 1980)

Known as *indigenistas*, Peruvian indigenous leaders had argued: "that Peru's Quechua speakers were descendants of Incan agriculturalists, it was in the best interest of both their race and the country to restore the land to the indigenous who tilled it" (La Serna 2012, 103). In 1968, Peru's Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces conceptualized *Plan Inca* to provide "socialism from above" in order to prevent "socialism from below" (Hunefeldt 2004, 229). Led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, the government had embraced leftist policies with iconic indigenous names, like the Plan of Tupac Amaru to reform agrarian land. On June 24, 1969, Velasco abolished the term *Indio* (Indian), used to categorize indigenous Peruvians, and decreed *campesino* to be the official term. Velasco proclaimed the sweeping land reforms by pledging, "Peasants! The landlord will no longer eat from your poverty!" (Winn 2006,

255).

Velasco also enacted education reforms to expand education opportunities to Peru's indigenous communities with some classes taught in both Quechua and Spanish (Palmer 1986). This education outreach would be beneficial for the first of Guzmán's six-stage program to gain power. As a professor at the University of Huamanga, he actively recruited students to be future leaders of the Shining Path and sought connections with rural communities (Manwaring 1995). Many of the early members of the Shining Path were *mestizo* intellectuals and teachers who could bridge Guzmán's ideology to the young students and the rural population. The national public teachers union, formed in 1972, was based on Marxist-Maoist thought (Wilson 2007, 728). Education was viewed as the primary mode of escaping the socio-economic marginalization in Ayacucho. By the early 1970s, Huamanquiquia had separate schools for boys and girls (Aroni Sulca 2006). Guzmán's position and influence fostered education programs all over Ayacucho's highlands around literacy, health, nutrition, and farming (Palmer 1986, 128). Scholars have argued the appeal of Sendero Luminoso ideology for traditional Andean youth was the accessibility of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist worldview[8] over Western science and philosophy (Ron 2001; Degregori 1991).

At the same time, the Agrarian Reform defined the economic policy for Peru in the 1970s using a model based on associative enterprises or cooperatives. State-appointed administrators distributed expropriated land to some 369,000 *campesino* families. Yet, landless rural labourers (such as those who were working in haciendas on a temporary basis) were excluded in the management of the new cooperatives. The initial success of the program

[8] Maoism is the political doctrine derived from a Marxist-Leninist framework that rejects imperialism as a capitalist endeavor and desires a permanent revolution from the peasantry (Navarro 2010).

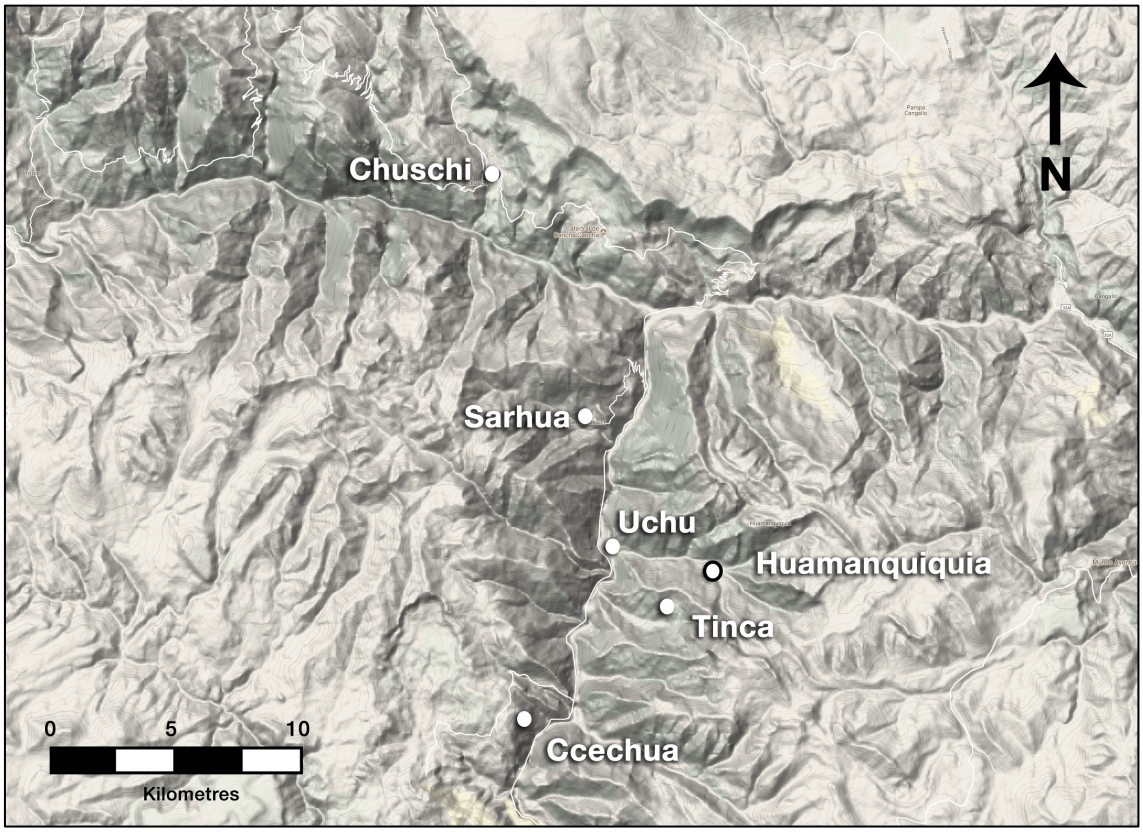
was tarnished by corruption, misuse of funds, and preferential treatment. The peasantry turned to leftist groups as discontent with the reform grew (McClintock 1984). In areas of the Andean highlands never under hacienda control, such as Huamanquiquia's district, the Agrarian Reform did little to reduce land disputes especially between communities (González 2011). Scholars have argued that the Agrarian Reform facilitated the rise of the Shining Path by rearranging the power relationships between *campesinos* and state and regional authorities (Heilman 2010, 171).

The Agrarian Reform did not meet expectations as another economic crisis loomed by the end of the decade. In 1978, General Francisco Morales Bermúdez established the Constituent Assembly to start the process of a new constitution, to return Peru to a democracy. Guzmán disappeared underground just before the run-up to national elections (Mealy and Austad 2012).

The Internal Conflict: The Insurgency (1980 – 1992)

The first act of war for Peru's internal conflict began on May 17, 1980, the day before the presidential election (Mucha 2013, 101), marking the violent beginning to what Quechua speakers called *sasachakuy tiempo.*[9] Early in the morning, five hooded men entered the voter registration office in the village of Chuschi (see Map 2.1). The men subdued the registrar and then burnt the ballot boxes. The next day Fernando Belaúnde Terry won the election with widespread enthusiasm. However, the Chuschi event did not become news until four days later (Gorriti 1999). Guzmán's armed struggle began with a faint murmur.

[9] *Sasachakuy tiempo* means difficult times in Quechua (Theidon 2006, 435). Other references to this time period also include *tiempos del peligro* (times of danger), and *manchaytiempo (times of fear)* (González 2011, 137, 248).



Map 2.1: Select villages in Ayacucho
(Adapted from Open Street Map data accessed via scribblemaps.com)

Gorriti (1999, 20) argues that the Shining Path chose Chuschi simply because they had the opportunity because "a decision had been made to attack electoral symbols, and the ballot boxes and registry were kept in Chuschi." This first target of the armed struggle was picked because it was the precise moment of a transition from military to civilian rule—the symbolism of the new liberal democracy (Ron 2001). In April 1980, for three weeks, Guzmán ran a military school to train those who would become leaders of the Shining Path to perpetrate some of the greatest violence during the conflict. Guzmán announced on the final day, "Our work with hands unarmed has concluded … A period has ended … The people rear up, arm themselves, and rise in revolution to put the noose around the neck of imperialism

and the reactionaries, seizing them by the throat, and garrotting them. They are strangled, necessarily" (Gorriti 1999, 34–35).

The second stage of Guzmán's plan would take the next two years. Guzmán employed both military and political-psychological tactics in the rural highlands and urban shantytowns to mobilize the masses. The Shining Path would bomb public infrastructure, destroy symbols of the "bourgeois state," and hang dogs from lamp posts, as warnings to the state supporters (Manwaring 1995, 161). Guzmán viewed violence as a revolutionary requirement to remove the "power of foreign-dominated, non-Indian, and undemocratic governing oligarchy and to form a new Peruvian, Indian, and democratic political entity" (Manwaring 2004, 5). In May 1981, the Shining Path's Central Committee determined their activities and presence were rather innocuous to the country. The Central Committee initiated a plan to develop "the war into the central preoccupation of all Peruvians through a radical increase in violence, to raise the stakes and turn the trickle of blood into a flood" (Gorriti 1999, 99). The Senderista idea of 'the quota' was the justification of the need to kill, as well as the willingness to sacrifice yourself as the "stamp of commitment to our revolution, to world revolution, with the blood of the people that runs in our country" (Gorriti 1999, 105) From this point on the guerrilla insurgency would intensify, greatly.

On October 11, 1981, an evening attack in Tambo (32 kms northwest of Huamanga) at the police station left three people dead. The next day, the government declared a state of emergency in five provinces of Ayacucho: Huanta, La Mar, Huamanga, Cangallo and Victor Fajadro (Gorriti 1999). These provinces would become the epicentre of violence in the highlands. From the onset of the insurgency the Civil Guard and local police forces had little information about the Shining Path (Gorriti 1999) To make matters worse, many of tactics

used among Peru's security forces were neither coordinated well nor based on well-collected intelligence (Manwaring 1995). In 1982, Stage 3 of Guzmán's plan saw a generalization of violence that included: an attack on the Huamanga prison and release of prisoners; a blackout in Lima caused by an attack on the power grid; and coordinated 'liberations' of communities that saw leaders and 'traitors' rounded up and hung publically (Manwaring 1995, 162). Meanwhile, in the district of Huamanquiquia, the Shining Path first raided the annexes[10] of Tinca and Uchu (Aroni Sulca 2009, 62).

In 1982, the Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru (*Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*, MRTA) was formed "to defeat the dominant classes and imperialism" to achieve "national and social liberty" (Izcue 2004, 55). Armed action by the MRTA began in 1984 through urban guerrilla activity, however, it distanced itself from *Sendero Luminoso* by both wearing uniforms and taking credit for its violent actions.

In mid-December 1982, President Belaúnde officially turned the control of the counter-insurgency to the Peruvian armed forces by granting the military liberty to use all means necessary to eliminate the enemy. In January 1983 army and marine units entered Ayacucho. The military increased the level of the violence in the area by responding with prejudice and indiscriminate brutality to *campesinos* (Kent 1993). Incidents of torture, disappearances, and illegal killings by the military increased over the next couple of years. Initially, this approach increased the support for the Shining Path, allowing Guzmán to spread his reach (Ron 2001).

[10] In Peru the district is the smallest administrative unit. Within each district, one village is designated as the capital, while the other villages are called annexes (Handelman 2014, 162).

This is the time period when the violence began in Huamanquiquia. The following accounts of massacre events in Huamanquiquia are sourced from interviews during my participation in the 2012 UNBC Field School, unless cited otherwise.

In 1982 and 1983 the Shining Path repeatedly snuck into Huamanquiquia, gathering community members in the town square or at the local school to discuss Guzmán's ideology of the People's War. Discussions included details of the Shining Path's newly imposed authority, restrictions on economic and social activities, as well as the threats of harsh punishment and death (Aroni Sulca 2006, 273). The first violent attack took place in February 1983 when the Shining Path murdered four people including the mayor of Huamanquiquia and the district governor as examples to the community. The Shining Path then appointed representatives in the village and established *Escuelas Populares* for children and youth to receive ideological training to fight state corruption "for the sake of equality and justice for farmers" (Aroni Sulca 2006, 274). In Sarhua, a community across the Qaracha River, the villagers were forced to attend the *Escuelas Populares* to take oaths and salute President Gonzalo (as Guzmán was also known) or face violence (González 2011, 187).

The known occurrences of extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances and torture peaked for both the Shining Path and the Peruvian military in 1984, the most violent year of the armed conflict (CVR 2004, 24). In that same year, the Shining Path recruited Huamanquiquia youth to participate in their ranks. On August 14, 1984, the Senderistas, with some individuals from Huamanquiquia, entered the nearby community of Huambo to torch homes and kill residents. The attack was thwarted, leaving ten Senderistas dead. Those who escaped were heard saying "Viva Huamanquiquia!" Huambo community members reported

the incident to the military base in Cangallo and identified attackers as being from Huamanquiquia (Aroni Sulca 2006, 274).[11]

The next day (August 15), twenty troops aboard two helicopters flew over the mountains into Huamanquiquia, which was now identified by the armed forces as Senderista territory. The soldiers rounded community members into the central square and separated them into lines by age and sex. A Shining Path member, captured by the military, was used as a witness to identify *Sendero* co-conspirators. Those identified were forced to the ground with brutality. Some had their ears and tongues cut off and then fed to them. At least one person was shot and multiple women were beaten and raped. Similar public accusations took place in Uchu and Tinca where five and eighteen villagers were arrested respectively (see Map 2.1).

On August 17, 1984 at least a dozen soldiers were holding captives in Huamanquiquia's main municipal building. The army requested that the villagers prepare them breakfast and while community members focused on breakfast preparation, the army snuck the detainees out the back of the building. The detainees were split into two groups with one group marched towards Uchu and the other taken towards Tinca. The Uchu-bound group was marched across the Qaracha River near the village of Ccechua. Six of the detainees managed to escape, while the others were tortured and assassinated. Ccechua locals buried victims in the same place they were found because of the fear of further military action in the area.

Between 1983 and 1984 the violence claimed fifty lives, either dead or disappeared, from Huamanquiquia (Aroni Sulca 2006, 276). Life in Huamanquiquia dramatically changed

[11] Years later the police returned and explained to community members that the perpetrators of this crime were the Argentine military (Aroni Sulca 2006, 276).

with the constant threat of violence from either the Shining Path or the Peruvian military. Transport to commercial centres slowed, social gatherings and activities became limited, and community officials failed to fulfill their duties (Aroni Sulca 2006, 276). The sound of helicopters or sight of groups seen headed toward town would send men, women and children into hiding in the caves and crevasses of the hills.

In 1985, Alan Garcia Pérez was elected president of Peru by a wide margin, openly challenging the military's dirty-war tactics. Garcia's polices shifted the focus of the counter-insurgency from military operations to public works. Further, he established civilian control over the military's initiatives (Crabtree 2016). By the late 1980s, the rate of disappearances dropped with the use of intelligence-based strategies that made an effort to selectively target Shining Path members, and also the legal recruitment of *rondas campesinas* (peasant community controls) members (Cornell and Roberts 1990).

Rondas campesinas started in the mid-1970s in the northern provinces of Cajamarca and Piura as community-based efforts to stem increasing cattle thefts (Starn 1998). Many communities established *rondas campesinas* as well as alliances with the military to rid the Shining Path from their communities. In 1983, President Belaúnde had publically recognized the *rondas campesinas* role in fighting terrorism, demonstrating a degree of agency and empowerment to rural *campesinos* that countered the perception of an easily victimized indigenous population (Ron 2001).

In district of Huamanquiquia, *rondas campesinos* were first formed in 1986 after the community of Tinca took action against the Shining Path. Twelve *Senderistas* were given poisoned food and died. Huamanquiquia officially created a declaration in 1991 to reject the

Shining Path and their ideology. Later, in June 1992, the Huamanquiquia *rondas* killed three Senderistas, and captured one, while another escaped (Aroni Sulca 2006, 277).

Shining Path retaliation would come one month later on the afternoon of July 1, 1992. A group of Senderistas entered the village disguised as Peruvian military. Accompanying the 'military' were two others, a man and woman with their heads covered, bloody, dirty, and bound. The 'military' needed help determining if their captives were terrorists or not. Word spread throughout the community so that about 40 people gathered in the square to participate. The men were taken to the auditorium of the community building to claim a 'congratulatory' prize, while the women were locked in a room and forced to cook.

Another group of Senderistas stormed the auditorium, brandishing axes and machetes. Eighteen people, including the lieutenant governor and the president of the rural community of Huamanquiquia, were brutally murdered. Bodies were mutilated and some were decapitated. The women were then tortured and threatened with death if they reported the massacre, before finally having their long hair cut off.[12] The dead were buried under duress and in haste, as fear of further attacks had made proper grieving ceremonies short.

The Internal Conflict: The rise of Democide[13] (1990 - 2000)

Peru was faced with economic collapse in the late 1980s as poverty and unemployment increased. The military was struggling to gain ground on the Shining Path, which was made worse by the military's low wages and drug-related corruption (Klarén

[12] The Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission indicated that the traditional long-braids of Quechua women were significant to cultural identity and identified the cutting of the braids as a common degrading treatment inflicted by the Shining Path (CVR 2003, Tomo VI:154).

[13] Democide is a term defined by political scientist R. J. Rummel (1997, 1) as the murder of any person or people by their government, including death squads and terror, genocide, politicide, mass murder and intentionally orchestrated disasters such as famines.

2000). By 1990 many of the rural areas of central and southern Peru were under Shining Path control or subversive fear.

Amidst the fear, insecurity and a faltering economy, Alberto Fujimori won the presidency in July 1990, appealing to both the rural and urban poor (Burt 2009). In his populist mandate, President Fujimori pushed his economic policy solutions towards drastic neoliberal reforms and austerity measures. He sought to rein in the drug trade and armed conflict by consolidating the control of the armed forces and by selecting Vladimiro Montesinos as his chief military policy advisor (Klarén 2000).

By this time, Sendero Luminoso was also increasing violent attacks within the city of Lima. Car bombings in the wealthy district of Miraflores as well as ongoing disappearances and assassinations were transforming the People's War from a primarily *campesino* problem to one that was at the front door of Peru's wealthy, rich elite. In February 1992, the Shining Path assassinated María Elena Moyano, a prominent community activist and outspoken critic of their actions. Shining Path operatives gunned her down in front of her children; then blew up her body in the Villa El Salvador, a shantytown of Lima (Burt 2010, 125). With the death of Moyano, an outspoken critic of the Shining Path, the Senderistas were now boasting a "strategic parity" with the state (Klarén 2000, 413).

In April 1992, President Fujimori suspended the Constitution, closed Congress and ordered the arrest of several opposition leaders. Amidst the growing fear the Shining Path was winning the war, both corporate leaders and the public supported the Fujimori's *autogolpe* (self-coup) (Palmer 2007, 215). Fujimori's action was validated when he took responsibility for Guzmán's capture on September 12 in Lima (Mauceri 1991, 31).

Authorities also discovered the master computer files to the entire Shining Path organization, so by the end of 1992 most of the Sendero leadership was also captured (CVR 2004, 175)

Under the council of the National Intelligence Service and Montesinos advice, Fujimori created paramilitary groups to search for Shining Path members (Burt and Youngers 2010). Some of these paramilitary groups, like the Colina Group, committed extreme human rights violations—executions and forced disappearances—in the "bastions of subversion" such as prisons and public universities (CVR 2004, 310). These death squads were created to "exterminate the guerrillas and scare the general population from even sympathizing with any of the movements" (Sanchez 2003, 188).

Fujimori won a second term in 1995. That same year the legislature passed a law to guarantee immunity for security force members from prosecution that gave the authoritarian regime a sense of entitlement and impunity (Burt 2009). In 2000, scandal erupted when videos of Montesinos were leaked and broadcast revealing the level of government corruption and further exposing human rights violations (Conaghan 2005, 227). Montesinos escaped to Venezuela temporarily before being arrested, while Fujimori fled to Japan and remained there avoiding extradition with the charge of treason in Peru. In the wake of the fall of Fujimori, Alejandro Toledo became Peru's first indigenous president in May 2001 (Hunefeldt 2004, 264).

Post-conflict Peru

In 2001, the interim government of Peru created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (*Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación*, CVR) to study the causes, consequences, and responsibilities of the internal conflict. The CVR gathered 17,000

testimonies to produce the final 5000-page report, which was released in 2003.[14] Some of those testimonies included villagers of Huamanquiquia (Aroni Sulca 2009). The report estimated that the number of deaths at the hands of subversive organizations or state agents from 1980 to 2000 probably exceeded 69,000 people.[15] Of this staggering number, three-quarters were native Quechua speakers (CVR 2004, 10). Assassinations, disappearances, and mass torture were attributed to both the insurgent groups (Shining Path and the MRTA) and the military; however, the report also indicated a greater societal condemnation at the "apathy, ineptitude and indifference of those who could have stopped this human catastrophe but did not" (CVR 2004, 10).

Unique among Latin American subversive groups, the Shining Path was the primary perpetrator, responsible for 54% of the deaths and disappearances reported to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR 2004, 18). Peru's state agents (military, police and *rondas*) were responsible for 37% of the deaths and disappearances reported (CVR 2004, 18). Although the MRTA was thought to be responsible for only 1.5% of the fatalities, the CVR (2004, 41) noted that the MRTA's "efforts to open fronts in rural areas inevitably led to confrontations with the PCP-SL that complicated the conflict even further … increasing the number of victims."

The CVR recommended a comprehensive reparations program in its final report. The recommendations included symbolic reparations such as gestures, acts of recognition, and memorials; reparations that benefit mental and physical health; reparations in education;

[14] In 2004, the CVR released a 470-page English version of its report called, Hatun Willakuy: Abbreviated Version of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

[15] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission identified 23,969 people by name through testimonies that were either killed or disappeared. Using a methodology known as Multiple Systems Estimation, the number of victims was 2.9 times greater than number identified, within a margin of error between 61,007 and 77,552 (CVR 2004, 17).

reparations in civil rights; economic reparations; and collective reparations (CVR 2004, 404). This recommendation was addressed when the legislature passed the Comprehensive Reparations Plan Law in 2005 and was then initiated in 2007 (Rubion-Marin, Bailey, and Guillerot 2009). According to EPAF (2012c), however, reparations remain politically stymied; individual reparations were delayed by the setup of a victims' registry, and individuals remained confined by illogical reparation policies, such as the assistance eligibility age of 65, when victims need help now. Laplante and Theidon (2007) argue that truth alone is not enough and that reparations are a further essential and symbolic step to hold the government accountable to those victimized by the denial of their citizenship. Reparations to date have been delivered largely in the form community infrastructure grants (Rubion-Marin, Bailey, and Guillerot 2009). I witnessed this community development reparation in Ayacucho in the form of new civic squares and community buildings, with little done for individuals.

In April 2009, a three-judge panel of Perú's Supreme Court convicted former President Fujimori of grave human rights violations and sentenced him to 25 years in prison. This conviction represented a significant, symbolic step towards the restitution and reconciliation for the victims of the internal armed conflict (Burt 2009). NGOs have attempted to fill the void of government response for the remainder of the unfilled goals of the reparations plans. EPAF in its work to "promote the right to truth, justice and guarantees of non-repetition in cases of forced disappearance and extrajudicial execution" (EPAF 2012a) strives to empower victims and their families at all levels.

Conclusion

Since the mid-1980s there has been a significant amount of scholarly research on the Peruvian internal armed conflict.[16] With a lifetime of academic study, I would still not know Huamanquiquia as well as someone who has lived or lives there now. Nor would I know it as well as the EPAF members who visit it regularly with local knowledge and a Peruvian perspective. Nevertheless, it is with this understanding of the historical context that I have framed my analysis of the collective memory of internal armed conflict in Huamanquiquia.

Scholarly attempts, such as the work of Miguel La Serna (2012), analyze questions of political violence in terms of *how* and *why* it happened. The *how* is addressed well, but the *why* remains complicated and sometimes contradictory. La Serna's analysis of the *why* notes that "sweeping generalizations about 'indigenous peoples' and 'the peasantry' fail to account for the all-important context of local experiences, attitudes, and traditions" (La Serna 2012, 216).

Peru is a country with a deep history. Based on the archaeological record, indigenous peoples have lived along the coast, in the highlands, and the tropical lowlands for thousands of years. Peru's indigenous ethnic makeup is more complex than its modern urban mix of immigrants. From the time of the Inca, its peoples have been displaced, replaced and resettled, creating a patchwork quilt of ethnicity over the landscape. This patchwork quilt was made of settlements where livelihoods were carved from the steep slopes and high elevations of the Andes. As pastoralists and farmers, for *campesinos*, land is the basis of their economy and the basis of their existence. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that access to the land and land-ownership would be at the heart of conflict and contention. Spanish colonialism marginalized and oppressed the indigenous peoples of Peru; a long-term pattern

[16] Among the more detailed discussions are Palmer (1992), Gorriti ((1999), and Stern (1998).

of resettlement and changes in land ownership and access further created inter-communal and intra-communal relationships.

The geographical isolation of the Andes is reflected in the social isolation of those who live there from the rest of the country. Lima, as the centre of government in Peru, remains as it did in colonial times, the centre of power. Being indigenous is subaltern: outside the social, political and geographic influence of colonial power. The dimensions of inequality, poverty and discrimination positioned Peru's *campesinos* as victims of structural conflict and violence (Mucha 2013). The indigenous resistance in Peru has been surfacing with leftist social movements for decades. The Shining Path infused their concern for the people, specifically the rural indigenous, with violence. The *campesinos* of the highlands of Ayacucho experienced an indiscriminate, brutal violence—that has left a lasting trauma and scar on the collective memory of Peru.

Chapter 3 – Landscapes of Collective Memory

> *These events occurred when I was four. But in part, these are my memories … very confused [memories] because my mom carried me on her back … because I was four. I couldn't walk well and I was her only child. But, in part these are memories that people tell me.*
>
> *—ANONALISA*

Introduction

As a social construction, collective memory surrounds us all of the time through its creation, its sharing and its replication. We are immersed in it—from popular culture and mass media to your last interaction with another person—memory, as a social construction, is the meaning derived from social experience. In elementary terms, based on Halbwachs (1992), I am defining collective memory as the common memories, held and exchanged, by a group of people. However, the complexity of collective memory is evident through the multitude of ways it has been explored in the academy. The academic literature that discusses collective memory weaves through a variety of disciplines, such as literary and media studies, neuroscience, psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, and philosophy, among others (Erll and Nünning 2010). The idea of memory as a social construction, whether it is termed 'collective,' 'social,' or 'public' is a truly interdisciplinary topic.

The diverse perspectives that come within an interdisciplinary approach allow for a holistic analysis in research. Scholars such as Pauwels (cited in Pink 2003, 179) warn that "[w]hen crossing the borders of disciplines the danger of 'amateurism' is always lurking. This may manifest itself in a quick (and dirty) exchange or borrowing of ideas and techniques without grasping the full implications." Nevertheless, Said suggests there

is more to gain, in the "love for and unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers, in refusing to be tied down to a specialty, in caring for ideas and values despite the restrictions of a profession" (1996, 76).

Astrid Erll draws a parallel between the dimensions of culture and the dimensions of collective memory, in that they are both "concerned with social, medial and cognitive processes" (2010, 6). Indeed, the process of culture creation and reproduction, and collective memory, could be considered to be one in the same. Culture, broadly speaking is comprised of the social (rituals, institutions, groups), the material (buildings, artifacts, media), and the mental (ideology, worldview, knowledge). In parallel, memory as a topic of study crosses the social (i.e. the sociological and anthropological dynamics of collective memory), the material (i.e. memory passed through historical documents, monuments, and media), and the mental (i.e. the neurological and psychological concepts of memory).

These shared dimensions of culture-memory are analogous to the scales of collective memory. At the smallest scale, memory starts within the body and brain from the perspectives of phenomenology, psychology and neurology. An interaction between two or more individuals becomes a shared memory. There are a multitude of social constructions of memory such as groups of friends, a sports team and their fans, and a community. Scales of collective memory progress to the final level of cultural memory, which includes oral traditions, rituals, literature, media, and monuments.

Collective memory is perhaps best illustrated, for this thesis, in the context of the *community* of Huamanquiquia. In this chapter, I continue to draw on my experience and interactions with community members to exemplify the theoretical constructions of

collective memory, in terms of process and reality. I will attempt to establish how to view collective memory as a process of memory production and reproduction. This process incorporates identity and spatiality, as both a product of the process and an agent within it. I will explore collective memory as landscape, examining how remembering violence shapes places of memorialization. Memorialization, as the representation of memory and its relationship to the landscape varies with the context of culture, gender, and the social relations formed by violence.

Conceptual Frameworks of Collective Memory

During my initial visit to the village of Huamanquiquia in 2012, EPIFANIA spoke about her recollections of the 1992 massacre. She provided a narrative, appearing to be constructed from individual experience, and derived from *her* memory. However, EPIFANIA's mode of narrative (albeit through translation) used both first person and third person construction, alluding to the possibility that she may have been recalling not only her own memory, but also the experience and knowledge of others. Her recollection was very much a *testimonio*, an individual's account of collective remembrance. This Spanish term describes the life story of an individual that is also part of the story of a community, often relating stories given in cases of social injustice, violence and trauma (Nolin 2002; Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000; Haig-Brown 2003). This construction of testimony, including the stories of others within a community, lay at the heart of what is conceptualized as collective memory.

Memory as a 'thought' from the past, or the ability to recall that thought, is at the forefront of what most of us would define as memory, an individual process. However, the dynamics of memory are constructed through a social process where remembering is

defined by sharing memories within your social cohort or group. The study of the memory of groups is distinguished by such adjectives as social, cultural, public, and collective. I would argue the terms 'social memory' and 'collective memory' are interchangeable. Collective memory, regardless of which disciplinary lens is used in analysis, involves the similar social process of sharing. The foundational work of sociologist Maurice Halbwachs on collective memory in *Les Cadres Sociaux de La Mémoire* (1976) and *On Collective Memory* (1992) are frequently cited.

Halbwachs (1992) understands collective memories as collectively shared representations of the past. These representations are the central element of identity, shaped by the social processes of remembering and forgetting, as defined by the particular social group sharing the representation (Devine-Wright 2003). Social psychologists see the process of collective memory starting with the individual through perception and cognition (Hirst and Manier 2008), not unlike the phenomenological perspective of philosophers like Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2002), where being-in-the-world is negotiated and understood vis-à-vis the body, and thus called perception. This experience is shared, becoming a shared memory by two or more people. A memory, in the form of a story or dialogue, too becomes a shared memory. The memory is reinforced for the storyteller and becomes new memory for the audience. Shared memory moves through ever increasing scales, from a small group or family, to a community, to a nation. Scholars such as Halbwachs (1992), Nora (1989), and Olick and Ribbons (1998) frequently discuss collective memory on the level of a society. Just as the construction of society is a social process, reproduced through social interaction, so too is collective memory (Tallentire 2001).

Individuals learn many of their collective memories through socialization, where the collective memory is continually "reshaped by the social contexts into which it is received" (Hutton 2000, 537). Collective memory then becomes the product and the contributor of individual and institutional memory, one that changes through space and time (Legg 2007). Collective memory is dynamic and fluid, expressed in the creation and retention of particular narratives about the past. These narratives reflect collective values, beliefs and practices (Tallentire 2001). As Hutton (1993, 78) states, “collective memory is an elaborate network of social mores, values, and ideals that marks out the dimensions of our imaginations according to the attitudes of the social groups to which we relate.”

The concept of collective memory as a dynamic network of social values and mores is rather abstract. However, these abstractions manifest themselves in the realm of the cultural. Paul Connerton argues that "if there is such a thing as social memory," it would be found in commemorative ceremonies and cultural bodily practices (1989, 5). Connerton views social memory as inherently performative, where the ritual and repetition of performance extends the lifetime of memory through intergenerational enculturation. Jan Assmann (1995) makes a further distinction within collective memory through the sense of temporality—between the ephemeral and the permanent—defining collective as being either *communicative* or *cultural.* Communicative memories, are the individual memories that are communicated everyday, from one person to another, and are temporally limited between 80 to 100 years. Transcending multiple generations, cultural memories are those communicative memories that are institutionalized or constructed into ‘permanent’ mnemonic devices such as texts, rites, monuments, practices and language. Collective memory, in this context, is culture. However, I see

collective memory both laying between and overlapping Assmann's definitions. Collective memory is more dynamic in that the meaning of anything permanent can and will change over time. Some meaning is lost, some is forgotten and some assert new meanings all together.

Pierre Nora (1989, 7) took an extensive look into the 'realms' of memory in France "where [cultural] memory crystallizes and secretes itself". This concretization of memory on the landscape is memory made visible—akin to Yi Fu Tuan's (2001, 179) concept of place as "time made visible, or place as memorial to times past". Nora describes sites of memory that include places such as museums, churches, and cemeteries. Nora also includes concepts and practices, as well as objects and artifacts that create historical surroundings, as sites of memory. This milieu of cultural memory-history is often blurred with what is understood as collective memory (Confino 1997; Hutton 2000). Even so, neither cultural memory nor collective memory is history. I see collective memory more in terms of the lived experience, where meaning and interpretation become an ongoing process, mirroring Nora's view that history is "an incomplete reconstruction of something no longer present, while [memory] remains in permanent evolution … open for reinterpretation and deliberate forgetting" (Rainville 2008, 1).

Fabian (1999) echoes this discussion, suggesting that memory may be indistinguishable from culture and identity. Collective memories, both in process and expression, are shaped within the framework of meaning of the society in question, and in turn shape the group's identity (Mike Crang and Travlou 2001; Tallentire 2001). Collective memory is an expression of identity and made poignant by Edward Said in that "people now look to this refashioned memory, especially in its collective forms, to

give themselves a coherent identity, a national narrative, a place in the world" (in Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 348). The idea of identity, whether expressed as or through collective memory, is constructed through the process and place, in that "identity is formed and continually reinforced via individual practice within culturally defined spaces" (Martin 1997, 92).

Collective Memory as Landscape

Collective memory, as cultural or social phenomena, is represented, expressed, and perceived in the environment and within landscape. Halbwachs suggested that, "every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework" (de Certeau 1984, 116). Carl Sauer fashioned this relationship simply, where "culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result" (1925, 49). Perhaps Simon Schama put it most eloquently: "… landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock" (1996, 6). Landscape is more than the natural and human-made elements in the environment, it is also the meanings prescribed to those elements. Schama went on to state, "[l]andscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock" (1996, 61).

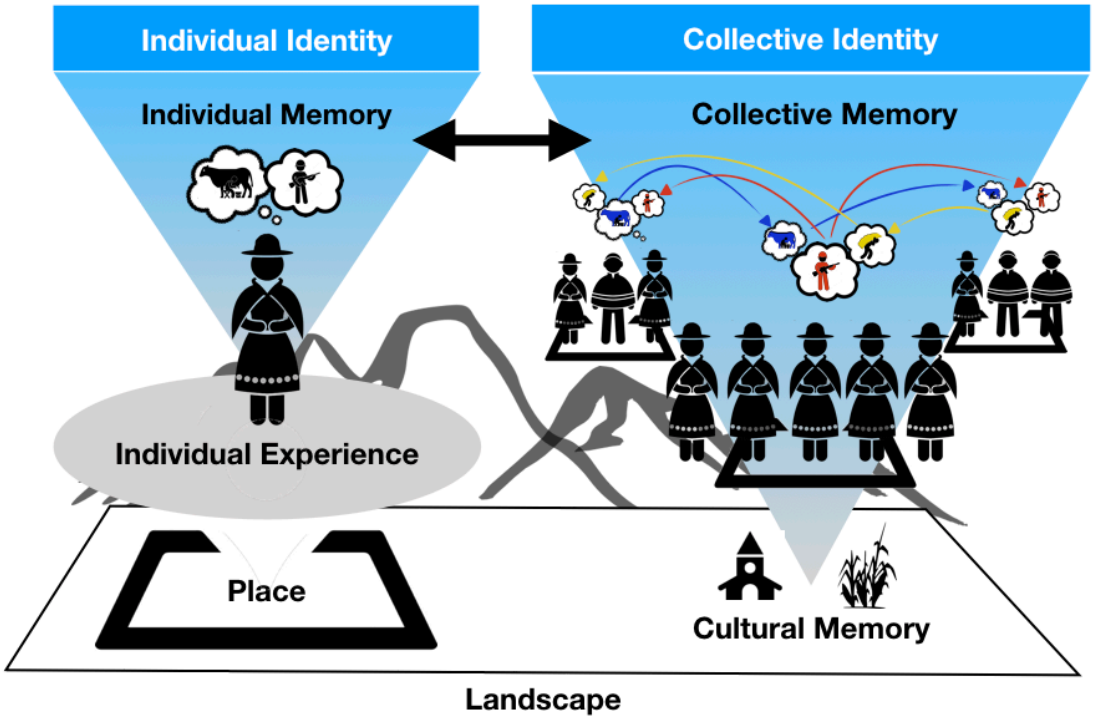


Figure 3.1: My interpretation of the collective memory - landscape relationship (Illustration by author)

The linkage of memory to place occurs, at the smallest scale, through our individual bodies; where the bodily experience (sight, sound, smell, touch, taste) creates meaning in a place. This is the process of space becoming a place, or in the words of Yi Fu Tuan, "the center of meaning constructed by experience" (1975, 152). Memory is inextricably tied to place through human experience and being, the central philosophy of the phenomenological perspectives (Merleau-Ponty 2002; Heidegger 2002). Landscape is then understood through its relationship to memory, in that the perception and engagement with the environment creates place. The shared experience of a group, in a shared social space, attaches meaning and memory to place. This process of interaction between people and their surroundings that includes not only the environment but also social relations and inanimate objects, creates an emotional experience (Ingold 2000).

The sense of attachment to place by emotional experience is expressed as nostalgia (Downs and Stea 1977), rootedness (Bender 1993) and dwelling, where "to perceive the landscape is … is to carry out an act of remember, and remembering is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perpetually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past," (Ingold 1993, 152–153).

For me, the Huamanquiquia preschool now has significant meaning because of EPIFANIA's narrative of the 1992 massacre. Prior to listening to her story, it was just a building. One does not need to have direct experience within the landscape for it to take on meaning. It is the passive modes of experience, such as story telling that also create places of meaning (Tuan 1975) and act as the embraced process of collective memory and landscape reproduction.

Keith Basso (1996, 7) describes place-making as “a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine." This inherent feedback mechanism in the process of place making parallels the process of collective memory. Soja (1989) argues that space is dynamic in both producing social relations and the product of social relations. In this sense, collective memory mirrors Soja's ideological and cognitive forms of *conceived space*; creating social dynamics and ideological perception at the same time as being them.

In terms of space, collective memory creates ‘places of memory’ that in turn create collective memory. Landscapes have largely been "interpreted anew" by each community of interpreters applying their own particular worldviews and values (Holtorf and Williams 2006, 241). The meaning applied to places of memory can change over time,

through the process of production and reproduction. Barbara Bender (1993) cites encroaching worldview, hegemonic discourse, and the residual collective memory of the place itself, as the factors that challenge old meanings and create new interpretations in the landscape.

Thus, the meanings we adhere to place through shared experience and collective understanding can evolve over time, or be drastically altered. During the 20 years of contemporary conflict and violence in Peru, the process of collective memory and its relationship to landscape and identity was traumatized. Fear of forced disappearance, violence, and rape changes the emotional experience of place—as places of attachment become places of aversion. Tuan makes this distinction through his notion of topophobia, or fear of place (1974) and describes landscapes of fear that are both psychological and environmental manifestations of chaos, both natural and human (1979). Schramm describes the traumatic experiences of violence when "the memory of violence is not only embedded in peoples' bodies and minds but also inscribed onto space" (Schramm 2011, 5).

I have heard stories of violence, in and around Ayacucho and in the village of Huamanquiquia. They are inscribed in the landscape by the collective memory, now shared by me, including the memory of EPIFANIA's story about the 1992 massacre just off the central square of Huamanquiquia. The short history of the internal conflict has formed a landscape of memory: the Shining Path graffiti on the side of the road, a mass grave exhumation site near the Qaracha River, the abandoned memorial museum, and the cemetery where the graves of loved ones are marked not only by the dates of birth and death but by the precise dates of the massacres themselves.

Violence and Trauma as Collective Memory

EPIFANIA told her version of the 1992 massacre in the exact location where it occurred. This place is now a preschool. She stood in the yard with cheerful children's art on the walls and a playground a few metres away. She had described these events before, but even now, as she started into her story, the tears and trembling began. The memory of the murders of her father and husband were still too upsetting for her to continue.

The memory of violence is raw, seemingly fresh, in its ability to replay emotions. Moving to the ground floor of her two-story adobe home we continued to listen to EPIFANIA's experience of violence and terror. I suspect that for EPIFANIA, her home was not only a safer place to be vulnerable through giving *testimonio,* but it also removed the spatial connection between place and traumatic memory (see Figure 3.3).

EPIFANIA spoke her narrative of memories from a violent past, where we would relive her sadness, distress and trauma through the emotion in her face. She spoke of the places she hid in the hills after the massacre. She spoke of the place where she wept herself to sleep, crying for her father. She spoke until tears transformed her speech to silent numbness. EPIFANIA took us on a tour, both literally and metaphorically, through her narratives. Michel de Certeau (1984, 116) suggests, "every story is a travel story—a spatial practice." Her traumatic memories were intrinsically tied to place, with the narrative movement from one place to another, an arc of emotion.

Figure 3.2: EPIFANIA giving a *testimonio*
(Photo by author)

This was not the first time EPIFANIA had given her *testimonio*. In addition to EPAF members, she shared her experiences with Quechua scholar Renzo Salvador Aroni Sulca from the National University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru (2006). The reasons for retelling and remembering her experiences of violence might be for catharsis. It could also be to maintain the memory of her lost loved ones in the production of collective memory. Collective remembering is beneficial to natural recovering from trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder (Wessel and Moulds 2008). Comparatively, community rituals have been an important mechanism for processing the affects of violence (Castro, Beristain, and Rovira 2000).

However, the *testimonio* of her experience grants the authority for her, as a

survivor of violence, to become empowered, heal, and remember the *real truth* of her experience (Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000). In doing so, this truth works to counter the dominant, hegemonic memory of this violent event that for EPIFANIA would be the national discourse on memory created by the media, the Government of Peru and the Truth & Reconciliation Commission. With this notion, *testimonio* becomes what Foucault terms "counter memory": the memories that challenge the dominant power of nationalist discourse (1980a).

Testimonio alone does not provide a carte-blanche reconciliation from violence and trauma. In Ayacucho, healing and reconciliation is impeded by the complexities that conflict created: a mixture of victims and perpetrators living side-by-side within communities (Theidon 2006). This social landscape produces what Kimberly Theidon and Ponciano del Pino term *toxic memory*, defined as "experiences of intense, direct violence within a community or between neighbouring communities for which there is no recourse, no sense of the possibility of social justice, nor remorse from perpetrators" (in Hite 2007, 117). The toxic memory in Ayacucho is convoluted by the long and complex history of inequality and colonialism as discussed in Chapter 2.

In Remembering & In Forgetting

A complex historical background plays into how collective memory is processed and represented. Worldview, culture and gender roles all shape how collective memory is represented on the landscape and how groups remember and/or forget. Stephen Legg writes, "[a]lthough we (in theory) have the potential to remember everything we perceive, what we actually remember is that which we do not forget (2007, 460). Memories of mass atrocities can be too troubling to contemplate, and do become

repressed and forgotten (Hutton 2000). Forgetting allows us to form new identities, for "…we must remember in order to know who we are, and forget in order to become what we may be" (Bishi in Legg 2007, 461). The violence experienced by EPIFANIA and the *campesinos* in the highlands of Peru would be impossible to forget. Consider not only the imprinting of trauma on one's mind, but also mnemonic devices of place that make forgetting impossible. Furthermore, the "toxicity" of the memory may impede the formation of a collective identity.

The silence felt in many Andean communities comes not from a wanting to forget, but more from the contemporary reverberations of fear from coercive and violent tactics by the Shining Path and the State. Enrique Mayer noted his collection of memory on the Peruvian Agrarian reform may have been made more sombre by the recent period of political violence (2009). Renowned Latin American historian Eduardo Galeano noted the weight of post-traumatic stress in that "it is dangerous to remember, because to remember is to repeat the last like a nightmare" (in Steinberg and Taylor 2003, 454)

The effects on how, where and why remembering is performed in the wake of violence is very much cultural construct. Greenway (1998, 998) found that in the indigenous Quechua worldview people "exist in a landscape that is living; every hill, gully, spring and outcropping of rock is named and has a history of involvement in a person's life." The Quechua-*campesino* culture is imprinted in the landscape. There is a spiritual connection to the land, especially in Huamanquiquia, where the highest mountain in the region, Kumun Nawi (The Eye of the People) over looks the village and home of Andean condors (EPAF 2012c).

In the wake of the political violence, burials were often carried out in haste, not allowing for proper Quechua bereavement and burial traditions, creating distress and anxiety for family members (Pedersen et al. 2008). In their qualitative study of trauma in northern Ayacucho, Pedersen et al. (2008) also found there were no words for individual 'trauma' or 'stress; *ñakary* referred to a notion of collective suffering and distress.

Some of the most intriguing functional aspects of surviving trauma are shared in stories of women in Ayacucho. Feminist scholars have studied the relationship between gender and space (Bondi 1990) and the gendered nature of social memory (Haaken 2000) and understand that gender roles create differing social landscapes for men and women (Platt 1996). The conflict left entire villages in the Peruvian highlands composed primarily of widows and orphans (Aroni Sulca 2006), forcing women to collectively unite, to support each other both in terms of economics and emotion in the creation of widows' associations and cooperatives (EPAF 2012a). Women are often the holders and transmitters of family history and 'run' significant life events such as births and deaths (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 137). More research remains to be done on how post-conflict societies with shifting gender roles relate to space and memory production.

Landscapes of Violence, Trauma and Memory

According to Nora (1989), the idea of memorials as heritage is not common to all cultures and is an exclusively modern phenomenon. In the rural highlands, the mnemonic devices that create a sense of memory are more community-specific in the form of graves and the sites of violence itself. Memorials do not proliferate in the landscape in Ayacucho. Attempts to create memorial museums have largely been done by outside non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Other than the cemetery, I did not see much in

the way of memorial representation; the absence of which may reflect an internalization of experience, as seen in Guatemala (Burt 2011).

EPIFANIA spent the afternoon with us, talking about her traumatic experience: losing her father, her husband, and her baby. Her life was irrevocably changed by the period of violence in Ayacucho. We shared her tears. We listened to her story. We saw her face. The emotional contagion of sadness and loss was transferred, allowing for effective transference of her collective memory. She wanted us to accompany her to the cemetery where she would light candles on the grave of her father and her husband. I do not know how many times EPIFANIA had trekked to the cemetery to perform this ritual, but this was the most sacred of places of memory for her.

Arriving at the grave, EPIFANIA used a steel pickaxe that she had taken from home to remove an errant clump of concrete that covered the grave, left from the construction of a nearby cairn. Its presence desecrated this sacred site and we all worked to remove the concrete so that EPIFANIA could perform the candle lighting ceremony (Figure 3.4). Spatial practices of ritualization create sacred places (Chidester and Linenthal 1995).

Figure 3.3: EPIFANIA lighting candles by the grave
(Photo by author)

In funeral rituals, the body is the centre of meaning, commemorated within the land through funerary procession through the landscape and then through the burial in the ground (Holtorf and Williams 2006). This place of remembrance is made sacred through the creation of a liminal space, the place where the dead may be visited and talked to in their parallel world (Marschall 2010). The production and reproduction of memory is a social practice, performative in nature. When linked to trauma, the grieving process of memorialization becomes a therapeutic practice (Caruth 1995).

Sacred space is produced not only through ritualization, but also when meaning is threatened with differing interpretation or ownership; sites of memory and memorials are sacred and contested (Chidester and Linenthal 1995). In 2006, a memory museum named

the *Yuyarina Wasi* (House of Remembrance) was opened on the hillside over looking the town of Huamanquiquia (Aroni Sulca 2006, 263). EPIFANIA provided articles of clothing and photographs of her husband and her father for the project. Today, the space in the community building is empty except for some debris on the floor. Nobody seems to know why the memorabilia has disappeared or where it is. Perhaps the toxicity of the collective memory that was symbolized in this memory museum was too much to bear within the community. Holtorf and Williams (2006) view memorials as prospective memory, an attempt to create a particular version of the past for the future. Could the prospective memory of the victims held within *Yuyarina Wasi* be so contested that it itself was disappeared?

This complex form of contestation at the local level between intra-communal and inter-communal relations is a unique component to the discourse of memory in Ayacucho. The social memory typically diverges between the narratives of isolated rural communities and the nation (Tallentire 2001). Memory becomes contested where the nation and hegemonic forces seek to control memory through monuments and memorials (J. Olick and Robbins 1998). In Peru, the struggles for memory on the national stage are both intense and contentious (Burt 2011; Hite 2007).

The 2003 Truth and Reconciliation Commission coincided their report with the organization of a memorial exhibit called *Yuyanapaq* (To Remember). This visual account of the conflict depicts scenes of violence, victims, and the Shining Path as perpetrators in 200 documentary photographs and interpretive text. The exhibit was eventually installed into the *Museo de la Nación* in Lima authorizing the TRC report and the photographs as national memory. Nora (1989) discusses sites of memory or *les lieux*

de mémoire as embodiments of national memory that dominate the social memory. This positioning was made very clear in France where monuments, architecture and memorials were erected to commemorate the French Revolution and memorialize both world wars. In Peru, Lima is the cultural centre and centre of national memory but without the Quechua voices from the highlands represented. Memory is "mediated by institutions in the public sphere" but it is both lived and contested at the local level (Radstone in Legg 2007, 456).

Power can shape collective memory and is inherently political because of its connection to identity and place. Contestation arises when divergent ideological positions or identity discourses are played out (Marschall 2010). *Yuyanapaq* became the source of inspiration for the monumental memorial called *El Ojo que Llora* (The Eye That Cries) in Lima. This memorial consists of a spiral labyrinth of tens of thousands stones inscribed with the names, ages and years of death or disappearance of victims. At the centre of the memorial is a weeping rock that represents the goddess *Pachamama* (Mother Earth). The sculptor reproduced the lists of *all* victims supplied from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, including many Shining Path members. When this sculpture was made public there was outrage because some Peruvians interpreted it as a monument to the terrorists (Hite 2007).

In Lima, it was clearer who the perpetrators of violence were, than in the highlands of Ayacucho. During the conflict, the Shining Path was portrayed in the media as sole source of terror. Meanwhile in the rural Quechua-speaking communities, violence was created by a confluence of the Shining Path, State forces and others. The contestation of *El Ojo que Llora* reflects the division between the urban and the rural in

Peru. In 2007, human rights activists and relatives of victims of the violence marched in defense of the memorial, holding signs calling for reconciliation and holding photos of their loved ones (Hite 2007). Many of the marchers were from Ayacucho and included peasants recently exonerated from charges of terrorism. For these varied defenders of the memorial, *El Ojo que Llora* had significant personal, moral and political meaning (Hite 2007). The marching itself was a ritualized performance of remembering that reinforced bonds with what the memorial represented (Connerton 1989). Doris Caqui, a victim of the violence highlighted the importance of memorial places and the connection to memory: "We need other Eyes that Cry in other parts of the country, so that many will become involved, as our Eye that Cries has invited people here to become involved, to think and rethink our memories" (Hite 2007, 124).

The difference between the memory of Peruvians in Lima and Peruvians in the highlands of Ayacucho is directly related to the differences in the collective memory of the political violence. The plight of the *campesinos* in the form of victim associations, rallies, and marches speaks to Tallentire's notion of "memory on the margins" where the support for sites of memory in Lima is part of a strategy against oppression and builds memory as a form of resistance (2001, 206–207). Indeed, the hegemonic hierarchy of race, gender, class and geographical location that is embodied in "policies, performances and popular thought in Peru" (Hays-Mitchell 2013, 202) create a tension between the collective memory of the nation, out of Lima, and the collective memory of everywhere else.

Conclusion

My research intertwines collective memory and landscape through the milieu of violence. During my preliminary research trip to Huamanquiquia, I also spoke to CORNELIO and TOMÁS, both victims of violent attacks by the Peruvian military in 1982. CORNELIO physically escorted us to the places of violence that still haunt his memory, places where he escaped execution, where he hid, and where bodies were once buried. He is a survivor of the violence, struggling with guilt and nightmares. TOMÁS spoke of the places of hiding, the place where his brother was murdered, and the place where the neighbour was raped. He fled Huamanquiquia with his mother during the violence. He tried to return home after the violence had ended, but it was not the same and he could not stay. But, his attachment to the small valley of Huamanquiquia was strong. From Lima, he was one of the principal supporters to establish the memory museum, *Yuyarina Wasi.* He, too, is uncertain as to why it is now abandoned.

While place is "essential in transmitting [collective] memory" (Tallentire 2001, 203) it is complicated with violence and trauma. I suspect it is extremely difficult to heal, reconcile, and form a refreshed identity for these rural *campesinos*. Their painful memories are literally buried yet still visible within the land. For TOMÁS forgetting required dislocation. Even then, TOMÁS often visits his mother who still lives in Huamanquiquia, more than a day's journey from Lima.

Hirsch and Smith suggest that “individuals and groups constitute their identities by recalling a shared past as the basis for identities based on common and therefore often contested norms, conventions and practices" (in Weedon and Jordan 2012, 150). Aroni Sulca (2006) explains that in Huamanquiquia there was little possibility to maintain community solidarity during the violence and subsequently social relationships were

strained. PEPITO spoke about how the distribution of post-conflict reparations reinforced social discontinuity. PEPITO said, “Some people are not included on the list, but in fact all of us are survivors. Some people are very angry. The say why not me? Why others?” The historical rivalries prior to the conflict and social complexity afterwards has created what Tallentire (2001, 211) would term multivalent communities—communities “charged with conflict as various groups use their own narratives to vie for claim to the true identity.” The abandonment of the memory museum of Huamanquiquia also suggests there is a subaltern struggle for memory of the internal armed conflict. The places of memorializing the lost lives within Peru are fraught with complexity. Collective memory, identity and landscape connections cannot be separated.

EPIFANIA concluded our experience with her by taking us down to her *chacra* to show us her corn, which sustains her and her children. In a moment of solidarity and reciprocity, we worked with her to husk some of her corn in the field that overlooked the cemetery. Back at her home, she offered cobs of her corn to us as gifts, to thank us for listening. For me, the cob of corn that I took with me back to Canada has become an artifact of memory. Not only the memory of my experience, but the collective memory of my colleagues who shared EPIFANIA's story with us. It represents the collective memory and the complexity of meanings tied to place, a place where violence has made a seemingly irrevocable mark on the social landscape. Grown in the very soil, it embodies the traumatic landscape of Ayacucho—the collective memory.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

> I asked myself when I was in places of memory, of my personal memory, why? Why didn't I have a camera earlier? Because if I had a camera in those moments, I could record all of the facts that happened to me.
>
> —EPIFANIA

Methodological Beginnings

When my supervisor, Dr. Catherine Nolin, suggested photovoice (Wang and Burris 1997) as a method to examine collective memory, I instantly knew the potential that photography held to 'capture' memory. I am an advocate of the image as a communication medium. I see participatory photography as an empowering, storytelling tool for oral communities. The development of my research methodology was focused on maintaining rigour, ethics, and determining the strategy to best 'distill'[17] the collective memory about the internal conflict from the village of Huamanquiquia—both in terms of research and in terms of community.

My methodology was developed through three distinct stages: preliminary field investigation, to better understand the context in the Andes; study of qualitative methodology and theory; and a review of participatory visual methods. This chapter provides a narrative on the creation of my methodological framework and the process of fieldwork.

This chapter highlights the understanding gained from my first month in Peru during the 2012 EPAF / UNBC Field School that helped shape my research design. Further, Nolin's scholarship on, and experience with qualitative research in post-conflict

[17] I use the term distill to denote the process of collective memory extraction from the multitude of collective memories within a community.

Latin America was key to guiding an ethical and rigorous framework for fieldwork in remote communities. Finally, my analysis of case studies on participatory photography defined the core of the visual method that I would modify for the particular context in Ayacucho.

Guiding Theory & Research Principles

My qualitative methodology is supported by three interrelated methodological genres: feminist, indigenous and participatory. Feminist methodology challenges academic orthodoxies through the acceptance of subjectivity, the balancing of power relations and the inclusion of other ways of knowing (Nast 2005; Madge et al. 1997). Feminist perspectives provide recognition of differing or opposing worldviews, which in turn, allows for greater equality and understanding, seemingly lost within the patriarchal structures of society. Indigenous methodologies seek to de-colonize research by utilizing an indigenous group's own ways of knowing, interpreting and disseminating research (Bradshaw and Stratford 2010). This validation and recognition of different knowledges is empowering—the essence of participatory methodologies—where participation, inclusion and community knowledge is the foundation for social change (Kindon 2010). Each of these methodologies seeks to push the pertinence of the research to the forefront in addressing the key question, posed by social geographer Rachel Pain (2003, 651) "to whom is the research relevant?" Pivotal to this question is the relationship between the researcher and the researched, in the acknowledgment of power relations, subjectivity and reflexivity. Together these methodological genres are congruous to each other; they could

be placed under Mertens (2010) transformative paradigm[18] where research focuses on engaging participants to raise social justice and further human rights.

My strategy within my research design shares Nolin Hanlon and Shankar's (2000, 265) obligation to "combine good scholarship with activism as a way to write against repression, violence and terror." Good scholarship is defined by high quality and rigourous work that needs to be: valid, credible, reliable, transferrable, dependable and confirmable (Bailey, White, and Pain 1999; Anfara Jr, Brown, and Mangione 2002; J. Baxter and Eyles 2004; Bradshaw and Stratford 2010; Tracy 2010). Qualitative research is rich in the examination of the human experience, full of variability and unpredictability. This richness makes positivist measures of quality and rigour very challenging and perhaps misplaced.

For qualitative research, establishing rigour equates to establishing the trustworthiness of work (Bradshaw and Stratford 2010). There must be enough detail so that readers can assess the credibility and validity required for trustworthiness (P. Baxter and Jack 2008). I looked for an outlined structure of best practices to guide my research quality and rigour. While Guba and Lincoln (1985) consider universal criteria problematic, I believe it is a worthwhile starting point. Tracy (2010, 840) outlines eight hallmarks of quality that I have utilized as a checklist:

1) *worthy topic*—is my research interesting, timely, significant and relevant?;
2) *rich rigour*—is there appropriate and sufficient theory, data, context and methods?;
3) *sincerity*—am I self-reflexive, open and transparent on values, bias, methods and challenges?;
4) *credibility*—were interpretations checked by members, concrete in detail, and multivocal?;

[18] Mertens (2007, 212) defines the transformative paradigm as a "framework for addressing inequality and injustice in society using culturally competent, mixed method strategies."

5) *resonance*—do the generalizations and findings resonate with audiences?;
6) *significant contribution*—does the work build on past knowledge?;
7) *ethical*—does the research consider ethics?;
8) *meaningful coherence*—does the study achieve what it purports to be about and make connections?

A checklist simplifies the scope of a research project, but it does not address all of the context-based questions that arise. In addition, I turned to qualitative methods texts (Iain Hay 2010; Kirby and McKenna 1989) and the guidance of my supervisor, to design a research plan that suited the complexity of post-conflict Peru.

Methodological Context—Country, Community & Conscience

Prior to international fieldwork, preliminary field visitation is not often afforded to students. Graduate research at the Master's level in remote international communities is an expensive endeavour. Fortunately, I obtained the funding support for preliminary fieldwork through the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) Research Project Award program. UNBC and the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (EPAF) have a formal research partnership agreement; and in 2012, under this agreement, I first travelled to Peru with EPAF and the UNBC field school delegation and began this immersive process known as academic research.

Researchers devote not only time but also a portion of themselves and their lives to their topics. This academic immersion happens when the emotional, temporal and spatial boundaries between home and the field become blurred. The advantage of distance, literal and figurative is in the ability to discern issues with fresh eyes, what Katz calls displacement (1994).[19] This displacement is what Till describes as the movement

[19] Katz denotes the idea displacement as something that challenges the researcher through the "uprooting, loosening, disturbing and dislodging" (Katz 1994, 72).

between places as creating “complex spaces of dislocation” (2001, 46)**.** This sense of research-based dislocation first occurred for me, during my opportunity to enter the 'field', prior to fully understanding the theoretical frameworks of study.[20] With fresh eyes, my preliminary fieldwork informed my research direction more than anything else. Even though I am well travelled, there is always a degree of exoticism for me, when exposed to a new place.

On my preliminary trip I was able to gain firsthand, contextual insight to the post-conflict situation, both at the community and national level. I was also able to establish a relationship with the EPAF team and develop a sense of familiarity with some of the communities of Ayacucho that had been affected by political violence. Consultation with EPAF members allowed me to gain much understanding on the context of history and place, and through Quechua translation, an understanding of the people and culture of Ayacucho. I heard recollections of violence and trauma from the victims of the internal conflict in Huamanquiquia, Sascamarca, and Hualla. Ayacucho is dotted with villages and hamlets that have been traumatized by violence, murder, and forced disappearances. I could have set my research focus on any number of these communities. In Huamanquiquia, I was first exposed to the emotional plight from survivors, where my empathic pathways at a neurological level were engaged through the storytelling, the *testimonios* and the faces of the people in Ayacucho. Those first impressions were cast

[20] Hyndman notes that "dislocation allows the field to be framed" towards understanding the world as Heidegger's "world-as-exhibition" (Hyndman 2001, 264). This framing walks a delicate line between Said's idea of Orientalism, and the representation politics of one culture portraying another, and is mitigated through engagement and shared cultural capital (Mitchell 1989). The idea of framing the field in a narrative for dissemination is exemplified by Mitchell's description of "[t]he problem for the photographer or writer visiting Middle East was not only to make an accurate picture of the East, but to set up the East as a picture" (1989, 229).

deep into my mind—I only wanted to know more and give back to the community that opened my eyes. I wanted to give as much back to the community as possible,[21] as "fieldwork reciprocity is vital to an engaged qualitative research project" (Nolin 2006, 26).

Pragmatically, I chose the village of Huamanquiquia because it had experienced two distinct violent events, one perpetrated by the Shining Path and the other by the Peruvian military. In addition, it is more isolated in terms of roads, infrastructure and communication and, therefore, I presumed it might be less influenced from nationalist perspectives of memory. Huamanquiquia is beautifully set within dramatic geography and populated with gracious people. My first exposure to the mythical 'Incan' Andes was juxtaposed with emotion, memory and humanity, that sparked my sense of wonder for the landscape and the people—creating that sense of 'dislocation'—Katz's (1994) fundamental precondition to the curiosity that draws questions not normally asked.

After the 2012 field school, I began the immersion in theory and methodology related to my thesis—all developed with the questions formed from my sense of 'dislocation.' In turn, I have been mentally living within the field since I first stepped on the ground there. Nast (2005) offers that the field includes everywhere research is connected, from the academy to settings where research is funded—as Hyndman noted, "[r]earchers are always in the field," (2001, 265). In turn, this reflects the general inability to dissociate who we are as researchers from the people, places and contexts we study (Madge et al. 1997; Katz 1994). Still I am always an outsider, looking inwards—in a constant state of in-betweenness (Katz 1994)—mediating the exoticization of the different with the visceral, empathic compassion for another.

[21] Further discussion in the section titled Research, Responsibility and Reciprocity.

Crang (2003, 497) quotes Al Hindi in that, “people wish to learn from and about others because the latter are different from the former, but the fact of difference itself may distance them from one another, making understanding difficult.” It is true I will never have a full understanding of what it is to live in Ayacucho, let alone what it is like to live there with the memory of violence. During my two stays in Huamanquiquia, listening to the testimonies of the women and men who live there, it was impossible not to feel sadness and sorrow—emotions are contagious.[22] It only took a moment of listening to evoke my empathy and share a connection of the human experience with the people there. After the first visit, I wanted to share their stories, and thereby evoke the same emotions in the readers of my writing, as I had when I was in the field. I can leverage my role as an outsider to educate and enlighten other outsiders to the plight of the oppressed. This is a power-laden position, and so all the more important to use a methodology that equalized that power, as much as possible, to the story holders.

Dowling (2010, 32) notes, “[i]t [power] can enter your research through stories, or interpretations, you create from the information you gather.” There is significant power with authorship in what you choose to tell, how you present it, and what you choose to leave out. This point extends to photography, video or any other form of expression from which you obtain 'information' from someone else in the creative development process. Foucault's ([1977] 1995) notion of ‘the gaze’ changes the use of the camera to a tool of surveillance as an apparatus of power. Power and knowledge have a didactic relationship (Foucault 1980b). Writing, as knowledge gathering, leverages 'the pen' in hand, implying

[22] The information transferred from one person's face, to another is a key component in the creation of empathy. For more on the social and neurological basis of the emotional contagion, see Iacoboni (2009) and de Waal (2008).

power to some; the presence of a camera as surveillance implies power to more. As a filmmaker, a photographer, and a researcher, the technology I use to gather and remember information, also positions me in a disproportionately high power position. However, there are ways of balancing power in the field. Kim England's (1994) notion that the knowledge of those researched is greater than the researcher is one that I have taken to heart. I see participants not as subordinates but as equals with greater knowledge in the issues I am interested in understanding. This respect heightens my sense of research responsibility, and strengthens my accountability to make research relevant to them, and highlights the need for relationships, reciprocity, and reflexivity.

The role of the researcher in the research is often understated, yet he or she directs the research design and findings. In literature, any single sentence will only obtain its full meaning, when *the reader* understands the intention and meaning within it. To understand the intention, is to understand the author. In essence, "what happens within the observer must be made known … if the nature of what has been observed is to be understood" (Behar 1997, 6). Moreover, the 'personal' affects research in that our subjectivities guide the questions we ask, the interpretations we make, and the dissemination of our results (Madge et al. 1997). Therefore, reflexivity and subjectivity in research provides illumination on the research process, which in turn, strengthens rigour.

My field of inquiry is more than the village of Huamanquiquia, more than the department of Ayacucho and more than Peru itself. The field has numerous scales, numerous contexts—and most notably, it is being framed and constructed by me, the researcher. Staeheli and Lawson (1994, 98) make the point, "… [in the] focus on place, there is a danger of ignoring non-local forces that are not articulated by respondents

themselves." The manifestation of years of conflict, government policy, the media, and external power forces all have an influence on what and how participants will be willing to talk about and express themselves. The field also extends into the subject matter of study, collective memory, landscape, and identity.

Collective memory is not history; it is socially constructed and mediated on a variety of scales (Kansteiner 2002). Individual memory constitutes the fabric of the social or collective memory. Memory is represented physically on the landscape through place and place making, another socially constructed concept (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). Collective memory, therefore, may best be understood in terms of the universality of the visual and the spatial through participatory photography.

Visual Methodologies & Photovoice

The value of visual research methods goes beyond the shear saturation of imagery that modern technology has enabled. Visual representation is at the very foundation of our humanity, being one of the earliest developed senses among our primate ancestors (Kirk and Kay 2004), and at the heart of the earliest forms of expressing permanence: from Neanderthal use of dyes, the Lascaux cave paintings, and Venus figurines to early indigenous pictographs, carvings and art. These were important symbols, signifying story and memory, often marked on the landscape—connecting the story to space, creating place. Today, the use of the visual, whether illustration, painting or producing a photo, circumvents written text, being a language in itself.

As previously mentioned, my qualitative methodology is informed by critical and feminist evaluations of positivism, drawing from feminist and participatory literature. Feminist perspectives challenge academic orthodoxies through the acceptance of

subjectivity, balancing of power relations and the inclusion of other ways of knowing (Madge et al. 1997); where participation, inclusion, and community knowledge is the foundation for social change (Kindon 2010). Within the realm of critical theory, *testimonio* is seated firmly as challenging the "apartheid of knowledge in academia" (Huber 2009, 639). More frequently, it is being used as a methodology in and of itself (Huber 2009; Delgado Bernal, Burciaga, and Flores Carmona 2012).

Riaño-Alcalá and Baines write that “memory is not always spoken, and silence is not necessarily forgetting” (2011, 424). Photographs allow for a different form of listening, *testimonio vis-à-vis* photography. Nolin Hanlon and Shankar (2000, 19) stress that while collective remembering is at the heart of *testimonio,* they cannot reduce individual stories to a single discourse, but “when taken together, the *testimonios* attest to the general aspects of terror and political violence.” Photovoice (Wang and Burris 1997) allows for a *testimonio* to be witnessed in the construction and interpretation of the visual image, where knowledge is not only valued, but also empowered in the activity of photographing. The postcolonial-postmodern paradigm shift since the 1960s that developed the critical and feminist perspectives, have also shaped the visual methodologies around photography (see Gubrium and Harper 2013).

Since before the turn of the century, anthropologists have been using photography to document, often 'salvage,' the image of cultures on the brink of vanishing. Bateson and Mead's work on *Balinese Character*: *A Photographic Analysis* (1942) is widely cited as a seminal use of photography as a qualitative study method. Their systematic and unobtrusive analysis of social practices treated photography as primary data (Guindi 2004). Building on this work, anthropologist John Collier (1957) developed the method

of photo elicitation interviewing.[23] Photographs are used to trigger and stimulate discussion, noting that photographs worked to overcome communication difficulties of exclusively verbal interviews and sharpen memory (J. Collier 1986). Photo elicitation has been frequently used in anthropology, education, health, psychology and sociology—often for the creation of verbalized data for thematic analysis (Harper 2002).

In the 1960s, critical literacy scholar Paulo Freire used photographs as discussion prompts with peasants who could not read, in Peru and Brazil (Singhal et al. 2007). Huamanquiquia is primarily an oral society, and only a small minority of the Quechua speakers can communicate in Spanish (Ricardo Alvarado, pers. comm). Using the photograph as a focal point side steps the hurdles of illiteracy, or lack of familiarity with a dominant language (Fultz 2010). With the photograph as the subject of discussion, participants will have interview fears calmed and be more at ease.

Using the Visual for Memory

Benefits of using photo elicitation for the study of collective memory come from the action of participating in the photography. As memory is tied to place, asking participants to photograph their *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1989) creates a multi-local discussion. Participants are free to connect people, places, and things to memory. The act of participation empowers, concretizing a participant's voice into a document, as the photograph. Participants can reclaim and reformulate outsiders' representations of their communities and cultures with their own perspectives and goals (Fultz 2010). Furthermore, through the use of metaphor, photography allows "empathic communication

[23] Based on the Vicos Project in the Peruvian Andes, a largely unpublished photography-based ethnographic study (M. Collier 2003).

of knowledge and experience that cannot be expressed using words alone" (Pink 2004, 10).

This idea of communicating one's knowledge is at the heart of Freire's ([1970] 1996) pedagogy, which calls for emancipatory practice that values oppressed knowledge, critical reflection and dialogue. These concepts of empowerment and critical consciousness were highly influential among numerous of the participatory photography methods in the literature, such as reflexive photography (Schulze 2007), auto-driving (Clark 1999) and photo novella (Wang and Burris 1994). Photovoice was developed using theoretical underpinnings from Freire, feminist theory and documentary photography (Wang and Burris 1997).

Photovoice has been used with vulnerable and marginalized populations. It puts equal emphasis on the value in ways of knowing and the value in ways of interpreting (Wang and Burris 1997). The sharing of knowledge, and thus power, creates a strong sense of ownership, building both community and individual identity (Umurungi et al. 2008; Cornwall, Capibaribe, and Gonçalves 2010; Wang and Burris 1994). Extensively developed through community-based public health research, photovoice had three particular goals: "(1) to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, (2) to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important issues through large and small group discussion of photographs, and (3) to reach policy makers" (Wang and Burris 1997, 370). It is a method that focuses on community dialogue and iteration, modified to suit specific circumstances (Castleden, Garvin, and Huu-ay-aht First Nation 2008; Carlson, Engebretson, and Chamberlain 2006).

Modifying the Method

My research, while inspired by the methodological principles in feminist and Freirian theory, falls outside of the photovoice model in terms of needs assessment, community reflexivity, and the ability to reach policy makers (Wang and Burris 1997). The method I applied faced other limitations from the graduate student research scope, including the amount of time available and funding. While I had the month of August 2013 to conduct my research in Peru, the actual community fieldwork had to be designed to fit into a short, two-week window, supported by the long-term relationship with EPAF. The context of the post-conflict social environment, remoteness, and language barriers made large-scale community engagement unrealistic. Photovoice methods would need to be modified.

Participatory visual methods are highly varied depending on discipline (Chalfen 2011). Clark-Ibánez (2004) discussed her participatory photography method without name specificity. Harrison (2002) notes participatory approaches to using cameras is sometimes referred to as photovoice. I have heard the term photovoice used as a proprietary eponym to signify the method of participatory photography. With this notion, I modified the method, still termed photovoice, to suit the context of my research.

The use of digital cameras was highly desired for the project. While the cost of a low-end digital camera would be about $100 more than a disposable film camera, I wanted participants to feel at ease with using the camera and be able to check their photographs. I also wanted digital for the ease of display for interviews. Again, thankfully, the UNBC Research Project Award was able to make digital cameras a reality. I took some time in Lima to select the Olympus VH-210, a point-and-shoot camera that was easy to use, affordable and still robust. EPAF staff felt that the incentive

of receiving a digital camera was a valuable honorarium for a participant's time investment in the project.

I was fortunate to have two research assistants from EPAF, each with different skill sets: Ricardo Alvarado was my Spanish translator and is a historian with extensive knowledge of the conflict, and Feliciano Carbajal Salredo was my Quechua translator and had experience in working in the area (Figure 4.1). They each signed Research Assistant Confidentiality Agreements.[24] In order to distill the essence of the collective memory from the community, a diverse collection of participants would be required. EPAF had been building relationships in communities throughout Ayacucho since 2010. I would not be welcomed into any community, anywhere, without first establishing trust. The team's hard work fostering relationships allowed for me, by association, a certain degree of trust and access within the communities. A significant amount of time is required to build relationships between the community and the researcher (Fondahl et al. 2009). Fortunately, my research was undertaken with the full support of EPAF, and I relied on the informed knowledge and strong relationship that EPAF had with the community.

Participant Recruitment

I was anxious about participant recruitment in the first few days. I wanted to give enough time for participants to become comfortable with the project and take photographs. Everyday of recruiting participants was one less day for photography and interviews. EPAF discouraged a general call to community because of the sensitive nature of conflict memories; door-to-door visits became a required strategy.

[24] See Appendices for all related Research Ethics Board paperwork.

Figure 4.1: Participant selection interview, Feliciano (left) and Ricardo (centre) (Photo by author)

We leveraged EPAFs long-term relationship to recruit participants, focusing first on recruiting the participants who I had met the previous year. This strategy was marginally successful, but in the end opportunistic sampling techniques (Bradshaw and Stratford 2010) were utilized as we randomly met individuals in the community. After conversation about the internal conflict, Feliciano and Ricardo would qualify participants based upon their perceptions of engagement. Nolin (2006, 21) states that "the focus on quality of each representation is more beneficial than a forced systematic approach to selection."

We had ten participants by the end of our second day: five women and five men. By the following day three of the men were no longer available. Gender inhibition has

been noted as a hurdle in participatory photography projects (Williams and Lykes 2003). By happenstance we were able to obtain the participation of two younger women, which added youth to the sample, but created a gender bias. Approximately half of the participants were 'direct' victims, who had experienced or witnessed violence (see Table 4.1 below).

Considering the majority of reported deaths were men, this gender participation bias probably better represented the surviving victim base. The bias also points to the gendered nature of social memory (Haaken 2000) and understanding that gender roles create differing social landscapes for men and women (Platt 1996). Huamanquiquia's subsistence economy keeps villagers busy in the fields and when not tending to crops, they are tending to animals. In August, the crops are in, the corn is drying, but it is the season of adobe repair and house construction. Organizing an orientation workshop time suitable for everyone was a challenge.

	Name/Alias	Sex	Age	Victim Status	Associated Events
1	Agripino	M	40	Direct	1984
2	Epifania	F	38	Direct	1992
3	Teodora	F	44	Direct	1983, 1992
4	Maurica	F	23	Indirect	1992
5	Eliza	F	26	Indirect	1992
6	Marta	F	36	Indirect	1992
7	Urbano	M	46	Direct	1984, 1992
8	Pepito	M	45	Direct	1984, 1992
9	Anonalisa	F	25	Indirect	1984, 1992
10	Anonalena	F	18	Indirect	1982

Table 4.1: Demographic Profile of Participants

With the assistance of my two research assistants, the orientation and training workshop took place during the evening in the municipal building (see Figure 4.2). Following UNBC's Research Ethics Board standards, participants had the choice to

withdraw anytime, remain anonymous, and in this specific project had complete control of their photographic work. Participants were told of their rights at three stages during the initial recruitment, during the orientation workshop, and before the formal interview. The workshop was essential to re-iterate the project procedure, the technical components of camera operation, and the ethical rights of participants.

I gave a short photo presentation about my life, so they knew who I was and to create a rapport. This also allowed me to demonstrate the process of narrating to pictures. I stated why I took each photograph and why it was an important memory to me. I showed a handful of photographs: my parents house, my favourite beach on Vancouver Island and photos of my family. I told participants that they would then spend the next five days capturing imagery to "illustrate your memory of the internal conflict."

Figure 4.2: Participant orientation, Huamanquiquia municipal building
(Photo by author)

At the recommendation of EPAF, we had participants sign their name on a sheet of paper, denoting their acceptance of the camera and their participation in the project. I showed them the camera and then gave a brief point-and-shoot demonstration. Each participant was then offered a colour choice of either white or orange. There was a significant change in the demeanor of participants once the cameras were presented to them. The first practice shots with the cameras evoked sheer delight. At this stage, the level of curiosity and willingness to learn within the group had dissolved my concerns over the methodological hurdles identified in the literature: social convention bias (Guillemin and Drew 2010), audience and representation bias (Fultz 2010; Guillemin and Drew 2010; Pink 2003), and technological inhibition (Williams and Lykes 2003).

We followed Guillemin and Drew's (2010, 180) solution to social convention bias, where participants wanted to photograph only the positive aspects of their lives, by giving explicit permission to participants to capture the "good, the bad and the ugly" of their lives. We informed participants that, first and foremost, these photographs are theirs; I am only using them as a medium of study. We discussed some of the ethical issues around invasion of privacy and asking permission to take photographs of people (see Wang and Redwood-Jones 2001; Ponic and Jategaonkar 2012). Contrary to some photovoice projects (Wang and Redwood-Jones 2001) I did not introduce any creative feedback on how to compose or best take photographs during the technical training. I believe that imposing Western photography esthetics on the project is contradictory to indigenous and feminist methodological ideals.

Audience or representation bias is created when the participant takes a photograph with an audience in mind. In order to keep photographs as 'subjectively objective' as

possible, we made it clear that participants own the photographs they take and they control who sees them. With cameras in hand, the curiosity of the participant group increased with their growing confidence and familiarity with the technology. We answered numerous questions from participants:

- *How can I take photos of myself?*
- *Can I photograph myself crying or praying?*
- *Can we take photos of groups of people?*
- *How many photos can the camera take?*
- *Can I ask someone to take photos of me?*
- *How can we delete the photos?*
- *How long is the duration of the battery?*
- *How do we change the battery?*
- *What is the meaning of 'W' and 'T'?*
- *What is the function of the red button?*
- *How can we learn to take photographs?*
- *Could you be the godfather of my boy?*

Following the group meeting we met with a couple of the participants, at their request, to check quality of photographs and camera function (see Figure 4.3). Generally, participants became technically adept in a very short time.

Figure 4.3: Participant taking practice photo.
Photo by author.

Photo Elicitation of Memory

Photovoice commonly uses a group discussion to extract meanings and themes from the analysis of the photographs (Castleden, Garvin, and Huu-ay-aht First Nation 2008; Cornwall, Capibaribe, and Gonçalves 2010; Wang and Redwood-Jones 2001; Wang and Burris 1997). I had planned my initial interviews to be conducted one-on-one to avoid the discomfort and inhibitions that a group setting might create with sensitive and emotional subject matter. Most of the photo-elicitation interviews were conducted in the evenings. The location was chosen to suit the comfort of the participants, either in the participant's home, or one of the community centre rooms.

The rights of participants were re-explained in Quechua prior to any formal questions. The majority of participants did not want their images, names, or any information shared with community members. I had hoped on conducting a secondary group meeting to share photographs and engage in discussion; however, this meeting was not possible. The consensus from participants was that they did not want the community to be overly aware of the project, or shared amongst themselves. However, they were comfortable with sharing their images on the Internet, reflecting intra-community tension. I assumed the oral focus and lack of literacy throughout the community would make the written confidentially agreements and consent forms problematic. However, participants signed consent forms, and most expressed increased comfort with the project after signing 'an official' document.

I loaded images from the memory cards to my iPad using Apple's Camera Connection Kit. I then used the application *Photo Manager Pro* to put the photographs in participant folders. I presented the photographs sequentially, as they were photographed, asking participants to tell me about the photograph. The questions were translated

through to Spanish and then to Quechua, and answers in reverse. I veered away from the formulated list of questions, choosing rather to speak more conversationally to participants. I made this decision, based on my perceived need to make participants feel as comfortable as possible. I focused on the question "tell me about this photograph" and allowed the participant to explain.

Discussion was elicited photograph by photograph. Some photographs were duplicates as participants took multiple shots of the same subject to adjust framing or composition. I chose to skip these duplicates, and even some duplicates of similar subject matter. For example, one participant had many photographs of canals—the construction projects she had worked on—of which she was very proud. Through these images she told a story of healing, through empowerment and strengthening her self-worth, as a participant that helped to build the community. I would not ask for any more detail if the same or similar answer was conveyed. Indeed, in some cases the volume of imagery,[25] proved to be a challenge against time and participant-translator exhaustion.

Throughout each post-photography interview, I was able to make some preliminary connections and took notes on potential emerging themes. Fortunately, because the interviews took place over a casual, week-long time period, I was able to see, quite clearly, that 'distilling' collective memory through photography in Huamanquiquia would be challenging. So many of the stories were not so much about the memory of violence, but the process of healing and the individual experience of survival. In order to include a wider perspective to this unforeseen result, I discussed the possibility of organizing a youth focus group with my EPAF support team.

[25] The number of photographs taken ranged from 21 to over 295 with an average of 124 per participant.

I had hoped that the youth would have heard the stories of the conflict and be able to provide that distillation of collective memory I was looking for. We met very casually, near the central cedar tree of the square, as the sun had fallen below the Andean peaks. Anonymously and with candour, six young men and women spoke about the stories of violence they had heard from their families and friends. I had not planned a focus group because of the sensitivities surrounding the conflict. The youth group as a whole, were more open, but also presented a degree of equivocation discussing memories. The brief but informative meeting had gathered a form of consensus around the collective memory of Huamanquiquia. The findings brought forward in the modified photovoice method were interesting, coherent and resonant in their own right. However, having the support of EPAF, and the ability to utilize an ad-hoc focus group, in light of preliminary analysis, further triangulated my findings.

Research, Responsibility & Reciprocity

The idea of responsibility and reciprocity in qualitative research was made poignant, not only by Dr. Catherine Nolin, but also by Dr. Ross Hoffman who was also a part of the 2012 UNBC Field School Delegation. In addition to the digital cameras, I wanted to provide participants with a document, a print of their photographs. At the conclusion of the photo elicitation interview, I went through all the photographs again and asked participants which shots they would like to receive as prints. I allocated time in the schedule and money in the budget, to ensure that all participants would receive prints. This required three days to travel to and from Huamanga and have the prints made.

When we returned to Huamanquiquia, we spent another day walking around the village and returning the photographs to participants (see Figure 4.4). I also took the

opportunity, to whole-heartedly thank them, and ask a couple of follow up questions regarding their feelings on the project. Traditionally, it is encouraged to return findings to the community.

Figure 4.4: Returning prints to EPIFANIA
(Photo by author)

The majority of the participants did not want other community members to know of their participation; therefore, their stories were for an audience beyond the community. I will, however, be sharing my findings with EPAF. Still, I feel indebted to the community as a whole. They welcomed me, often as *Señor Gringo*, to community events over my two-week stay, and provided me with both laughs and tears.

Challenges & Limitations

Challenges and limitations in research spark creativity and better understanding through process. I was fortunate in that my research was partially funded and I was

connected to the EPAF organization. Without those two key components I am not sure this project would have been possible. The greatest limitation of research may be time and money. Though I was fortunate to have partial funding, more funding may have allowed for more time. The amount of time for fieldwork is also qualified by the scope of Master's research. I recall a repeated comment to my research ideas: you are not doing a PhD.

For my project the greatest challenges and limitations were in the language barrier. My fluency in Spanish remains at a beginner level. Even if I spoke Spanish, I would still need a Quechua translator. Research that crosses multiple languages creates challenges for meaning on multiple levels. Word meaning and semantics may not cross the language barrier. Translation can become a problem with issues of paraphrasing, translator bias and proficiency (Kirkpatrick and van Teijlingen 2009). Some of the interviews I conducted were translated twice from English to Spanish to Quechua and back again. Translations were presented to me in the third person with some paraphrasing. I knew that many cultural nuances were, proverbially, 'falling to the floor' as the communication traveled through two other individuals. However, I took some solace in the fact that the emotion in the voices and faces was universal, and through the visual storytelling enabled with photovoice, participant's stories were only stronger.

Still, I agonized over a list of methodological issues prior, during and after my fieldwork. I had wanted to build a beneficial long-term relationship with the community as a whole, but the time required for this task was unfeasible. In addition, there were challenges in bringing the community together with latent internal divisions and the challenge of subsistence living—community members had other priorities. Therefore,

participants typically had a genuine (really wanting to explore memory and their trauma) or a vested (camera incentive) interest. I worried about participant selection and the ability to obtain a heterogeneous sample of the community—positivist thinking, enculturated from my first exposure to science could not escape me.

I was concerned about funding, in particular so that I could provide enough incentive to participants and the community as a whole. I had been exposed to subsistence living and poverty many times during my travels around the world, but I was naturally more connected and concerned with this community. I thought about the depth that the mixture of spatial and visual data would create, and that without digital cameras and GPS location data, I would not have the thesis I wanted.

I was also troubled by the ethical considerations of photography. There is immense complexity with gathering data around events where the individuals were victims and perpetrators at the same time. I know that research never bares complete revelation or truth—but only "partial truths" (Clifford 1986, 1)—and those, while limited, in the end, challenge future researchers to ask more questions, not normally asked.

Chapter 5 – Findings & Analysis

> *I don't need to remember as much any more, because taking photos to record my memory allows me to forget.*
>
> *—EPIFANIA*

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the participant narratives elicited through the participatory photography-interview process. My analysis examined all the interview discussions and accompanying photographs as a whole to uncover themes of collective memory. The six significant narrative themes that emerged from my analysis—ordered from most to least expected—are: (1) Violence; (2) Loss; (3) Fear; (4) Survival; (5) Resilience; and finally, (6) Empowerment. Only a sample of representative narratives and photographs will be included in this chapter due to space constraints. Participant photographs are shown as is and have not been cropped or augmented, unless stated.

I learned about Huamanquiquia from the EPAF team during my preliminary fieldwork in Huamanquiquia, in addition to the field school interviews we conducted, as well as casual conversations with community members. From those interactions, I had formed my own 'memories' of the internal armed conflict. I anticipated that the photographs in this research project would closely reflect those *testimonios* previously heard. I assumed that the photographs would become the visual representation of traumatic experiences. I expected that a collective memory would emerge from the collection of stories; the recollections of community members would overlap each other to form a Venn diagram of commonality. But, as I present in this chapter it became clear, this was not the case.

Storylines and memories are very individualized. Most participants expressed their voices from a very personal perspective, differing from the idea of *testimonio.* Individual memories did not coalesce solely around locations of violence and places of mass victimization. The findings confirmed the expectation of places of violence, in part, but more interestingly revealed themes that I did not anticipate. Narratives accompanying the photographs most often reflected themes of survival and chronic fear, outside of the punctuated events of violence. The participant memories were so diverse that instead of a 'definitive' collective memory of violence, a more powerful collective identity of survivors emerged.

As discussed in Chapter 4, prior to departing Huamanquiquia, I met with a small group of youth to discuss what they knew about the time of violence from their family members. Those conversations revealed that the idea of collective memory is fraught with complication. Many within the youth group indicated they had occasionally talked among themselves and with their friends about the internal armed conflict. Sometimes they would speak candidly with their family members on the violence, but more often refrained, so as not to cause emotional pain. Everyone was well aware of the major massacres in 1984 and 1992 and generally agreed on the comment from an anonymous youth in the group that, "… there were a lot of dead people and the blood ran like a river." But for most youth, many of the events that occurred during the time of violence were not known.

The power of participatory photography is in the liberty given to the participant to tell the story that he or she *wants* to tell. The days that participants had to photograph memories allowed for reflection and consideration to the subject matter. TEODORA

stated that the camera made it possible for her to think of the sad situations of her life, but also the happy ones. Photography is an activity shaped by cultural convention and social context (Harrison 2002) and I understood that participants neither had cameras nor photographic experience. Some participants did have old snapshots. But as far as I could discern, the photographic approaches used in this project are novel. Participant engagement appears to be related to the amount of exposure to emotional trauma. The youngest and least affected participant snapped 21 images, while those who had direct experience with violence took many more, including the most engaged participant that snapped 295 images. The photographs covered a wide geographic area, including the neighbouring communities around Huamanquiquia. The imposed project time constraint did not seem to limit the breadth of photograph locations.

In my analysis I grouped the ten participants' photographs and the accompanying visual narratives into six themes that reflected the community's sense of place associated with the internal armed conflict. As mentioned, the themes are:

- Violence—narratives around traumatic events;
- Loss—narratives the spoke of lost loved ones;
- Fear—narratives alluding to a sense of anticipation, uncertainty and fear;
- Resilience—narratives that spoke to the continuance and development of the community;
- Survival—narratives reflected an endurance through tumultuous times; and
- Empowerment—narratives that demonstrated the power of participatory photography, as participants reflected on the process representing their memories.

This chapter will explore these themes as a landscape of collective memory and identity, inherently framed in the participants' photographs. Photographs presented are by the noted participant, unless stated otherwise. Interviews were conducted with Quechua-

Spanish translator Feliciano Carbajal Salredo and Spanish-English translator Ricardo Alvarado. Most of the translated speech was conveyed to me using third-person pronouns. The introduction of third person pronouns can change meaning and semantics (Skjelsbæk 2016). Moreover, third person pronouns change the voice of the participants, so they no longer speak for themselves. Recall from Chapter 4, feminist (Nast 2005; Madge et al. 1997), indigenous (Bradshaw and Stratford 2010, and participatory (Kindon 2010) methodologies seek to empower and amplify silenced voices. I augmented quotes from participants into the first-person voice in order to maintain the meaning and impact that participants intended for them. Verb tense changes were also made where it was appropriate.

With respect to the dissemination of findings I found the participatory photography method created an interesting conundrum. The data from the participant interviews are not easily separated from the photographic context that elicited the response, without a loss of meaning. The analysis below is presented with only a handful of images for illustrative purposes. Still, an analysis is not complete without presenting the whole. Therefore, these findings will be made more fulsome in the series of images and captions that follow each thematic section.

A Collective Memory of Violence

The first theme that emerged from the interviews spoke to the participants' memories of places of violence. Narratives of violence surround us through our immersion into popular culture: daily news, TV and movies and video games. It was my exposure and desensitization to violence in the media that, in part, formed my assumption on what the collective memory of Huamanquiquia would hold.

I thought I had an understanding of the landscape of violence after my first visit to Huamanquiquia. I had knowledge of the three major violent events in the town. Incorrectly, I assumed the collective memory would be focused around the sites of violence. Nora's idea of *lieu de mémoire* (1989) has clear examples like the concentration camp of Auschwitz, the 9/11 memorial in New York, or even the ubiquitous crosses along BC highways that mark accident locations. The relationship between the sensationalism of violence within the media and how we think about violence is complex. In an extreme, the landscape of violence is commercialized in what Robb (Robb 2009) calls dark tourism—the rise in voyeuristic touring to memorial sites of human atrocity. The memorial is for reflection and increased importance is placed upon them in cases like 9/11. The absence of bodies for mourning creates a profound psychological crisis (Tumarkin 2005). Consider, of the 15,000 of Peruvians disappeared in the conflict, only 1% have been found and identified (Burt 2013). In rural Peru, loved ones of the disappeared await in psychological torment that memorials will not fix.

Every participant in the project photographed the kindergarten building adjacent to the town square. This location of the 1992 massacre was the only site of violence common to everyone. It is clear that this event was particularly traumatic to the community. Of Figure 5.1, ANONALISA said, "The day of the last massacre was in July, and from July to October there were rains, and all the blood went through the square. The blood with the rain covered the plants, and the plants died." MARTA stated, "There was a lot of blood. A channel passes along the edge of the auditorium and the channel was overflowing with blood. It is my most permanent memory."

Figure 5.1: Site of 1992 massacre on the central square, by ANONALISA.
"This is the kindergarten but it was very different [then]… "

Participants discussed details of the 1992 massacre that went beyond the confines of the event itself. TEODORA illustrated the moment in 1992 when the Senderistas entered the town. She said, "I was washing clothes with other women in the street. The Senderistas approached dressed as military. They took us from here. They took me back to my house and asked me for my knives and other sharp implements and then led me to square."

ANONALISA lived next door to the site of the massacre. She took photographs of multiple angles of the re-constructed kindergarten building to tell the story of that day. She said, "The day of the massacre my mother went to her *chacra* to peel maize. My mother left me near here, at the door of the neighbour. When she returned from the

chacra she couldn't enter the square because it was blocked. I stayed all night alone." Using Figure 5.2, ANONALISA told me that she witnessed some women, who had their hair cut by the Shining Path, escape from the auditorium. "I was alone, but I was in my house and saw one woman breaking the glass, and saw them escaping. Some were pregnant. Some were very young," ANONALISA said. She has never talked to any of those women, but recognizes a few of them in the village today. All of the women are widows because their husbands were executed on that day, and they all have very long hair now.

Figure 5.2: Back of kindergarten where women escaped, by ANONALISA

EPIFANIA said, "Every time I go to the square I remember *that* place. My father died there and I can't forget. I want to go to another place to forget, but I can't."

EPIFANIA also spoke about the guilt she has because she participated in the re-construction work in the square. She felt as though she was covering up the memory of her father.

All participants spoke about the 1992 massacre but had varying degrees of detail. The impact of this event is clear for witnesses, survivors and others victimized by the repercussive social trauma. Other locations of violence were photographed as well. The old building next to the church resonated in the memory of the particpants. This old house stands out in the square, appearing as the oldest and most rundown. The building is owned by the community council and is used primarily for storage of cement, paint and construction materials.

Of Figure 5.3, MAURICA said, “Inside this old house, the Shining Path began to kill people in Huamanquiquia. My father said to me that people were hung here.” Local authorities were murdered here in 1983. Aroni Sulca (2006) documented that district governor Hilario Huamán, district mayor Irineo Barrantes, and community representative Benigno Chayco were shot dead on February 20, 1983. The variability of collective memory is highlighted here in the differences between the modes of murder.

Figure 5.3: The old house next to the church, by MAURICA

Many buildings that had been torched by the Shining Path were photographed. Some remained in ruin, while others had been reconstructed. PEPITO said that his house was burned, one of three in a row. The mayor-in-charge at the time, Narsico Campos was also killed here. ANONALISA also mentioned Campos as lieutenant governor. ANONALISA was 10 years old when she spoke to the widow of Campos. ANONALISA mentioned that Campos as a lieutenant governor was captured in his *chacra*, taken to town and killed at the house.

Details of Campos' murder on December 13, 1989 in Aroni Sulca's (2006) work also varied from the two other narratives. Aroni Sulca wrote that Campos was killed in his home and his body was taken to the square with his eyes removed. According to

Aroni Sulca, the villagers were summoned to the square and then the Shining Path burned the municipal council building and the houses of the community authorities. A few participants took photographs of the former municipal council building, referencing the fire but the events in the square regarding Narciso Campos were not conveyed in interviews.

MARTA took us back to the 1984 massacre across the Pampas River with this photograph (Figure 5.4), saying, “This is the Uchu Bridge on the way to Sarhua. The military took some people and killed them all, including my cousin [in 1984.] All of them are disappeared now.”

Figure 5.4: The Uchu bridge on the way to Sarhua, by MARTA

URBANO alludes to the same 1984 event with his photographs. URBANO said, "This is beyond Ucho, up the Pampas River. So many people were killed here and their remains were burned by the military." This was the same location that his half-brother CORNELIO brought us to during the 2012 EPAF Field School. CORNELIO was marched to this location by the Peruvian military where he escaped with his life. The military killed and then burned twelve other individuals there. URBANO said that "some guys" told him about the massacre, but did elaborate or not mention his half-brother. For me, the complexity of the conflict, memory, and retelling of narratives is quite evident.

Participants did retell stories of violence that had been passed on from family members. But within the telling of these narratives there was frequently a sense of reservation and hesitation. ANONALISA took a photo to show the location of a story her mother had told about an aunt. Her aunt was raped and does not talk about the internal armed conflict. When ANONALISA's aunt was 14 years old the Shining Path kidnapped her. She was one of a group of boys and girls who were to be recruited as new members to the cause. ANONALISA said, "There was a Senderista that had compassion for little girls and he pushed them … to the side of the mountain they fell but didn't get hurt. That Senderista later sent a knife with blood to the Shining Path leader … saying the two girls were dead so they could escape." The remaining boys and girls of the group were disappeared.

In contrast, TEODORA has open conversations about her experiences with her young daughter. She wants her to know about the truth of that time. TEODORA framed her mother's house in a photograph (see Figure 5.5). This is the place where the military beat her and her mother. TEODORA said, "It was at night. I ducked and a shot went by

me and killed my dog. The solider beat me and my mother and tried to rape us but we defended ourselves by holding each other and not allowing the soldiers to separate us."

Figure 5.5: My Mother's house, by TEODORA

A Collective Memory of Loss

The second theme to emerge in my analysis focused on a collective memory connected to loss. Where violence defaces the landscape with death, the consequent traumatic memory of place is shrouded with sadness and longing for lost loved ones. Participants took photographs of places and objects that held the memory of disappeared or murdered family members. The Huamanquiquia graveyard was a common site featured (see Figure 5.6). In most reflections, grave memorials were tied to the trauma of the bloody 1992 massacre when many of the bodies were not buried properly.

ANONALISA was a young child in 1992, the year of the massacre. But she remembered vividly the parade of the dead carried down this street, wrapped in only ponchos and mantas. She also took a photograph of the place that the funeral procession stopped in for a moment to pray and sing for the dead. ANONALISA spoke about two people who were buried in the same grave. Community members came from Tinca to help dig graves for the dead. She said that there was so much fear, anticipating the return of the *Senderistas* that they ran out of time to finish the final grave, before dark.

PEPITO remarked that there were no tombs or headstones in the section of the cemetery where most of the people who were killed in the massacre were buried. Slowly, there have been efforts to construct the headstones.

TEODORA showed me her photo of the cemetery door. She said that "probably about 30 people" were buried here after the 1992 massacre. She said, "I cannot forget this place. My brother is buried here. He was tied up in his poncho. He wasn't put in a coffin. The [dead] people were lined in columns like chocolates. They had their heads cut off and their tongues and eyes cut out. That's the way my brother died."

Figure 5.6: The cemetery of Huamanquiquia, by ANONALISA

EPIFANIA took the photo (Figure 5.7) below because she remembered times after her father's death when she would become upset and go to the gate of the cemetery to shout, "Father, husband, where are you?!" After her husband and father died, EPIFANIA went through a period of time where she drank alcohol heavily. EPIFANIA said, "I remember when I was sober, I wanted to die, but I couldn't. I wanted to eat rocks, but I couldn't. Only drinking could make it so I could forget."

Figure 5.7: Cemetery gate, by EPIFANIA

For EPIFANIA, the memories from this tragic time period are etched across the valley of Huamanquiquia. EPIFANIA told me after a night of drinking she "went to the *puko*[26] with two *parungas*[27] for water. I filled them and then I cried about my father." Before the tragedy, the family had slept in the hills under a large rock. This rock holds both the memory of her survival and also her father.

For some community members, memory is literally built into the landscape by the hands of the dead. Participants showed photographs of homes, fields, and irrigation canals constructed by passed fathers, uncles and grandfathers. EPIFANIA and MAURICA both showed me stonewalls, called *pircas*, constructed by each of their

[26] *Puko* – water hole – field translation.

[27] *Parunga* – container – field translation.

fathers. EPIFANIA said, “These stones are the memory of my father.” Of Figure 5.8, MAURICA said that some of her relatives wanted to tear down the old wall, but her sister “tells us not to touch the memory of her father.”

Figure 5.8: My Father's *pirca*, by MAURICA

A Collective Memory of Fear

The third theme in my analysis related to fear and the chronic anticipation of something bad to come. After the first violence in Huamanquiquia in the early 1980s, the community remained under an enduring threat for nearly two decades, where both the military and the Shining Path were feared. This ubiquitous state of fear made a mark on the community’s memory. Many of the photographs had accompanying narratives all about fear.

Krujit and Koonings (1999, 15) see the fear in post-conflict Latin America as "the institutional, cultural and psychological repercussion of violence." Fear is generated by a threat to your safety or security—the long-term anxiety from this state of distress proves to etch memories on the landscape. The Shining Path would appear from mountain trails without notice. Sometimes they came in disguise, only to be identified after their intentions were made known. Military helicopters could be heard approaching in the distance, creating a noisy foreboding before eventually appearing over the surrounding peaks. The intent of the military was to arrest the Shining Path members, but they arrived with the threat of rape and murder. Together the Shining Path and the armed forces created a dichotomy of fear.

ANONALISA showed me a photo of the peak of Kumun Nawi (Figure 5.9). She said, "I took this photo for one reason. On top of the mountain, helicopters tried to land many times. The helicopters used to come and go, an indicator that the Shining Path was coming."

TEODORA also said, "When the terrorist violence began, she saw helicopters and planes flying over the mountains. We entered into panic and everything was a mess since then." She, like many others, was apprehensive of the helicopters and the impending military action, noting frankly, "in those times, the military killed the people of Huamanquiquia."

Figure 5.9: Kumun Nawi, by ANONALISA

URBANO took a photo of his *chacra* as he reflected on times in 1984. He said, "I used to see the helicopters when I was in my *chacra*. I was scared about the helicopters because the military came to kill people." MARTA told me that the helicopters would destroy the maize fields in which they landed.

The Shining Path made their presence known through visual propaganda, some of which is still visible today. ELIZA photographed the mountain Kumun Nawi. She said, "The Shining Path put a flag at the top of the mountain. I saw a red flag at the top when I was 10. It was a very big red flag. People cried." Similarly, MAURCIA said, "My mother told me that the 'bad guys' used to come from here. At the top [of Hualla Pampa] they drew a hammer, a big hammer."

Still, the Shining Path were a much more elusive threat, showing up quietly and on foot. Photographs document numerous pathways and mountain trails that were frequented by the Shining Path. Community members were kept vigilant by watching these areas so they could hide or prepare. In Figure 5.10, TEODORA takes the Shining Path's point-of-view. TEODORA said she took this photo because, "terrorists used to enter the town by this side. This would be their point of view as they watched the community."

Figure 5.10: The Shining Path's point-of-view, by TEODORA

Of Figure 5.11, ANONALISA said, "These are the stairs from the top called La Capi. The Shining Path used to come by this avenue, and when they arrived to the intersection they dispersed all throughout the town." Both of these photographs speak to

an awareness of *where* the Shining Path would be watching, waiting or approaching. Preparation is a key strategy for reducing fear (Adler, Rosen, and Silverstein 1998) and knowing the Shining Path scenarios would help to quell anxiety.

Figure 5.11: The stairs of La Capi, by ANONALISA

A Collective Memory of Resilience

The fourth theme that arose in my analysis of the photographs and interviews was resilience, mixed with nostalgia for the past and hope for the future. Resilience is the capacity to recover from difficulties. From my privileged 'Global North' perspective, I see Peruvians in small Andean communities, living their lives after enduring 20 years of violence and fear, all the while still tending crops. But, I cannot assume anyone has truly bounced back or recovered from the difficulty of that time. I do not know how each

individual is still affected psychologically, socially, economically, or even physically. Still, with this in mind, many of the photographic narratives were presented with the desire to move beyond many of the complications that trauma brings.

Participants described their connections to memories of the past and memories of the land. Tales of nostalgia wove together sad sentimentality and hopeful contemplation for the future. The *chacra*—the fields, crops and gardens—figured significantly in the photos. Participants spokes of the flora as continuous, germinating on generations of *campesinos* from the past. Images also depicted infrastructural development to present just how much Huamanquiquia has changed since the implementation of communal reparations.

EPAF field workers told me of the social troubles that occurred after the violence in terms of alcoholism, poverty and melancholy. I understood that trauma left a huge social and economic whole in the community, so the photos representing an improved community prompted me to ask the question to participants: was Huamanquiquia better before the conflict or afterwards? The vast majority acknowledged that Huamanquiquia was better now, citing the development that village has experienced. However, those who indicated Huamanquiquia was better before mentioned the social problems and intra-community conflict brought about by inequitable distribution of reparations.

Participants also expressed an attachment to Andean spirituality and the ancestors. In deep reflection, MARTA took this photo of the square (Figure 5.12). She said, " I took this photo of the *casuarina* tree because it is as old as the town, and contemplates all things that have happened in Huamanquiquia." In a similar fashion, ANONALISA took an identical shot and said, "I used to ask myself why didn't the tree die because it had

been covered in so much blood in the massacre?"

Figure 5.12: The *casuarina* tree in the central square, by MARTA

As one of the many vestiges of pre-Incan culture, Andean traditional beliefs continue through to modern times (Ricardo Alvarado, pers. comm). Animism is an active concept within current Andean-Quechua spiritually, focused on the spirits within mountains, *chacras* and the home (Sillar 2009). Participants took photos of places that were connected to mystical Andean creatures including mermaids and a golden snake. Referring to a photo of his father's *chacra*, AGREPINO said, "They are surrounded by the place of mermaid. I saw the mermaids. They used to sing and play the harp, and they danced." EPIFANIA photographed the mountains of Suni Marca and Yakiyakta. She said, "When my father was still alive, and I was a little girl, we climbed the mountains

and found many bones of the gentiles.[28] I thought there was a massacre there. But my father told me that in fact they were the bones of the gentiles." EPIFANIA took pictures of the caves that she had hid inside during the violence. She believed these sites were also the sites of her ancestors. MARTA also mentioned a eucalyptus tree that her grandparents' planted, noting, "When I say grandparents, I am talking about all ancestors of the community." For this Andean community, it was clear that the landscape had deep roots in time. As Ingold (1993, 153) would say, "an environment that is itself pregnant with the past."

Participants captured many images that were directly connected to feelings of nostalgia, not only for their lost loved ones, but also for their childhood. For many, the armed conflict began when they were young adults or children, truncating happier times.

In relation to Figure 5.13, TEODORA said, "This is a slope near Hualla, but on the way to Huamanquiquia. [I took this photo] because some parts of my life … some sad and some happy occurred here. This was a place, when I was a child, where I used to go with my brother, mother and father, where she used eat *tuna*[29]. It was such a happy moment."

[28] *Gentiles* refers to ancestors, or pre-Incan peoples.

[29] *Tuna* is also known as the cactus fruit or prickly pear, cultivated by pre-Incan cultures.

Figure 5.13: A place of happy moments, by TEODORA

EPIFANIA said of Figure 5.14, "That's a *nispero* tree. Before the deaths of my husband and father I used to climb to the top of the *nispero*[30]. That n*ispero* is so important to me because it is a part of all of my life. When I was a little girl, I would take *nispero* to cook *mazamorra*[31] for myself and my brothers."

[30] *Nispero* is also known as the loquat in English.

[31] *Mazamorra* is a sweet, pudding like dish made of maize.

Figure 5.14: The *nispero* tree, by EPIFANIA

Of Figure 5.15, AGREPINO said, "This is a place where I used to play when my father was alive … when I was 7 [years old]. My father had some peach trees in this area, and I used to go to this place to take care of the peach trees and we used to dry the peaches. After the violence, there is only one tree left."

The importance of crops and the *chacra* as the main source of food is obvious. The *chacra* also figures prominently in festivals and seasonal rituals. However, I did not expect just how much it would figure in the images produced by the participants. The *chacra* was more than a form of subsistence, it was also a hiding location. EPIFANIA reflected on the spirit of the *chacra* as a lifelong companion. She said, "That *chacra* is a

witness of my life. It gives me all that I need to live. For this reason, it's very important for me."

Figure 5.15: Place where I used to play, by AGREPINO

PEPITO showed me his *chacra* (Figure 5.16). He said, "This is our little *chacra*. [It's significant] because we live off the products of the *chacra*." PEPITO was eager to talk about efforts to diversify the local economy through planting of pine trees, and the market for the mushrooms that are grown at the base of those pines.

Figure 5.16: Our *chacra,* by PEPITO

PEPITO's optimism for development and improvement in the community was shared among all of the participants. TEODORA showed me a photo of her daughter (see Figure 5.17). She said, "[this is] my daughter carrying firewood. When I took this photo, I thought that now I am very happy with my little girl. After my brother died I used to feel alone. But now with my daughter, we are two." TEODORA also told me that increasingly for her the roads and paths that the Senderistas once took are now becoming happy places again.

Figure 5.17: My daughter carrying firewood, by TEODRA

The view of Huamanquiquia from the mountain tops is changing. Participants showed how most of the homes in the village now have tin roofs over traditional straw called *ichu.* EPIFANIA showed a photograph of an old, ruined adobe structure to illustrate the style of the old communal houses (see Figure 5.18). She said, "A lot of women worked in the reconstruction of the site, making adobes and improving things." The work created from the collective reparations programs helped support many in the community, and more importantly provided a sense of purpose and normalization of life. Both EPIFANIA and TEODORA took many pictures of the projects they had worked on such as irrigation canals and community buildings. The municipal building, the kindergarten and the civic centre were all built after the conflict with reparation funds.

Figure 5.18: Ruined adobe structure, by EPIFANIA

The municipal government used money from the collective reparations program to improve the infrastructure of the community and in doing so erased some of the visual reminder of the violence in Huamanquiquia. The re-construction has also re-created meaning. TEODORA showed me a photograph of the square where the Shining Path would call the community together (see Figure 5.19). She said, "They used to call the population, have meetings, and have massacres … But now, it is a happy place, because the design is so different. This change made it a happy place for me."

Figure 5.19: The place where meetings were called, by TEODORA

PEPITO took many photographs of civic improvements, including the 'PAR'[32] building that was constructed in 2006 (Figure 5.20). PEPITO said, "The PAR thought we had no building for meetings and they built this, as a community building. There was a hall in the building that was the museum of memory with photos." The PAR building was once officially called *Yuyarina Wasi* (House of Remembrance) (Aroni Sulca 2006, 168). Numerous community members, including EPIFANIA, supplied articles of clothing and photographs of lost loved ones for display inside. The majority of community members I spoke with did not know what happened to *Yuyarina Wasi.* The only insight came from

[32] PAR refers to the *Programa de Apoyo al Repoblamiento* (Repopulation Support Program), a state agency created to implement the collective reparations as recommended by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Alvarado 2013).

PEPITO when he said, “The authorities neglected the maintenance of the building and some day it all just disappeared.” When I looked inside the *Yuyarina Wasi,* the walls and floors were bare, except for dirt and scattered debris. It is peculiar that the memorial contents of *Yuyarina Wasi* disappeared without anyone knowing, or even investigating why it occurred.

Figure 5.20: The former Yuyarina Wasi (PAR Building), by PEPITO

When I asked the group of youth about the *Yuyarina Wasi* only one young man had heard about it. He said, “My mother went to the *Yuyarina Wasi*. There were a lot of reproductions of photographs, and all the ladies that used to go there used to go in mourning dresses, and used to cry in the museum. And when the children saw that, the children cried too.”

This museum was an emblematic site of heritage, a *lieu de mémoire (Nora 1989, 7)* on the community scale. A similar community memory museum was developed by another non-governmental organization in Puttaca, Ayacucho, some 40 km away. When I visited that museum, as part of the 2012 Field School Delegation, the museum was looked after but under utilized. Locals rarely enter the museum. In fact, the Puttaca museum is opened primarily for human rights organizations, students, and others who are pursuing "trauma tourism" (Degregori et al. 2015, 161). The social and commemorative value of the Puttaca museum is interpreted diversely among community members (Degregori et al. 2015). The fate of the *Yuyarina Wasi* in Huamanquiquia may be a result of the tension that a particular discourse on traumatic memory is presented by outside institutions Speculation on whether intra-communal versions of history created contestation for the PAR building, or whether the simple desire *to forget* permeated the community—is beyond the scope of this thesis. Clearly, collective memory is publically contested. Winter writes "where moral doubts persist about a war or public policy, commemorative sites are either hard to fix or places of contestation," (2010, 62).

I see the neglect of the *Yuyarina Wasi* as a form of cultural forgetting. Aleida Assmann notes cultural forgetting is necessary to make peace and move on to the future (2010). The photographs of a re-invigorated Huamanquiquia, represented by the resilient *chacra* and the shiny tin roofs, are memories refashioned. When I asked ANONALISA if Huamanquiquia was better before or after the conflict, she showed me a photograph (recall Figure 1.1) taken high from the hills above of the entire community. She stated matter-of-factly, "This is just Huamanquiquia." She paused. Her face changed slightly. She continued, "When I took this, I asked myself, why in the town where I was born?

And why in other districts? Why did we have so much suffering? I ask that question all the time." The positive changes and infrastructure advances in the community do nothing to answer the question of 'why?' After another moment, she said, "The town in comparison with other years is improving."

A Collective Memory of Survival

The fifth theme and perhaps most powerful theme to emerge from my analysis of photographs and interviews was that of survival. The storytellers of Huamanquiquia told survival stories more than any other type of tale. The places of hiding and ways of escape—from ravines and rock shelters to caves and *cubayas*[33]— were key settings to illustrate stories of survival. Greenway's (1998) exploration into the indigenous Quechua worldview found that landscape intertwined with the history of a person's life. Often participants would place themselves in the frame of their shots, promoting themselves to protagonists in their images to say 'I survived.'

In my early writing on Peru I used the term 'victim' almost exclusively. I was enculturated with the idea that memorials focus on the names of *victims*. The names, to never be forgotten, are the indelible reminder for a safer, better world. Still, I am also culturally immersed by story, as a metaphor for life, where the conflict, or obstacle is about survival, be it the *Wizard of Oz* or more to context, *Schlinder's List*. Language and storytelling is as old as humanity. Stories provide medium to pass on survival lessons from generation to generation, a key component in human adaptation (Sugiyama 2001). In the context of Peru's internal armed conflict, the ultimate obstacle to overcome was

[33] *Cubaya* refers to the blue-green agave plant. Traditionally, the fibres were known as *cubaya*, while the plant was called *pakpa* (Gade 2012).

death. Participants became tellers of the survival story of Peru's internal armed conflict, representing a collective identity of survivors.

Of Figure 5.21, TEODORA said, "In 1992, during the time of the last massacre the *Senderista's* caught me. They almost killed me. They cut of my hair. Some of the women escaped. This is the route I took to escape."

Figure 5.21: My route of escape from the Shining Path, by TEODORA

ELIZA was originally from the community of Tinca, two km south of Huamanquiquia. She showed me a wide shot of a field. She said, "When my mother was pregnant with me, my father was held by the Shining Path. That night, my mother escaped to this site with my grandmother, and I was born here." Even though both the Peruvian military and Shining Path threatened the community, the stories of hiding and

escape were almost always regarding the *Senderos*. PEPITO said, "When there were rumours that the Shining Path were coming, we would go to the hiding places. We preferred to use places that would be adequate to rest. But if we found that those sites were occupied, we would choose something else. We had a lot of places to hide. But we are always conscious that if the Senderistas found us, they would kill us."

ANONALISA showed me a photograph of her old house (Figure 5.22). She said, "Because it is so difficult to find the house, people didn't go there. In the times of violence, my mother didn't sleep there because she was so afraid. However, I used live in the house with my grandparents. The second floor had a little window, and we could see if anyone was coming or going. Because of this we had time to escape."

Figure 5.22: My old house, by ANONALISA

The Shining Path's clandestine approaches to the village made surveillance an essential survival strategy. The community remained vigilant, focused on the pathways and roads to surrounding villages. EPIFANIA told me they liked to sleep in places that had a view. Often they would keep dogs nearby to alert if someone was approaching.

The *cubaya* was used as camouflage. EPIFANIA bent the spines so they wouldn't hurt her. ANONALISA said of Figure 5.23, "[This is] a place I remember because when I was a little child my mother still carried me on her back. She took me here to sleep, between the *cabyuas,* with two or three blankets and a few sheep … to avoid the meeting with the Shining Path."

Figure 5.23: Where we slept between the *cabuyas,* by ANONALISA

As I discussed earlier, the *chacra* is an essential support of life in the Andean highlands. During the violence, the *chacra* was also an important lifesaver, as a hiding location. Of Figure 5.24, PEPITO said, "In the time of violence we planted all the pampa in maize. We could hide in the maize field. Sometimes, the Shining Path couldn't find us. One night, I slept all night in this *chacra* … I have to stay all night with my wife and kids."

Figure 5.24: The *chacra* where we would hide, by PEPITO

EPIFANIA slept with her father and her siblings in her *chacra* near the cemetery. MARTA stayed in her grandfather's *chacra* for as long as week. In the dry season, the dried cornhusks called *chellas* were also used for camouflage. PEPITO said of Figure 5.25, "We used to save these cornhusks for the cattle, but also for hiding to hide us from

the Shining Path. We used to sleep in these in the trees. In the dry season there are no *chacras* to hide us so we used these."

Figure 5.25: The corn husks for hiding, by PEPITO

Even clothing was considered to be part of the survival protocol. PEPITO said, "We tried to continue with our normal life but at this time we used ponchos of dark wool and pants of a fabric called *biayeta* that was very dark. The women had skirts of *biayeta* that was also very dark."

The terrain surrounding Huamanquiquia is steep, fraught with ravines and caves. While the vegetation can be quite sparse, the mountains still held hiding spots. PEPITO took a photograph of a place in the hills called Belen. Here a large cave held six people. MARTA also slept in a cave with her family (see Figure 5.26). She preferred the caves

that were high in the mountains because, she knew the route to make easy escape over the peaks. MARTA told me they were concerned that the sight of smoke from fires would give away their location to the Shining Path, so they did not cook in the same location often.

Figure 5.26: The ravine, by MARTA

MARTA also took a self-portrait in a ravine (see Figure 5.32). She said, "I took this in one of the scary ravines where used to sleep. We slept there all the time." Ravines were also frequent hiding places. Whenever 'the bad guys' came, MAURICA would hide in the ravine. She showed me a photo of steep slope with a deep, green ravine. She said, "There was also a waterfall in this one. My grandmother said in the waterfall was a mermaid, but I never saw a mermaid."

AGREPINO frequented the same location so often that he constructed a small wall and used leaves to create a small sleeping cabin. AGREPINO said, “When the Senderistas came, we used to sleep here. But we slept with fear. We used to sleep a lot here. As soon as we heard a rumour we would come here. We were so traumatized.”

EPIFANIA photographed numerous hiding places, but there was one in particular that held a significant emotional connection. This was the location of the enormous rock, on a hillside, below the road to Uchu. It was here that EPIFANIA, her father and husband took shelter. EPIFANIA said, “We paid a lot of attention to the sun. When the sun began to fall, we ate very quickly and went to this place to sleep and plan the activities of the next day.” After her father and husband were killed, EPIFANIA returned to this space to hide. In this Figure 5.27, EPIFANIA was reconstructing the time after the murders when she returned, placed her hand on the rock and cried.

Figure 5.27: The rock shelter (with hand inset), by EPIFANIA

Photographs of Empowerment

The sixth theme that emerged from my analysis related to the process and technique of story telling with images. When I returned to Huamanquiquia for this project in August 2013, I brought with me photographs I had taken the year before. As the late afternoon sun raked the main square, I handed out prints to people that felt like old friends, yet they only knew me as *Señor Gringo*. My photographs were mostly candid poses, framed by my Western ideals of composition and aesthetics. When I had snapped the shutter, I had the camera pressed to my face with what could be viewed as a power-laden Foucaudlian gaze (Foucault 1995) of the subaltern tourist, fraught with the guilt of my Global North position of privilege (Alexander et al. 2004, 7). The study of post-

modern and feminist theory during the previous year had freed me from ignorance. Instead of research without purpose, I wanted to leverage my empathic response to do more. So for me, the most important thesis question is: does participatory photography work *to unify* the collective memory and *empower* the community?

The first part of this question on the unification of the community cannot be answered effectively from the data I gathered. While there were many commonalities among the memory of participants, overall stories were too individualized and focused on personal narratives to be considered collective memory. I do not know if these narratives are shared amongst other community members. The concerns voiced by participants around community confidentiality without concern about confidentially for the rest of the world indicated the degree of mistrust and inhibition in Huamanquiquia. In response to this experience, I would now also ask, is any collective memory unified? With the exception of our own primary nationalist symbols that most identify as Canadian, like the beaver or the maple leaf, our Canadian collective memory is also intersecting and overlapped.

The second part of the participatory photography question is much more clear. A sense of empowerment appeared within many participants, perhaps best exemplified by EPIFANIA's introductory quote at the beginning of this chapter, "I don't need to remember as much any more, because taking photos to record my memory allows me to forget." The photography of participants also demonstrated notions of narrative structure through the re-construction or re-enactment of a scene and image sequencing. All participants told stories but performing stories within the photographic frame demonstrated an extra level of effort.

Many participants made efforts to re-construct scenes so they could better illustrate their versions of history. At the most basic level, this was a symbolic reconstruction. PEPITO showed me a photo of an adobe home with a collapsed roof. He told me that when people fled to Lima their abandoned homes fell into disrepair. He used this photo to illustrate the story of diaspora. Continuing with this narrative he also photographed two villagers together (Figure 5.28). One was dressed traditionally, while the other more modern, as he suggested "from Lima." PEPITO spoke of the cultural shift that occurred with migration, as well as the demographic change from the violence. Of Figure 5.29, PEPTIO said, "This is another symbolic photo. When the war ended children looked like this. [They were] abandoned and orphaned."

Figure 5.28: Traditional and the modern clothing, by PEPITO

Figure 5.29: Recreation of orphans, by PEPITO

MARTA took a photograph of her young nephews to tell the story of her experience (Figure 5.30). MARTA said, "We used to escape to our *chacra* on the other side of the river. When we crossed the river we could cook there. In this photo, I recreated the way we cooked in the years of the violence, near the *chacras*, but hidden."

Figure 5.30: Recreation of cooking during the conflict by MARTA.

EPIFANIA was the most engaged participant. She appeared to become empowered by the photographic process through performance, re-enactment and sequenced story telling. She took the photo (Figure 5.31) to recreate the house that her mother left to her when she died. EPIFANIA said, "When my mother died, when I was six, I was the elder sister and had two little brothers. I did my best to care for the children. When there was no sugar, I used candies. And when I cooked *mazamorra*, when I had no sugar, I used the base of a *cabuya,* which has sweet juice."

This photo of the children was not only one in which EPIFANIA inserted herself. She took many 'selfies' including the two in Figure 5.32. The self-portrait is a direct assertion of identity by placing yourself in your own photograph. Multiple participants

utilized the self-portrait, describing their selfie photographs as a way to convey internalized emotion and reflection such as “here I am sad” or “here I am remembering.”

Figure 5.31: The age I was during the violence by EPIFANIA.

MARTA also took selfies in places of survival like the ravines where she hid. Referring to Figure 5.32 (right), MARTA said, “That’s a self-portrait in the ravine. I’m looking up to see if anything was going to fall down on me. It was dangerous slope.”

Figure 5.32: Here I am sad; Here I am remembering, by EPIFANIA; & looking up at the slope, by MARTA
(Photos were cropped and composited by author)

Role-play and re-enactment is transformative as a healing process for survivors of war and violence (Lindfors 2009). EPIFANIA explained that the process of photographing her memories alleviated her from the burden of memory. The digital camera allowed her to create a permanent archive of memory. EPIFANIA said, "The photographs have freed me." Psychologist Judy Weiser (2004) pioneered phototherapy, a technique that has individuals interact with their own unique visual construction of reality by way of photography. The photograph is a mimetic device that aids memory and is able to create new meanings and memories (Naude 2008). EPIFANIA spoke about getting through the process of reliving the past. She said, "The next time I am feeling upset, I will take a photograph of that place."

Still this process was not for everyone. With regard to the participatory photography process ANONALISA said, “It was a work that ripped my soul. I tried to survive with this, but sometimes it feels so bad and sometimes I want to quit this town to forget these painful memories.”

EPIFANIA said of Figure 5.33, “That’s the recreation of the moment when I [learned] that my father was killed. I fell unconscious in that position.” This recreation of EPIFANIA’s body position characterizes what Kraft (2006) calls the phenomenology of the tormented, where two types of memory are represented: *narrative memory*, the memory of communication; and *core memory*, the memory of deep emotion and bodily sensation. EPIFANIA’s re-creation of the moment had become an analog for the bodily perception of memory.

Figure 5.33: Recreating how I fell, by EPIFANIA

EPIFANIA spoke frequently about the death of her father and her husband. She put together a sequence of photographs (Figure 5.34) when she searched the house for their identity cards, before quickly packing her things for the *chacra.*

Figure 5.34: Recreating the packing for the *chacra*, by EPIFANIA

EPIFANIA also created a series of images to illustrate an evening escape. EPIFANIA said," One night the military came house to house to rape women. When I heard about this, I climb the wall of my house to escape."

Conclusion

The participants of this collective memory project took me on a journey with them. Each of them presented a portion of their lives illustrated through their own images. These stories show that the collective memory of the internal armed conflict of Huamanquiquia is complicated, but contains unifying themes. The survivors of violence in Huamanquiquia acknowledge the terrible atrocities in the community, but also present

alternative narratives of resilience, nostalgia for the past, and a connection to the land, especially the *chacra.*

The places of violence hold painful memories for survivors. However, the memories of lost loved ones exist within the landscape, strongest near the paths where they once walked and the objects they once touched. Fear was the dominating, exhausting emotion for nearly twenty years. The anxiety from fear left an imprint on place, as survivors reflected on the anticipation of both the *Sendero Luminoso* and the Peruvian military. The land was a protector, providing routes of escape and places of hiding for the people of Huamanquiquia to seek refuge. Now there is a growing sense of renewal in Huamanquiquia. Some community members are choosing to 'forget' aspects of the past and to reimagine their community.

Chapter 6 – Discussion & Conclusion

> *I have learned how to take photos. My daughter always reminds me now to take photos.*
>
> *—TEODORA*

Introduction

My research has taken me on a journey both in the literal and figurative senses. Pedagogically, nothing compares to having your feet on the ground—in the form of experiential learning—which this experience has provided to me. There is also immense value in the interdisciplinary approach to scholarship. As professional photographers carry multiple lenses to adjust to the subject matter, so too scholars should utilize multiple perspectives to examine a topic. My curiosity has often taken me 'down the rabbit hole' of exploration, lost for hours in the literature of different disciplines, only to emerge with another piece of the interdisciplinary puzzle that is collective memory. Interdisciplinary research helps to answer complex questions and "achieve a unity of knowledge, whether on a limited or grand scale (Klein 1990, 11). This chapter will synthesize the findings and my research experience into a few concluding remarks. I will discuss the perspective of landscape, collective memory and collective identity; the forgetting of landscape and connection to the traumatic past; and the power of visual methods that this research touched upon.

Landscape, Collective Memory and Identity

The narratives collected from my Huamanquiquia participants were thematically unified. While the sample was small, the stories were rich. The uniformity in the themes of resilience and survival were the most fascinating for me. As an outsider, the

interpretation that the *chacra* was both inherent to the livelihood of the community for food, as well as for safety in the time of violence provides a deeper, more meaningful context to what is just a field. Consider that the landscape is a living and involved participant in the lives of Quechua-speaking people (Greenway 1998). These narratives, embedded in place, can help us to better understand the people and their experience. Further, the participant narratives were connected to *the past* with memory, *the now* with emotion and *the future* with hope. The idea of place, as emblems of time embodied in the landscape, reminds me of Kevin Lynch's (1972) book *What Time Is This Place?* Landscape's meaning is constructed from our past experiences and our future expectations, and therefore, "always involves time" (Tilley 2006, 27).

However, the embedded meaning of the landscape of Huamanquiquia has altered since *Sendero Luminoso* first walked off the path and into the village. My interviews with participants suggest that Huamanquiquia is transforming from a 'traumascape'—a place changed by violence and marked with memorials (Collins and Opie 2010; Tumarkin 2005)—to somewhat of a 'builtscape'—a place where those participating in re-development have purposely forgot to remember (Chang and Huang 2005).

The participant community members of Huamanquiquia showed me: a place that was changing; a place that was becoming better; a place where loved ones were both embodied in the land and in the spirit; a place that provided food and kept them safe; and a place that connected their hearts both in happiness and in sadness. Participants were showing me their *home.*

Memory is a narrative; a recollection of our making sense of the world. According to Roland Barthes (2004, 79) narrative is "simply there like life itself ... international,

transhistorical, transcultural." Participatory photography broke down the limitations associated with a single interview, allowing the presentation of life itself throughout the landscape of Huamanquiquia. I reflect again on the numerous photographs of escape routes and places of hiding. These photographs seemed to represent revealed secrets to survival, now safe to expose. In similar context, yet differing perspective, Michael Roark (1992, 45) wrote about the storm cellars in the tornado-laden southern United States as leaving an "imprint of fear of the landscape." I would argue that for the people I interviewed, the caves and ravines of Huamanquiquia left an imprint of survival on the landscape.

With the camera, participants took me to the places their narratives lived and survived; they presented a distribution of identity and memory on the landscape. Self-portraits taken in places that were escape routes or hiding locations, to me, were a blatant statement of saying 'here I am survivor.'

I hesitate to suggest that these narratives forged a collective identity of survivors. Izenberg (2016, 16) recognizes that Halbwachs' connection between memory and identity was cursory, with terms like "collective tradition" and "feeling of identity." Scholars recognize place-making is a process for constructing personal and social identity (Basso 1996). Collective memory is often linked to collective identity on the national scale (Anderson 2006). Bell (2003, 65) argues that creation of group identity with shared representations is more mythical than mnemonic in nature. I identified six themes in my analysis without verification of the participants themselves. I would presume that participants would identify themselves as survivors if questioned, but I cannot be certain. Kimberly Theidon (2012, 208) views Steven Stern's idea of 'emblematic' memory as

"collective memories that condense important cultural themes and take on a certain uniformity as they are retold within a social group." My discussions have revealed that there is not much re-telling of story among community members. Perhaps, sharing happens within groups of survivors, but in Huamanquiquia there is too much complexity in the post-conflict social relations to allow for a public declaration of the collective memory.

Forgetting Landscape

To me, collective memory of the internal armed conflict in Huamanquiquia is unspoken and rarely materialized. There are no monuments or memorials, only places where loved ones once lived and an empty building that was once a memory museum. The places of violence are painful reminders. Stories of death are attached to the old house, the kindergarten and the main square among others. While there were photographs of places of violence, the comparatively low number of photographs versus the photographs that shifted the narrative of violence may suggest something else is going on. Perhaps some participants have a desire to forget.

Tallentire (2001) views forgetting as a process to form new identities. Participants positioned themselves as survivors by choosing to photograph how they struggled through years of fear and hiding. However, there is much more complexity to the idea of identity and how it interplays in a post-conflict environment. I was impressed at the range of subject matter that related to feelings of change after the conflict. The participants provided thoughtful reflection in questioning about why the violence happened and how they seek to resolve their traumatic experience to move forward. Future research could examine relationships among identity, trauma and reconciliation.

The mystery of the decline of the *Yuyarina Wasi* indicates the contestation and complexity of establishing a community discourse on the memory of the conflict. Jeffery Alexander (2004, 23) argues that after trauma, "once the collective identity has been so reconstructed" there will be a calming and rooting of collective identity in "sacred places and structured in ritual routines." The cultural memory of the conflict in Huamanquiquia may be dependent on the intergenerational communication (Straub 2008). Still social scholars assert that the process to the "collective psychological health" through memory is thought to require "public acts of commemoration, cultural representation, and public political struggle" (Alexander et al. 2004, 7). To this end, EPAF has recently promoted an annual *Un Dia Como Hoy* (A Day Like Today – 'Memory Day') in Huamanquiquia. I was in the community on August 16th, 2013 for Memory Day when community members marched with a new memorial cross to the graveyard. Interestingly, the day was within the participatory photography period, but only one participant took photos of the event. Unfortunately, I did not ask participants about why they did not take photographs of the event. This question had not occurred to me prior, as our last interview was with the participant who captured Memory Day images. Olick (2010, 159) remarks that, "you cannot presume that every society has an obvious and unproblematic complexity in how collective memories are approached." The mark of trauma upon community makes this statement even more profound.

In his research on the rise of the Shining Path, historian Miguel la Serna (2012) found that informants provided a great deal of historical accuracy. La Serna (2012, 15) cites anthropologist Thomas Abercrombie's (1998) ethnographic work in contrast, where informants erased memory to "better shape the community's historical narrative," as a

form of structured forgetting. It is important to note that Abercrombie's research took place prior to the internal armed conflict and La Serna's research occurred after. There is no defined pattern one could apply to forgetting and remembering in relation to violence. Abercrombie (1998, 16) argues "colonialism produces not only a contention of societies and cultures but also a conflict of histories." Huamanquiquia may not have a conflict of histories, but community members did present a complexity in narrative. Anthropologist Olga González (2011) found that in the nearby community of Sarhua, the collective memory of the violence materialized in the traditional *tabla pintad* (painted board) art form. But, it too, was shaped by secrecy and the contestation of the hegemonic and hidden memories, becoming both remembering and forgetting at the same time (González 2011, 210).

The social circumstance that allows collective memory to manifest itself into physical objects or memory museums cannot be simplified into the simple forgetting versus remembering dichotomy. Steve Stern (2010, xxix) finds this dichotomy of memory too restrictive and views "contentious memory as a process of competing selective remembrances" shaped by individual social truths that lead people to tell stories in recognizable patterns.

The Power of Visual Methods

Participatory photography in Huamanquiquia allowed for the exploration of memory beyond the confines of the interview space. Participants took me to places, both in their minds and on the ground, through their photography. These place photographs make true that "every story is a travel story, a spatial practice" (de Certeau 1984, 16). Participatory photography is an excellent method for the study of landscape and how

sociality interplays with place. In the 1st century, Roman rhetorician Quintilian wrote, "when we return to place after considerable absence, we not merely recognise the place itself but remember things we did there" (den Boer 2010, 20). I extend fellow rhetorician Cicero's notion of *loci memoriare* (den Boer 2010, 19*)* beyond place to include objects, sounds, and scent. Together, I call these *memory strings*, the tangibles that tie our memories to the world around us.

As mentioned, some participants imparted deep critical reflections. I saw this as participants became highly reflexive of their experience with violence, especially when they questioned their emotional strength. I attribute their introspection, in part to the amount of time given for the photographic process. EPIFANIA often questioned her actions depicted in the photographs wondering how she managed to pull through such trying times.

Modifying the established protocols around *photovoic*e (Wang and Burris 1997; Castleden, Garvin, and Huu-ay-aht First Nation 2008) to fit the complexity of political violence and within the scope of graduate research was entirely realizable. While I was unable to extract the depth of collective memory to which I hoped, my research gained something more. Participatory photography captured the 'lived' experience, not only the 'now.' In Huamanquiquia, participatory photography was valuable for the re-telling of memory. The process allowed for both space and time to be given to participants. The time allowed for reflection and the portability of photography took the interview out and deeper into the world of the participant, both literally and metaphorically. In terms of the trauma experienced, photovoice ostensibly allows a way to convey truth, emotion and experience—beyond text and beyond verbalization. In this case, I do not see participatory

photography creating a community call to action, but working on the individual level, participants were emotionally engaged and demonstrated positivity from their experience.

Researchers often celebrate participatory photography as a catalyst for social action (Carlson, Engebretson, and Chamberlain 2006). For the participants in Huamanquiquia, I believe the catalyst action took place more through self-empowerment and healing than as a community initiative. The participants have shown resilience in character, seeking to move forward beyond the confines of the traumatic experiences of the past. Caruth (2016, 7) depicts trauma as an escape from death that creates an endless impact on life, confining one to a "narrative of belated experience." For some participants, taking photographs became a therapeutic process that redefined this belated experience. This method is referred to by many names such as phototherapy, photo-analysis and photo-counseling (Griebling et al. 2013). The psychosocial affects of the internal armed conflict in the rural Peruvian highlands are extensive—some studies have shown that diagnosed PTSD symptom rates to be as high as 25% (Snider et al. 2004, 397).

Truth commissions are established to create the conditions for reconciliation but reconciliation cannot happen without addressing emotional trauma at the individual level—to reconnect the individual to themselves, their identity and their culture (Riedel 2013). In Ayacucho, the social fabric was shredded by political violence, and some have expressed how, while not what it was before the conflict, the sense of community is slowly rebounding. These survivors of Peru's internal armed conflict, when empowered, can heal and reconcile.

The majority of community-based research using the *photovoice* and participatory photography methods have focused on community building, promoting health, and living

with disabilities—only two were related to accessing the affects of war (Hergenrather et al. 2009). There may be an opportunity to connect the healing power of phototherapy (Weiser 2004) on a community-level. Future research could examine how participatory photographic therapies might empower indigenous communities, including the survivors of residential schools in Canada.

Final Thoughts

During my final revisions, photographer Jonathan Moller released a book titled, *The Past is Present: Memories of Peru's Internal Armed Conflict*. Through his photography, Moller (2017) introduces the reader to the survivors of Peru's internal armed conflict and their plight for justice and truth. Moller's impressive work raises the awareness of the conflict and the human rights violations, but it also creates a collective memory in itself, through Moller's eyes. I mention this to bring forward a significant difference between our two projects: voice. The ten participants in my research project presented their own stories on their terms. We were shown their experiences, through their eyes.

I was delighted to see EPIFANIA on page 188 of Moller's book. She is pictured smiling with two other women as they work on a drainage project in the central square of Huamanquiquia. Recall, I first met EPIFANIA on my first trip to Huamanquiquia in 2012. Our field school delegation heard her *testimonio* of the trauma she experienced. I listened to EPIFANIA again in 2013, as she provided more contexts for her experience and took me on a journey to places that connect her to the internal armed conflict. EPIFANIA went through so much difficulty during the conflict. The trauma she experienced turned her life upside down. Through her expressions of photography and

reflections on the process, I no longer viewed her a victim, but I understood her as *a survivor*. In interviews, EPIFANIA spoke of her previous work on communal projects. For her the projects were more than a source of income—she was proud of her valuable contribution to the community. In 2012, EPIFANIA gave some of us students a few ears of corn in reciprocity. Every spring, I plant a few of the seeds from that corn in my garden that I call my *chacra.* I have yet to actually produce any corn, but the process allows me to reflect on EPIFANIA's story.

In 2013, on one of my last days in the village, I was invited to the *herranza*, the livestock branding and ear-piercing ritual. In a field a few hundred feet above the village, a large group of community members gathered with a herd of cattle. The cows would be branded, their ears tied with colorful bows and their necks adorned with fruit and bottles of Inca Cola. My face was doused in *lliqta* (a grey ash) and I was given *chichi de jora* (corn beer) to drink. I was still an outsider, but I felt accepted. I snapped my own photographs, capturing the smiles and laughter during the ceremony. I hope to return these photographs, even though some will now be taking their own.

Memory are the stories that we weave around ourselves to form the pattern within the fabric of our identity. The collective memory contains those overlapping and intertwined threads—when all considered—become the social tapestry of community. The quilt of collective memory from the internal armed conflict blankets Huamanquiquia in a patchwork form, showing tears of wear, with many cut out by purposeful forgetting. The overarching themes behind the stories of the people of Huamanquiquia who I interviewed for this project were not stories of trauma and victimization, but stories of survival and resilience.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Research Ethics Board Approval

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

MEMORANDUM

To: Kirk Walker
CC: Catherine Nolin

From: Michael Murphy, Chair
Research Ethics Board

Date: July 8, 2013

Re: **E2013.0619.076.00**
Collective memory in post-conflict Peru

Thank you for submitting revisions to the REB regarding the above-noted proposal to the Research Ethics Board. Your revisions have been approved, but the REB notes there are some typos in the revised sections.

We are pleased to issue approval for the above named study for a period of 12 months from the date of this letter. Continuation beyond that date will require further review and renewal of REB approval. Any changes or amendments to the protocol or consent form must be approved by the Research Ethics Board.

If you have any questions on the above or require further clarification please feel free to contact Rheanna Robinson at reb@unbc.ca in the Office of Research.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Dr. Michael Murphy
Chair, Research Ethics Board

Appendix B – Participant Information and Consent Form

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM
COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN POST-CONFLICT PERU

Researcher: Kirk Walker, Candidate for Masters of Arts in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program, University of Northern British Columbia.

Objective: The objective of Kirk Walker's Master's research is to explore variations of collective memory with the community of Huamanquiquia, Ayacucho. This research is conducted in participation and cooperation with Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team - - *Equipo Peruano de Antropología Forense (EPAF).*

My primary research question is:

- What is the collective memory of the internal armed conflict?

You have been invited to participate in this study because you are a community member in Huamanquiquia, Ayacucho. You will be asked to participate in a photography project. This is a chance for you to teach others about your life and illustrate your memory of the internal conflict through photography.

Procedure:

- Attend a photography training session to learn about taking photographs for this project.
- You will be given a digital camera and asked to take photographs of your community that reflects, illustrates or triggers the memory you have of the internal armed conflict.
- You will then be asked to discuss your images you captured with Kirk Walker and an EPAF member acting as translator.
- The interviews will be:
    - conversational in style will allow you to reflect on your photographs.
    - flexible and will allow you to expand on any topics that relates to the memory of the internal conflict that you feel it is important and relevant.
    - will depend on your availability of time and participation and will be conducted at a convenient time for you.
    - You will be asked permission to video record and audio record the conversation to ensure the interview is well documented and your responses will be accurately obtained
- You will be able to select photographs that you would like to share with the community or with others around the world.
    - Some photographs may be included in public exhibits, presentations, or publications.
    - You need only share and photograph what you consider appropriate and comfortable.
    - You have full ownership of the photos and have the right to decide which ones will be used for public display.

Confidentiality: It is your choice to remain identified or anonymous within the research project. If you choose to be anonymous, you will select your personal pseudonym and no identifying information will be recorded. If any identifying information is recorded it will be deleted immediately. Whether you choose to be anonymous or identified, your information will be held in confidence for the duration of the project, here in Huamanquiquia, at UNBC in Canada, and with EPAF.

You may request a digital copy of your interview conversations. All digital records, transcripts, names, and information will be kept confidential and locked while at the University of Northern British Columbia, then returned to EPAF to be included in Huamanquiquia's historical memory archive.

Risks and Responsibilities: It is your choice to participate within this research project.

You have the right to:

- remove yourself from the interview and research project;
- be listened to;
- remain anonymous;
- request a digital and/or hard copy of transcripts;
- stop the video and/or audio recorder at any point in the interview.

Discussing the sensitive topic of the trauma experience during the internal armed conflict could surface difficult memories and distressing emotions. There is a risk that you could be experience emotional trauma. EPAF can council or assist at any time if desired. However, speaking about the internal conflict and participating in this research project will make you more visible in the community. If you feel this exposure could cause you harm in some way, your decision not to participate will be entirely respected.

If you choose to withdraw from participating in the research project, Kirk Walker will withdraw all information that has been provided, as well as delete digital files and destroy notes. If you choose to participate and to be anonymous, Kirk Walker will take all steps to ensure your identity is not revealed for your safety.

Compensation: You will be able to keep the digital camera at the end of project. Food and beverages will be provided during discussion meetings. You will also receive prints of your photographs.

Findings will be delivered to the community by a member of EPAF and read aloud to you, upon completion of the thesis. This research project seeks to benefit you and the community in amplifying your voice, and contributing to the historical memory of the community.

Confidential Contact Information:
Kirk Walker, MA Interdisciplinary Studies Candidate
Canadian mobile: *+1.778.349.5475* Peruvian mobile: TBD
Email: walker@unbc.ca

You are also free to contact Kirk Walker's research supervisor, Dr. Catherine Nolin from UNBC Geography, by email her at nolin@unbc.ca or by telephone at +1.250.960.5875.

If you have any question, comments, or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant or the conduct of the study, please feel free to contact the University of Northern British Columbia's Office of Research by email at reb@unbc.ca or by telephone at +1.250.960.6735.

If there is any material in this information and consent form that is unclear, please feel free to seek clarification with Kirk Walker at this time or when you are comfortable. He is willing to further explain any questions or comments that you may have after being read this information and consent form so that you fully understand the objective, procedure, confidentiality, risks, and responsibilities of the research and your participation.

Name of Interviewee: _____

Place of Interview:_____ Date:_____

I agree to participate in the research conducted by Kirk Walker for the purpose of his Master's research at the University of Northern British Columbia on collective memory in Peru.
I understand the purpose and procedure of the research. I have been informed of and understand my rights as a research participant. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I can remove myself from the research project at any point. I have the right to choose to be anonymous in the records from the research, as well as the presentation and subsequent publications from our conversations.

__**Yes**, I do want my name to be used in the research records, presentation, and subsequent publication.

__**No**, **I do not** want my name to be used in the research records, presentation, and subsequent publications.

I agree to allow Kirk Walker to **video** record our conversation: YES __ NO __
I agree to allow Kirk Walker to **audio** record our conversation: YES __ NO__

If yes, I agree to allow Kirk Walker to use direct quotes from our recorded conversation in the research presentation and subsequent publications: YES __ NO __

If I have any further questions, comments, or concerns I have Kirk Walker's contact information as well as the University of Northern British Columbia's Office of Research and Kirk Walker's Supervisor contact information.

Kirk Walker +1.778.349.5475 walker@unbc.ca
Supervisor, Dr. Catherine Nolin +1.250.960.5875 nolin@unbc.ca
UNBC Office of Research +1.250.960.6735 reb@unbc.ca

Consent: As the project researcher, I have reviewed this statement of consent with the interview participant.

Researcher's Signature:_____Date: _____

PHOTOVOICE SUPPLEMENT

Name of Participant: _____

Location: Huamanquiquia, Ayacucho, Peru Date: _____

I agree to participate in a participatory photography project on collective memory. The project is facilitated in cooperation with EPAF, and conducted by Kirk Walker, for the purpose of his Master's research at the University of Northern British Columbia

.

__**Yes**, I do want my name to be used in relationship to the photographs I take.
__ **No**, **I do not** want my name to be used: I would like my photographs to remain anonymous.

I agree to allow my photographs to be used in presentations and public displays about historical and collective memory research:

- In the community: YES □ NO □
- In Mr. Walker's thesis publication: YES □ NO □
- At universities in Canada: YES □ NO □
- At universities around the world: YES □ NO □
- On the Internet, such as EPAF's website: YES □ NO □

If I have any further questions, comments, or concerns I have Kirk Walker's contact information as well as the University of Northern British Columbia's Office of Research and Kirk Walker's Supervisor contact information.

Kirk Walker +1.778.349.5475 walker@unbc.ca
Supervisor, Dr. Catherine Nolin +1.250.960.5875 nolin@unbc.ca
UNBC Office of Research +1.250.960.6735 reb@unbc.ca

Consent: As the project researcher, I have reviewed this Photovoice supplement with the participant.

Researcher's Signature:_____Date: _____

Appendix C – Research Assistant Confidentiality Agreement

This study, *Collective Memory in post-conflict Peru*, is being undertaken by Kirk Walker (under the supervision of Dr. Catherine Nolin) in the community of Huamanquiquia, Peru.

The study has two objectives:

1. To examine the collective memory in the community of Huamanquiquia.
2. To empower the community members through a participatory photography project.

Data from this study will be used to better understand the historical memory from a community perspective.

I, _____, agree to:

1. Keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g. disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the Principal Investigator(s);
2. Keep all research information in any form or format secure while it is in my possession;
3. Return all research information in any form or format to the Principal Investigator(s) when I have completed the research tasks;
4. After consulting with the Principal Investigator(s), erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the Principal Investigator(s) (e.g. information sorted on computer hard drive).

Research Assistant:

_____	_____	_____
(print name)	(signature)	(date)

Principal Investigator:

Kirk Walker		
(print name)	(signature)	(date)

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact:

Kirk Walker, IDIS MA Program
3333 University Way, Prince George, BC, Canada V2N 4Z9
Mobile: +1.778.349.5475
Email: walkerk@unbc.ca

This study has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Northern British Columbia. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Office of Research and Graduate Programs at +1.250. 960.6735.

Appendix D – Interview Structure and Questions

a) Introductions and comfort setting—how was the experience for you?

b) Obtain basic demographic information: age, gender, martial status.

c) Obtain some more descriptive information of participant's experience, if not already known:

- Question 1. Were you affected by the conflict?
- Question 2. Who is responsible for what had happened to you?

d) Lay photographs out on table or scroll through them on a laptop.

- Question 3. Are there any photographs here that are your favorites or perhaps the most special to you, or the most important?
  - Can you tell me why?
- Question 4. Which photographs bring back memories of the conflict for you?
  - Can you tell me why?
  - What would this image mean to others?

e) Referring to specific photographs and relate to patterning, or perhaps those that stand out.

- Question 5. Why did you take this photograph?
- Question 6. Where is this located?
- Question 6. What does this mean to you?
- Question 7. What would this mean to others in the community?
- Question 6. What would you tell the world about this image?

f) Explore potential silences of photos not taken.

- Question 8. Is there any place, thing or place that you wanted to photograph, but did or could not for whatever reason?

g) Wrap up interview with consent questions regarding images.

- Would you like to show your work to others in the community?
- Would you like to show your work to others outside the community? In Peru? Internationally?
- Would you like others to know your story as well?
- Are there any images you are particularly proud of?
- Are there any images you would rather not anyone else see?