A STUDY OF SKELETAL TRAUMA, GENDER, AND TESTIMONIO CONCERNING THE 1984 MASSACRE AT PUTIS, AYACUCHO, PERU

by

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Abstract

Using feminist geography and forensic anthropology, my research examines how gender affected the death experiences of campesinos massacred by the Peruvian military at Putis, Ayacucho, Peru in 1984. I ask, is trauma from the massacre distributed differently according to gender, and do relatives’ testimonios corroborate forensic information? I examine injury distribution described in the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team’s (EPAF) forensic analysis reports on massacre victims exhumed in 2008. I also analyze four testimonios about Putis gathered by the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR). Forensic trauma mirrors trends from other internal armed conflicts and suggest killers targeted female sexuality. The testimonios contain little forensic detail to corroborate the forensic analysis reports. Future research can explore why gendered patterns of trauma recur across different social contexts. I recommend future truth commissions strive toward greater integration of methods and objectives, and account for possible exhumations when interviewing relatives of the dead.
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Chapter One: Introduction

This research is a case study of structural and gendered violence during the Peruvian armed conflict (1980-2000) as reflected in a massacre that occurred in Putis in the province of Huanta, Ayacucho, in December 1984. The massacre resulted in the deaths of 123 people who were deposited in two mass graves (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación [CVR] 2003a:3, 7; Milton 2009:100; Gonzalez 2011:430). Exhumation of the larger grave in 2008 by the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (Equipo Peruano de Antropología Forense, or EPAF) revealed the remains of 92 individuals (Gonzalez 2011; Orr 2010). This research uses feminist theoretical and forensic anthropological approaches to investigate two questions related to the massacre at Putis: (1) do patterns of skeletal trauma reveal differences in the ways in which men and women were executed and what do these patterns suggest about linkages between gender and violence in times of armed conflict; and (2) does any forensically relevant information in the witness accounts (testimonios) corroborate the conclusions found in the EPAF’s forensic analysis reports? These questions are important because they seek to create more knowledge about the massacre by showing how gender affected the experiences of the people who were killed at Putis. I address these questions by analyzing forensic analysis reports on the remains of 18 victims from the massacre, and four transcripts of testimonios that relatives of victims provided for the CVR. In this chapter, I describe how I came to research the massacre at Putis. Next, I describe the massacre and its historical context, the Peruvian internal armed conflict. I briefly outline the research’s limitations, and then describe the structure of the thesis.
How I Became Involved in this Research

During my undergraduate degree in anthropology at UNBC, I was introduced to ways in which global inequality, marginalized populations, and forensic anthropology intersect. Courses such as Dr. Catherine Nolin’s Social Geography and Geography of Culture, Rights and Power, Dr. Angele Smith’s Anthropology and Inequality, and Dr. Richard Lazenby’s Introduction to Forensic Anthropology inspired me to further study social inequality, especially related to offences against human rights, with the goal of developing my research and academic skills to help people by practicing forensic anthropology. I was also introduced to the work of researchers such as forensic anthropologist Dr. Heather Walsh-Haney, currently of Florida Gulf Coast University; the late Dr. Clyde Snow, who founded the Argentine and Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundations (EAFG and FAFG, respectively); the FAFG, its head, Fredy Peccerelli, and my colleague Cristian Silva; and finally, José Pablo Baraybar and the EPAF (EPAF 2014). I was fascinated by the information that bones contain — a person’s biological profile, and any antemortem, perimortem or postmortem events that affected the skeleton. As Clyde Snow said, “bones don’t lie” (Sanford 2003:33), and the information they contain can enable forensic anthropologists to help bring justice to victims, and reunite them with their families. I learned how the return of the remains of missing persons, disappeared for decades, helped people in Guatemala and Peru approach closure. Repatriation also helps families move forward through psychological processes, such as grieving, and legal processes, such as death certification, inheritances, and

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1 In Spanish, their names are the Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense and the Fundacion de Antropologia Forense de Guatemala.

2 Antemortem, perimortem and postmortem refer to the periods before death, at time of death and after death, respectively.
land titles. My coursework and the work of the researchers mentioned here helped shift my career goals from archaeological consulting to the study of forensic anthropology in cases of human rights abuse.

At the end of my undergraduate degree, I wanted to focus on issues of human rights abuse and forensic anthropology in graduate studies. Dr. Lazenby suggested I enroll at UNBC, in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program, under his supervision and in partnership with the EPAF. I had heard about the massacre and mass grave at Putis from José Pablo Baraybar in September 2010 when he was at UNBC teaching a condensed course on enforced disappearances. I thought that Putis would be a suitable case to study because of the large sample size – 92 remains recovered – and the fact that it was already exhumed and analyzed. Scholars such as medical anthropologist Paul Farmer (2004, 2009) had directed my attention to the ways in which powerbrokers can cause structural violence, and how marginalized people are susceptible to such violence. I was curious about how marginalization made some people more susceptible to violence, and whether social factors that led to marginalization could be reflected in the way people are killed during conflict. I decided to narrow the topic down to the case of Putis, focusing on whether men and women were killed differently, as shown by skeletal trauma, and if manner of killing was in any way linked to the victims’ social treatment in life, especially treatment related to gender.

This research is important because it seeks to create knowledge by telling truths about the massacre that would not otherwise be known. As further described in Chapter Two, forensic anthropology seeks to reveal what others, often those in power, wish to hide (Haglund et al. 2001:57). The people who committed the massacre obviously wished to hide all knowledge of it by burying their victims in a mass grave and providing false statements to
the press (CVR 2003a:3). Knowledge of the massacre includes how people were killed, as well as if and how that killing was linked to their social standing, particularly their gender. I use the lens of feminist theory and feminist geography because they seek to amplify the voices and experiences of people who are marginalized. Feminist geography also examines the roles of space and place in constructing gender. As a geographical space controlled and shaped by culture, society and identities, the body also affects the construction of gender (McDowell 1993:159; Valentine 2001:7-8, 24). I hypothesize that the manner in which people at Putis were executed highlights gender differences that will be reflected on their skeletons. Overall, I intend to use this research to add to the historical record about Putis by providing more information about the massacre and thus making it more difficult for “historical revisionists” to dismiss (Haglund et al. 2001:57).

During this study, I have also tried to build my capacity in research on forensic anthropology and transitional justice in the hopes that I may one day be able to contribute more directly to the practice of forensic anthropology, especially in situations of human rights abuse and post-conflict rebuilding. I also sought to learn more about working on the ground when I attended field schools to Peru (2012) and Guatemala (2013); these gave me a chance to observe the work of the EPAF and FAFG and participate in it as well.

**Historical Context of the Putis Massacre**

The historical background of my research mainly involves the Peruvian internal armed conflict, which lasted from 1980 until 2000. The conflict was sparked when the Maoist communist insurgent group *Partido Comunista del Peru Sendero Luminoso* (the Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path, or PCP-SL) burned ballot boxes in the village of Chuschi, Ayacucho, in Peru’s southern Andean highlands shortly after the nation’s transition to
democracy following 12 years of military rule (Garcia-Godos 2008:68; Starn 1995a:399).

The PCP-SL’s dominance in the Andean highlands began to end when its leader, Abimael Guzman, was arrested and imprisoned in 1992 (Burt 2005:33; Laplante 2007:143 [note 11]; Theidon 2006:437). However, shortly afterward, President Alberto Fujimori, elected in 1990, committed a “self-coup” that transformed his government from a democratic to an authoritarian regime. Fujimori’s government cultivated fear of a PCP-SL resurgence in order to justify its authoritarianism and the terrorism until 2000, when Fujimori fled to Japan amid corruption scandals (Burt 2005:33, 35; CVR 2003b; Hays-Mitchell 2001:320; Theidon 2006:438). Interim president Valentin Paniagua signed the executive decree that established the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, or CVR) in 2001 (Theidon 2006:438).³ The CVR estimates 69,280 people were killed or disappeared during the conflict, while another 600,000 were displaced (CVR 2003b; Theidon 2006:437). Seventy-five percent of the dead, missing and displaced spoke Quechua or another indigenous language, 79 percent lived in rural areas and 68 percent had low levels of elementary education (Garcia-Godos 2008:68;Theidon 2006:435, 437).

According to the CVR’s Final Report, the PCP-SL perpetrated 54 percent of reported deaths and disappearances. The Report estimates that the military, including paramilitaries and civil patrols, was responsible for 37 percent of deaths and disappearances, and the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, or MRTA) was responsible for 1.5 percent (CVR 2003b; Leiby 2009a:455).⁴ The PCP-SL and the military

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³ The “reconciliation” component of the CVR was actually introduced by Paniagua’s successor, Alejandro Toledo (Theidon 2006:438).

⁴ There remains 7.5 percent to be accounted for – were these deaths and disappearances due to the military (i.e., underestimates of military violations) and/or other actors such as drug traffickers or community members who may have taken advantage of the conflict to violently settle old scores? The last point may account for some of
both sexually abused women. The military was responsible for 83 percent of reported sexual
and PCP-SL and MRTA were responsible for 11 percent of sexual violations that included
most "forced domestic work", sexual and other mutilations, sexual slavery, forced
cohabitation, contraception, and abortion (Falcon 2005:3; Guillerot 2006:141). The conflict
had the greatest impact in the highlands; the heaviest fighting and counterinsurgency
measures occurred in the Departments of Apurimac, Huancavelica and Ayacucho (see Figure
1.1). Ayacucho experienced the greatest number of deaths (Cornell and Roberts 1990:536;
Theidon 2006:435). The massacre at Putis occurred under the tenure of the Belaunde
government (1980-1985), during which the military engaged in a scorched-earth campaign
involving executions, massacres and enforced disappearances (Cornell and Roberts
1990:536).

the unexplained deaths and disappearances. La Serna (2012:11) argues that indigenous campesinos did take
advantage of the conflict as a time to violently solve local issues. Were these deaths also reported to the CVR?

5 Under-reporting of rape and sexual assault is very common in internal conflicts, and scholars note this for the
Peruvian context (Falcon 2005; Guillerot 2006; Lieby 2009). Reasons for under-reporting, stated in the CVR,
are shame on the part of the victim-survivors; the idea on their part, and that of Peruvian society more generally,
that rape is not a human rights violation but rather just "collateral damage" of war; and the fact that much sexual
violence occurred in the context of other human rights violations such as massacres, which overshadowed the
sexual violence (Falcon 2005:3).
Figure 1.1 Location of Ayacucho in Peru (Map Library 2013)
The Massacre and Subsequent Investigation at Putis

The massacre at Putis occurred in December 1984. Prior to this event, the PCP-SL had forced campesinos (Andean peasants) from Putis and nearby communities into the upper highlands to prevent them from contacting the military (CVR 2003a:2). Soldiers from the military’s counter-insurgency base, installed in Putis at the beginning of the year, told the population living in the surrounding area to come into Putis so they could live under military protection (Gonzalez 2011:430). On December 12th, 1984 many campesinos from the communities of Cayramayo, Vizcatánpata, Orccohuași and Putis, tired of living in the crossfire, gathered in Putis (CVR 2003a:3; Gonzalez 2011:430; Milton 2009:100). The night the campesinos arrived, the military gathered them at the school, along with others who had been taken from their houses (CVR 2003a:3; Gonzalez 2011:430). The campesinos were told that they would work together to improve their quality of life in the community. Early the next morning, the military separated the men from the women, and at gunpoint made the men dig a large, shallow, rectangular hole, supposedly for a trout farm, though some were told that they were building houses or a well (CVR 2003a:3, 6; Gonzalez 2011:430; Guest 2008). In the meantime, the soldiers raped the younger women (CVR 2003a:6; Gonzalez 2011:430). After the digging was over, men, women and children were divided into groups of six, placed in front of the rectangular hole that was to become their grave, and killed. The bodies were concealed with earth, vegetation and stones (CVR 2003a:3, 5; Gonzalez 2011:430). The soldiers killed at least 123 people, burying their bodies in the rectangular hole and a second smaller grave inside the classroom of the local school (CVR 2003a:1, 3, 7). Though the military claimed that their victims were PCP-SL collaborators or members, accounts of the massacre gathered for the CVR state that the military killed the campesinos at
Puti's so they could steal their cattle (CVR 2003a:3). Later in December 1984, The Express newspaper published a story about an alleged confrontation between the military and the PCP-SL in Putis (mistakenly called "Yutis"). The story, based on official information released by the police, claimed that 22 suspected PCP-SL members/supporters had been killed (CVR 2003a:3).

Under the authority of the prosecutor's office, the EPAF conducted an exhumation and forensic investigation into the Putis massacre in 2008 (Franco Mora, personal communication, November 8th, 2013). The EPAF used forms to gather antemortem data about the victims of the massacre: their biological profiles (sex, age, height and weight), injuries incurred during their lives, clothing, dental information, and lists of relatives for DNA testing (Franco Mora personal communication November 8th, 2013). Community members affected by the massacre were also invited to the exhumation to identify clothing, provide additional information and observe the EPAF's work (Gonzalez 2011:436). The EPAF also gathered information about the circumstances of death and disappearance, such as the date of disappearance, place(s) of detention and/or burial, number of people buried and possible perpetrators (Franco Mora, personal communication, November 8th, 2013). The EPAF's forensic analysis of the larger grave showed that a minimum of 92 people were interred (CVR 2003a:1, 9; Orr 2010). Of the 92 remains recovered, 38 (41.3 percent) were women, 28 (31.5 percent) were men and 26 (27.2 percent) were of indeterminate sex. Most victims were adults, with 45.7 percent 17-20 years old, 51 percent older than 20 years, and 3.3 percent between 0 and 17 years old (Valeska Martinez Lemus, personal communication, January 21st, 2013). Though the number of victims stated by the CVR does not correspond to
the EPAF’s findings of 92, the CVR agrees that most of the people killed were adults (CVR 2003a:9).

It should be noted that at least two other sources state that the majority of the total 123 people massacred, and of the 92 recovered by the EPAF, were children (Gonzalez 2011:436; Paz y Esperanza U.K. 2012a:1). Gonzalez (2011:436) and Paz y Esperanza U.K. (2012a:1) contain differences and errors when they describe the demographic of the grave: Gonzalez (2011:436) states that 45 percent of the 123 victims were below age 17, 33 percent were between 17 and 20, and 52 percent were over 20. This calculation is impossible because the sum total would be 130 percent. Paz y Esperanza U.K. (2012a:1) states the EPAF recovered 94 remains instead of 92, of which 23 were women and 48 were children, 38 below age 10. It is unclear why Gonzalez’s (2011) and Paz y Esperanza U.K.’s (2012a) demographic descriptions differ from the EPAF’s and the CVR’s to such an extent. Despite the inconsistencies in the reporting on the minimum number of individuals (MNI) recovered from the mass grave, the EPAF has confirmed that 92 sets of remains were recovered.

Limitations in the Research

The case of Putis provides a unique opportunity to examine how structural factors embedded in social history, such as ethnicity, class and gender discrimination, affected the victims’ lives and are further reflected in their deaths. This case also provides an opportunity to examine how forensic and witness information might work together to reveal more about the events and circumstances at time of death. I address my research questions (identified above) by analyzing documentary evidence related to the case at Putis. The two main bodies of data I use are forensic analysis reports created and compiled by the EPAF after their 2008 exhumation and analysis, and testimonio transcripts collected by the CVR between 2002 and
2003 (Percy Rojas, personal communication October 24th, 2013). This research examines agreements and conflicts between the forensic and testimonio data. Both have limitations. Forensic anthropological evidence is limited by the condition and completeness of the skeletal remains, the type and appropriateness of the methods used, and the expertise of those recovering, documenting, and analyzing the remains and associated evidence (Komar and Lathrop 2012; Komar and Potter 2007; Tuller and Djuric 2006:199). The information contained in testimonios is limited by the expertise of the interviewer or interlocutor, and his or her relationship with the individual narrating the testimonio (Beverley 1991:4; Dunn 2010:117). The information provided by the narrator may also be affected by the deterioration or suppression of memory over time; witnesses to human rights abuses may give their testimonios years after acts of violence occurred (Peace and Porter 2004:1157; Riaño-Alcala and Baines 2011:421; Wagenaar and Groeneweg 1990:77[abstract]). The CVR began in 2001 after President Alberto Fujimori’s departure, and concluded in 2003 (United States Institute of Peace [USIP] 2015). Its mandate was “to clarify the process, facts and responsibilities” of the violence perpetrated by the PCP-SL and the Peruvian military and police forces in the period between 1980 and 2000; to “propose initiatives aimed at consolidating peace and harmony among Peruvians”; advance “national reconciliation, the rule of law and the strengthening of the constitutional democratic system”; and create proposals for reparations that would dignify victims and their relatives (Guillerot 2006:139).

In order to fund the CVR, the Peruvian government signed a cooperation agreement with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) agreeing to transfer funds to the UNDP to finance the CVR’s activities. The UNDP provided management and auditing services. International donors also financed the CVR: these included Canada, Germany, the Swedish
Foundation, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Ford Foundation, the European Union (EU), Belgium, Holland and the United Nations (CVR 2003f).

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter Two describes my subjectivity and position as a researcher within this research. This chapter also presents the gap in the literature on gendered trauma in situations of conflict and human rights abuses that this research addresses, and the theoretical approach I take toward the research questions. I use feminist theory, as applied through geographies of the body and of power, and forensic anthropology to engage with the research questions. Forensic and testimonio data relate to the goals of feminist theory and forensic anthropology because they contest "official" histories by providing pieces of truth from people on the margins of society (Blau and Skinner 2005:458; Haglund et al. 2001:57; Kobayashi 1994; McDowell 1992:400; Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000:271; Sanford 2003:43, 47; Staehli and Lawson 1994). I orient my forensic analysis along the lines of gender because according to feminist geography, space and place contribute to how gender is constructed (McDowell 1993:159). The body is a geographical space upon which culture and society inscribe values, control and laws. It is also a space where identities are expressed (McDowell 1993:159, 160; Valentine 2001:7-8, 24). It is hoped that the voices of the living and the evidence provided by the dead will reveal more about what they experienced at the time of their deaths and further clarify what happened in December 1984 at Putis.

Chapter Three provides an overview of Peruvian history as related to gender and ethnicity. This chapter also examines how history, the nature and spatiality of power, and the concept of the "other" relate to vulnerability to violence – i.e., who ends up in a mass grave.
Paul Farmer (2004:307, 308; 2009:19) and the CVR (2003b) illustrate that impoverished and marginalized people are more susceptible to violence and death, as was true in the case in Peru. People defined as "other" relative to social powerbrokers are also susceptible to violence and death because social and physical distance between perpetrator and victim facilitates killing (Tyner 2012:7, 10). Marginalization and "othering" made campesinos more vulnerable during the Peruvian internal armed conflict.

Chapter Four describes the methods applied in this research. The forensic analysis reports produced by the EPAF, and transcripts of testimonios about the massacre at Putis, provide the 'data' for this thesis. Forensic anthropologists investigating mass graves often use witness accounts alongside forensic evidence (Schmitt 2002:280). The testimonios that I analyze in my research are not firsthand witness accounts. Instead, the testimonios contain second-hand information about the massacre because they are accounts that the CVR gathered from victims' relatives, who did not witness the massacre. Though the testimonios are not eyewitness accounts, the information they contain can add to what the forensic data has to say about the massacre by contextualizing, corroborating, or even disagreeing with the forensic data. I determine if men and women were treated differently at the time of their death by noting the amount, sequence, distribution and directionality of wounding described in the forensic analysis reports. I analyze the testimonios for information related to perimortem trauma and rape, and compare this information to the findings of the forensic analysis, particularly concerning gendered patterns of wounding.

Chapter Five presents the results of the analyses and comparison of the forensic and testimonio documents, and notes agreements and conflicts between sets of data. I consider whether and to what degree the research questions were addressed - were particular patterns
of trauma present, and linked to gender? Did the information in the testimonios support, confirm or otherwise relate to the evidence in the forensic reports? This chapter will include quotations from both the forensic and the testimonio data. To preserve the flow of the writing, I do not include the original Spanish words of the transcripts. Instead, quotations and paraphrasing from the data, and from other sources translated out of Spanish, will be followed by [trans.]. The original Spanish versions of each quoted excerpt used will be included in Appendix One.

Chapter Six discusses the results of my research. I compare my findings on gendered skeletal trauma with literature on genocide and armed conflict, which also describes patterns of gendered violence. I use this literature to help me explain how the gendered patterns of trauma revealed in my research illustrate how the violence of the massacre was inscribed on the gendered geographies of the victims’ bodies. I also explore the results of the testimonio analysis, and how and why they do or do not corroborate with the forensic information. Finally, I suggest directions for future research into gendered skeletal trauma, and recommendations for future transitional justice work, particularly truth commissions.
Chapter Two: Research Perspectives

This chapter describes the theoretical perspectives of this research, my positionality relative to other people involved in my research, and a literature review pertaining to gendered violence, skeletal trauma, and the intersection of both in the context of armed conflict. The literature originates within various disciplines: political science, psychology, cultural anthropology, gender studies, economics, geography, law, archaeology, and forensic anthropology. The goal of my research is to identify patterns of skeletal trauma that have a high likelihood of being linked to gender (i.e., the person was assaulted in a certain way because he or she was a man or a woman). I approach my research from a feminist perspective because feminist theory and geography highlight issues of gender and the experiences of marginalized people. Similarly, forensic anthropology, in practice, seeks to uncover the experiences of those who were intentionally hidden and silenced, and to challenge those who deny these experiences. This chapter begins with a description of the theoretical stances guiding this research, and then presents my positionality, before reviewing literature concerning gendered violence in armed conflicts in Latin America, and identifying the gap in this literature to which this research contributes.

Feminist Theoretical Perspectives

Feminist scholarship originated from dissatisfaction with the lack of women or related research in disciplines in the social sciences (McDowell 1993:161). Early feminist scholars focused on the inclusion of female knowledge and experience in the development of theory and methodology, and in the practice of empiricism (Nast 1994:54[abstract], 55). Feminist theory eventually broadened its scope to focus on gender rather than simply women in
research (McDowell 1992:400). In feminist geography, this focus examines how place and space affect the construction of gender; place is not simply context but helps to constitute gender differences, and the body constitutes a geographical scale of space upon which “identities...cultural values, morality and social laws” are inscribed (McDowell 1993:159, 160; Valentine 2001:7-8, 24). For example, the hypothesis that different, gender-related patterns of trauma will be found over the spaces of the bodies of the men and the women in the sample can be seen as an example of the treatment of a space (the body) highlighting gender differences (men are executed in one way, women in another) in the setting (places) of the massacre and mass grave.

**Feminist Theory and Amplification of Marginalized Voices.** Feminist theory and scholarship examine how academic research might uncover the experience of marginalized groups and include marginalized voices in their work. Researchers working within this paradigm in communities seek to go further and shape their research outcomes to help enable marginalized groups to speak for themselves (Kobayashi 1994:75-76, Staehli and Lawson 1994). Though my research involves working with documents and testimonio rather than interacting with a community, its goal is to amplify the experiences of marginalized people. The use of testimonio is in keeping with the application of feminist theory and methods because testimonio is a narrative recounted by oppressed and marginalized groups (Geller 1998:3 in Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000:267). Similar to the use of forensic evidence in the aftermath of contemporary conflicts, the use of testimonio contests “official” histories by providing pieces of truth from people on the margins of society (Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000:271).
Goals of Mass Grave Investigations and Analyses – Forensic Anthropology’s Involvement in Human Rights Cases

Both feminist geography and forensic anthropology share goals of including, amplifying and enabling marginalized voices, of uncovering the experiences of marginalized people, and of challenging “official” histories. Haglund et al. (2001:57) state that mass grave investigations in situations of human rights abuses seek to fulfill the following goals: collect narrative and physical evidence that helps identify and hold accountable those responsible for the killings; gather information to help identify and later repatriate victims; “create a record that will stand up to historic revisionists”, especially governments and others who wish atrocities to remain hidden,6 show the atrocities to the world; and “provide an international standard that will deter such atrocities in the future.”

The EPAF, in exhuming, analyzing, and repatriating the remains in the large mass grave at Putis, fulfilled the first two goals: collection of evidence and information for the purposes of criminal investigation and repatriation. The EPAF identified 28 victims, and repatriated all 92 remains to Rodeo, one of the communities in the centro poblado menor7, or hamlet, of Putis (Gonzalez 2011:438; Collyns 2009b). Ballistic evidence found in and near the grave confirms the Peruvian military’s responsibility for the massacre (Collyns 2009a).8

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6 See also Williams and Crews (2003:252) and Blau and Skinner (2005:458) and the work of Snow et al. in Kimmerle and Baraybar (2008:14-19) in the case of the MRTA rebels at the Japanese Embassy in Lima.

7 Putis and accompanying small communities were recognized as a centro poblado menor after the EPAF’s exhumation there in 2008. This is the lowest administrative denomination in Peru (Baraybar and Blackwell 2014:37).

8 In November 2011, the Public Ministry formally indicted some high-ranking military officers as intellectual authors of the Putis massacre, but the material perpetrators remained unidentified (Burt and Cagley 2013:84). A relative of two of the victims managed to obtain the pseudonyms of the officers responsible for the massacre (CVR 2003a:10). Peruvian NGO Paz y Esperanza (2012a:2) reported similar news, stating that four military members were identified and indicted in December 2011. In 2009, prior to the indictment, Jose Coronel, who headed the work of the CVR in Ayacucho, said that the military refused to provide names of the officers who
Though my research does not address the first two goals of forensic anthropology as outlined by Haglund et al. (2001:57), it relies on information from sources that do. This research also touches on the last two goals because it reveals more details about the record of the Putis massacre. By providing more details about the nature of the trauma at Putis, this research seeks to elaborate on and add to the historical record of the massacre, an incident that was deliberately omitted from the “official” historical record for nearly 20 years. Though the forensic analysis reports have already been completed by the EPAF, the more evidence available about the massacre, the harder it should be for historical revisionists to dismiss.

*My Position and Relationships in the Research*

As with theoretical orientation, my positionality and subjectivity, and that of others involved in the research form an important part of the place from which this research is conducted. Positionality includes personal motivations, biases and opinions. Identifying these factors is important because they influence how data are collected and interpreted (Baxter and Eyles 1997:512). However, though non-feminist scholars state that the researcher’s positionality and biases need to be mitigated because they influence research (Baxter and Eyles 1997:512), feminist researchers do not see positionality, subjectivity and biases as problems to be allayed. Instead, scholars such as Madge et al. (1997) state that I need to acknowledge and describe my subjectivity because it influences how I define knowledge, ask questions, and write about my research findings. Feminist research practice does not allow the researcher to hover objectively outside his or her work, but instead situates him or her subjectively within

were stationed at the military base at Putis in 1984 (Collyns 2009b). Paz y Esperanza reported in November 2012 that a national court in Lima ruled that sufficient evidence linked the Peruvian military with the 1984 Putis massacre (2012b:1). In 2013, Burt and Cagley (2013:84) stated that no trial date had been set for the indicted military members. However, in January or 2013, Valeska Martínez Lemus with the EPAF informed me that the Putis case was in trial (personal communication, January 25th, 2013).
the research landscape. In acknowledging the world as “an intersubjective creation” feminist research encourages us to incorporate our knowledge of social structures into the research process (England 1994:81). This knowledge includes our awareness of our position and subjectivity within socially constructed webs of relationships and power dynamics that play a part in our research. Feminist researchers often seek to even out power differences that exist between them and the people whom they research (England 1994:82). When writing, this means using the first-person voice to situate oneself within the research, rather than outside of it. Writing in feminist research also creates spaces for the voices of the people who are part of the research, often by integrating respondents’ own words (Madge et al. 1997:106-107). In the case of my research, I include excerpts of transcripts when describing the content of the testimonios. However, the testimonios are read through filters of transcription and translation, as I will describe later.

Though I am the main researcher in this thesis, my relationships with people, organizations, events and topics have shaped the research and enabled it to proceed (Figure 2.1). Some of these relationships are direct, while others are mediated by other people or concepts in this research. Direct relationships exist among me as researcher, my supervisory committee, and the research topic. The committee and I collaborated to create the research topic and the research framework. They also enabled my connection with the EPAF, which further shaped my research topic and research methods, focused my research on Peru, and geared my methods toward analysis of the EPAF’s available forensic data on Putís.
Through the EPAF, I have access to the data upon which this research is based: a sample of 18 forensic analysis reports created after the EPAF exhumed the large grave at Putis, and four testimonios gathered for the CVR. The EPAF sent me the forensic reports, and these were translated from Spanish into English by Mr. Cristian Silva (a native Spanish speaker and colleague at UNBC) and me. The EPAF accessed the audio recordings of four testimonios, and turned these over to Mr. Heeder Soto, a member of the EPAF and an anthropologist whose research focuses on generation and memory in Ayacucho, for transcription and translation from Quechua into Spanish. The testimonios were then given to Mr. Silva, whom I contracted to continue the translation from Spanish into English, before I received them for coding and analysis. The data from the EPAF, along with the knowledge
created by this research, will contribute to the body of knowledge already compiled about the massacre, and to forensic knowledge overall.

Everyone involved with the creation, gathering, processing and analysis of the data – the CVR’s interviewers, their interviewees, the EPAF (exhumation and analysis of remains), Mr. Soto, Mr. Silva, and I – have all left our mark on the data because our positionalities and subjectivities have affected the research process and outcome (Madge et al. 1997:88; Winchester and Rofe 2010:16). From a pool of forensic information about the massacre, the EPAF had to decide which knowledge to include and prioritize in their forensic reports. The CVR’s interviewers and interviewees shaped the testimonio data through the questions they asked and answered. A particular question, its wording, and the manner, place and time in which it is asked can elicit different answers of interviewees (McKenzie 2002:432), as can gender, class, and power dynamics between interviewers and interviewees. Interviewees intentionally or unintentionally withhold information (Clifford 1986:7; Silva Zúñiga 2011:105). The information generated by the interviewers and interviewees is in turn affected by how Mr. Soto transcribed the data, and how he and Mr. Silva understood and interpreted language to bridge gaps between Quechua and Spanish and Spanish and English. Finally, the information and knowledge brought forth from the testimonio and forensic data depend on my own subjectivity, positionality, theoretical lens, and how my research questions guide my inquiry. In summary, this research presents a “partial truth”, an incomplete truth that has been shaped by what everyone involved in the research process has decided to include or hold back, which in turn has been shaped by our own positionalities and subjectivities (Clifford 1986:7). Researcher positionality and subjectivity will not change whether or not the forensic data actually shows patterns of gendered skeletal trauma, or whether or not the
testimonios corroborate the forensic evidence because the data will not be affected. However, if others besides me conducted this research, their positionality and experience would shape what they look for and how they look for it: they might ask different questions, use different methods, see details in the research that I might not, and interpret and write about the results in a different manner than have I. The various researchers involved in the data collection, processing, and analysis affect the data because, according to Gilbert (2002:228), “researchers filter the information they receive. They do not act as a conduit of information, but as co-constructors of a finished narrative. They must always be aware that the finished report is a narrative created by the writer/researcher, that has come from the narratives of others.” The exhumation, interviewing, transcription, translation, and analysis filtered and interpreted the campesino’s voices and experiences; these are further filtered as I analyze the data, interpret the results, and decide the best manner in which to write about them (Gilbert 2002:229). Acker et al. (1983:429 in Gilbert 1994:94) state analysis and interpretation require researchers to “assume the role of the people with the power to define.” My knowledge of skeletal trauma guides how I interpret the data found in the forensic analysis reports. The findings of the forensic data analysis, and my knowledge of the violence of the internal armed conflict and the massacre at Putis, guide how I interpret and categorize the information found in the testimonio transcripts.

While feminist theory emphasizes the researcher’s subjectivity, forensic anthropology values objectivity, and forensic anthropologists are expected to mitigate and exclude their biases from their work, basing conclusions only on the evidence on hand (France 2012:668). Dr. Clyde Snow summarized the ideal outlook of the forensic anthropologist studying human rights abuses: “Forensic scientists investigating such events must put aside the claims of both
sides and, instead, objectively follow the evidence where it leads. Stated simply, they must let the dead tell their own stories" (Snow et al. 2008:14). In the case of this research, the stories of the dead have been mediated through the EPAF's forensic analysis and write-up, and through Mr. Silva's translation of the forensic reports from Spanish to English. Though feminist theory and forensic anthropology seem disparate in their views on researcher subjectivity, their combined presence in this research is a result of its interdisciplinary nature. Though feminist theory approaches researcher subjectivity in a different manner than does forensic anthropology, it agrees with forensic anthropology because it expects research to be transparent and truthful (Bailey et al. 1999:172; France 2012:669). The two different theoretical views are also incorporated because my research involves two different kinds of data and analyses: the "hard" physical data of the remains represented in the forensic analysis reports, which I analyze quantitatively, and the narrative data contained in the testimonios, which I analyze qualitatively. The lens of forensic anthropology is more suitable for the forensic data analysis component of my research because it involves technical descriptions of skeletal trauma that allow little room for alternative interpretations, and need to be handled in a scientific manner.

My positionality and subjectivity in the research have been informed by my literature review and by my experiences in the 2012 UNBC-EPAF Interdisciplinary Field School to the District of Victor Farjado, in the south of the province of Ayacucho. Though the field school was not in Putis, the communities the class visited (Huamanquiquia, Huancasancos, Sacsamarca, Colcabamba and Hualla) share common ground with Putis. They are all situated in Ayacucho, they suffered at the hands of both the military and the PCP-SL, the EPAF has worked with them concerning memory and development, and Sacsamarca and Hualla contain
unexhumed mass graves. The 2012 field school helped make Ayacucho more tangible for me and put a human face to the issues that I am researching, which has strengthened my connection with my research topic and compelled me to continue on in the research. The field school also helped me learn more about the nature of testimonio, and how it is affected by its context – knowledge I could use to more efficiently work with the testimonios that made up part of the data used in this research. Though I am not an “insider” in relation to Putis and Ayacucho (Kobayashi 1994:74), the field school helped position me as less of an “outsider” relative to the EPAF because it gave me the unique opportunity to observe and join in the EPAF’s work in Ayacucho, which helped strengthen my relationship with them.

Because this research focuses on an incident where the Peruvian military massacred campesinos, it is important to include how the field school shaped my views on the state’s treatment of the campesinos during and after the conflict. Though the people interviewed by the EPAF during the field school had lost relatives at the hands of both the military and the PCP-SL, overall, the information that was conveyed through the interviews during the field school and the course readings seems to indicate that, post-conflict, the state seems indifferent toward the welfare of its indigenous populations. Signs of the state’s apparent indifference included (as of 2012) a lack of policy for finding the killed and the disappeared, and small individual reparations (5,000 soles, or roughly $1,950 CAD) that are restricted by age; Decree 051-2011-PCM states that relatives of the dead or disappeared must be over 80 years old to receive reparations, and victim-survivors of sexual offences must be over 65

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5 Laplante and Theidon (2007:230) use this term because those affected by the Peruvian internal armed conflict and its aftermath do not always wish to be referred to as merely “victims”. Using the term “victim-survivor” is also an attempt to move away from dichotomizing the identities of the people whose testimonios are included in this research.
(Binet 2011; Maria\textsuperscript{10}, personal communication, June 11th, 2012; Marina, personal communication, June 18th, 2012).\textsuperscript{11} Though the state is obliged to provide psychologists, who are especially needed in communities scarred by the trauma of the conflict, most communities receive no attention to mental health at all (EPAF personal communication, June 10th, 2012).

*Accountability in the Research Process.* Openness about and systematic evaluation of the procedures involved in the research process are important because they help preserve the integrity of the research (Bailey et al 1999:172). To increase openness, I describe here how I formulated my coding framework, and how I tried to make sure I did not see or infer what I wanted to from the testimonios and forensic evidence. I involved my thesis supervisor, Dr. Lazenby in the steps of analyzing perimortem trauma distribution on the individuals in the EPAF’s forensic reports. I used the quantitative analysis’ findings on perimortem trauma type and distribution, and on the gendered nature of that trauma, to inform the creation of the coding framework. I searched the testimonio transcripts for information that might link perimortem trauma to gender, descriptions of actions that might have led to skeletal trauma, and other information that could link with or help explain the trauma patterns revealed in the skeletal trauma analysis. While I used the findings of the forensic analysis to help develop a coding framework to define what I was looking for in the testimonio transcripts, I also had to be careful that I did not let the findings of the forensic data analysis colour what I saw in the interviewees’ words and cause me to interpret them to fit into the framework. I did this by

\textsuperscript{10}The names of field school respondents have been changed to protect their privacy.

\textsuperscript{11} While translating interviews in Ayacucho, EPAF researchers indicated that the age limits were 65 years old for a widow and 80 for a widower. In either case, the amount of time required to wait for reparations is still very long (Antonia, personal communication, June 17th, 2012).
rechecking that the passages I coded represented events and concepts in the testimonios and that I was not taking words out of context and projecting my own meaning onto them. When I was unsure of the meaning of a passage, I gained as much information as I could from its context, or I did not code it at all.

When I created the coding framework, I assumed that the testimonios would be centered on the massacre at Putis, and that accounts of military abuses would be part of the massacre. This assumption proved risky because the four testimonios listed other violent incidents besides the massacre at Putis, incidents perpetrated by both the military and the PCP-SL. Furthermore, the twice-translated transcripts liberally used pronouns, requiring me to carefully backtrack from passages I was interested in to see who was committing what action, and against whom. I presented descriptions of my coding categories, and the material that I gathered under them, to my supervisor. When I did this, I included directly quoted passages, the codes that they were categorized under, and an explanation for why the passage was coded as it was.

**Gendered Violence in Armed Conflict: Literature Review**

Literature on gendered violence in armed conflict forms the final part of the foundation of my research. More than ever before, civilians constitute the majority of casualties in contemporary armed conflict. Civilians made up only 14 percent of casualties during the First World War (Arcel and Kastrup 2004:41). By the end of the twentieth century and the first part of the twenty-first century, 60 to 80 percent, or according to some sources, up to 90 percent of conflict casualties were civilians (Arcel and Kastrup 2004:41; Giles and Hyndman 2004:5). War no longer happens on battlefields removed from "home", but is instead waged in a manner that encompasses and affects the lives of everyone in a society. As a result, the
The dynamics of war and of gendered experiences in war have changed in the past century. In contemporary warfare, "feminine" civilian spaces and "masculine" military spaces no longer exist (Giles and Hyndman 2004:5). Despite the Geneva Conventions, the home is just as dangerous as the battlefield, and the barrier between the two is nearly indistinguishable (Giles and Hyndman 2004:5). The study of how violence affects the bodies of women, men, and children is important because "the incorporation of civilians into contemporary conflicts has been a highly gendered practice. It has occurred on the finest spatial scale: that of the human body, a site always marked by relations of gender, class, nation, race, caste, religion, and geographical location" (Giles and Hyndman 2004:5). To improve understanding of interpersonal violence in wartime, study of increasingly local and all-encompassing contemporary armed conflict requires heightened attention to the effects of violence on the bodies of civilian men, women, and children in conflict zones. This research examines the gendered nature of civil-war violence at the scale of the body, and points out different ways violence was enacted upon the bodies of civilian men and women in Peru of the 1980s and 1990s, but particularly in the massacre at Putis.

In my research, I focus on wartime violence connected to victims' gender, expressed in patterns of perimortem trauma. Though much of the literature on the intersection of wartime violence and gender addresses rape and its social origins rather than gendered patterns of physical trauma, some of it is examined here in order to explain why women and femininity are targeted during conflict. Rape and sexual violence against women in wartime are seen worldwide (Chinkin 1994:327). Arcel and Kastrup (2004) and Bunster (1984, 1986) argue that pre-existing gender hierarchies contribute to gendered violence under militarized conditions. In their survey on the effects of armed conflict on women, Arcel and Kastrup
argue that women are victimized because the militarization of societies aggravates the discrimination against women that is already present in patriarchal societies. Militarization encourages rape and sexual assault because “[M]ass rapes of thousands of women cannot happen if the political and military hierarchy does not condone it” (Arcel and Kastrup 2004:44). Likewise, according to Bunster (1984:95, 1986:300) militarized states also seek more than other authoritarian states to maintain and enforce patriarchal structures.

Though these scholars link peacetime attitudes toward women with the rape of women in wartime, in some cases, linking peacetime perceptions and treatment of women to wartime rape has been controversial. For example, Chinkin (1994:328-329) has criticized Catherine MacKinnon’s (1992) creation of a direct linkage between the use of pornography in peacetime and the mass rapes of Muslim women during the Balkan conflict. While Chinkin agrees that “pornographic projections” of women likely were linked to wartime propaganda, she maintains that believing these projections to be the only cause of violence against women in during the Balkan conflict is “simplistic and misleading” (Chinkin 1994:328-329).

In addition to gender hierarchies, racial and ethnic hierarchies within societies can contribute to extensive sexual violence in both war and peacetime. Chinkin (1994:328) sees rape as an issue of power and control “structured by male soldiers’ notions of their masculine privilege, by the strength of the military’s lines of command and by class and ethnic inequalities among women”. Women of subordinate ethnicities are also often considered more “available” for rape (Boesten 2010:117). However, Theidon (2008:12) notes that in the case of the Peruvian internal armed conflict many lower-ranked soldiers were of the same ethnic background as the women they raped. Informants who spoke of their own and their communities’ experiences of rape said that these soldiers would commonly use ethnic insults
while raping (Theidon 2008:12). Theidon (2008:12) interprets the soldiers’ words and actions as a means to create an ethnic and gendered hierarchy between them and their victims in spite of shared background. In the case of Peru, the military and the PCP-SL perpetrated different forms of sexual violence: state forces committed more gang rapes and rapes against pregnant women, while the PCP-SL engaged in “forced domestic work, mutilations (some sexual), sexual slavery, forced contraception, forced abortion and forced marriage” (Duggan et al. 2008:202).

Regardless of the underlying causes of wartime sexual violence, both men and women are targeted and attacked because of their gender roles. Carpenter (2006:83) defines gendered violence as “violence that is targeted at women or men because of their sex and/or their socially-constructed gender roles” including, but not limited to, sexual violence. Carpenter (2006:88) explains that men are more likely to be executed and massacred because they are seen as potential combatants – their gender role is used to justify their deaths. Nolin Hanlon and Shankar (2000:275) show this in their analysis of the findings of Guatemala’s Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH): four times as many men as women were arbitrarily executed, and 99 percent of sexual violations were committed against women. In Peru, women and men were subjected to sexual violence, though far more women were reportedly affected. Of 538 cases of sexual violence reported to the CVR, 527 were perpetrated against women, and only 11 against men (Duggan et al. 2008:202). The definition of sexual violence used by Carpenter (2006:83) encompasses rape, sexual slavery, forced impregnation, sexual mutilation, and “forms of harassment or humiliating treatment such as being forced to disrobe publicly”. Skjelsbæk (2001:70) also defines these acts as sexual violence, but works further to provide an overarching definition of sexual violence.
Skjelsbæk (2001:71) states sexual violence always involves “involuntary sexual contact” where one party does not choose to be sexually intimate. Rather than a primarily sexual act, sexual violence is “foremost an act of aggression with a sexual manifestation” (Skjelsbæk 2001:71). Skjelsbæk’s more inclusive definition will be applied to this research.

Though this research mainly examines women’s experiences of gendered violence, it is important to acknowledge that gendered violence in armed conflict is also directed at men and boys through sexual violence, forced conscription, and sex-selective massacres (Carpenter 2006). Lieby (2009:446) argues that by not addressing gender as a useful analytical category, much literature on the human costs of civil wars implies that the experiences of men and women during civil war are similar. She provides evidence to the contrary when she cites the findings of both the CVR and Guatemala’s CEH: while men made up the majority of cases of torture and deaths through arbitrary executions or other means – 75 percent in Peru and 80 percent in Guatemala – 99 percent of the victims of rape and sexual offences were women (Lieby 2009:446; Nolin 2006:67). Lieby (2009:446) states that “[T]hese patterns of victimization have led many scholars to conclude that women are targeted more often in ways that are directly linked to their gender and sexual identity and to their identity as the bearers and protectors of a community’s culture and future generations.” Though she states that some scholars explain these gender-related patterns of violence as attacks on femaleness, identity, and culture, Leiby (2009a:447) also contends that linking sexual violence solely to the victims’ gender, ethnicity, class, and so forth results in the oversimplification of sexual violence in warfare. In her view, sexual violence was used by the Peruvian military as a means of targeting those suspected of supporting PCP-SL, and men were also victims of state-perpetrated sexual violence (Leiby 2009a:459, 463). However, the
fact that men were more often killed and women more often sexually violated in the Peruvian and other internal armed conflicts (Guillerot 2006:141; Leiby 2009a:446; Nolin 2006:67) still points to gender as a differentiating factor in the ways men and women experience violence.

Other authors have observed gender-specific patterns of violence in other Latin American contexts that support the argument that women are tortured in ways aimed at their sexuality and personhood. The Chilean government tortured women in ways that were meant to “violate her sense of self, her female human dignity” (Bunster 1984:94) and the Argentine government tortured pregnant women and confiscated their children, exhibiting absolute control over a woman's femininity (in the form of her ability to bear children) to the point of using it as a means to harm her (Lykes et al. 1993:535). The torture of a child has also been used as a way to torture mothers in Latin America (Bunster 1986:315) as has torture perpetrated in front of one’s children (Sharlach 2009:446 [regarding South Africa]).

Women's roles in Latin American culture may also be used against them in situations of detention and torture. In Latin America, women are more often located in the private sphere and men in the public (Young 2002:81). Women are taught from an early age to be submissive to men and to strive toward marriage and motherhood (Weismantel 2001:57 [regarding the Andes]; Young 2002:82). Euro-American feminist scholars of the 1970s and 1980s described Latin American female socialization as occurring along the paradigm of marianismo, which emphasizes imitation of The Blessed Virgin Mother in spiritual superiority and motherhood (Lykes et al. 1993; Bunster 1986: 299; Chant 2003:9)\(^\text{12}\). These scholars emphasized a need for women to differentiate themselves from their families with regard to identity and rights, and viewed Latin American women as being oppressed by their

\(^\text{12}\) Stevens (1973:62) coined the term marianismo to describe sets of apparently feminine attributes, especially longsuffering, that are complimentary to the masculine attributes that make up machismo.
role as mothers. Latin American feminists, however, did not view motherhood as universally oppressive, but saw that it afforded them political and social opportunities (Chant 2003:9). Though Euro-American and Latin American feminists viewed the lot of Latin American women through different lenses, the fact remains that motherhood is venerated both privately and publicly, an important point because forms of gendered torture directed at women hinge on constructions of feminine nature and roles in Latin America (Lykes et al. 1993 and Bunster 1986:299, Chant 2003:9). For example, if a woman’s children are tortured as a means to elicit information from her about her spouse’s activities or location, she is placed in a position where she must deny her role either as a wife or as a mother (Bunster 1986:315). The torture of others in front of women is also interpreted as a utilization of their sympathy and empathy against them – both products of Latin American female socialization (Bunster 1986:313). Similarly, when women are harmed as a means to torture men, this action can be interpreted as an attack on masculinity because the men are helpless to defend their female relations (Bunster 1984:96, 97-98).

**Gendered Violence at the Skeletal Level: A Gap in Current Forensic Research.**

Various scholars examine linkages or apparent linkages between gender and violence in recent and contemporary armed conflicts, particularly issues around rape and sexual violence. These articles include arguments for designating mass rape as a genocidal act (Sharlach 2000); examination of state- and rebel-perpetrated rape under suspension of civil law in a state of emergency (Sharlach 2009); the short- and long-term physical, psychological, and social consequences rape bears for women (Chinkin 1994); and the wider consequences of war-related poverty and deprivation on the health outcomes of women (Grimard and Laszlo 2010). There is also a body of literature that focuses on gender and
violence during the Peruvian conflict (Falcon 2005; Lieby 2009a; Sharlach 2009; Theidon 2008).

While these sources are vital to understanding female-centered gendered violence in armed conflict, particularly in Peru, it is necessary to also examine the work of archaeologists and physical anthropologists regarding linkages between gender and skeletal trauma. Much biological anthropological literature that examines war- or conflict-related trauma seemingly gives little sustained attention to whether skeletal trauma is particularly related to gender in any way. Buzon and Richman (2007) compared injury distribution on remains from Kerma, from Egypt’s Middle Kingdom period (2050 – 1650 BC) and Tombos, from the New Kingdom period (1550 – 1050 BC). Their findings supported a hypothesis that Egypt shifted toward less violent colonial strategies between these time periods. Jurmain’s (2001) work on skeletal trauma in pre-contact California also includes an analysis of injury distribution by sex. Based on incidences of traumatic injuries over the remains of males and females, Jurmain (2001) concludes that interpersonal aggression was quite common in pre-contact California. Though he notes that there are no significant differences between the nature of injuries borne by each sex, he does not explain why sex was used as a differentiating variable in his skeletal analyses. In this case, and the others listed here, sex or gender is not central to the research and neither is the hypothesis that perimortem skeletal trauma in warfare follows gendered patterns.

On the other hand, some literature on contemporary and ancient skeletal pathology examines ways in which social and biological processes affected by gender can impact the skeleton. Issues addressed include differential access to food between genders, biological costs exacted of men and women in times of social transition, age-related decreases in bone
mass, the impacts of child-bearing on female skeletal physiology, and the impact on women of lack of access to medical attention (Armelagos 1998). Some literature focuses specifically on the effects of gendered violence on the skeleton. Lacroix-Martin (2013) analyzes healed cranial trauma in order to seek evidence of possible domestic violence against women in remains from the Mogollon sites of Turkey Creek, Point of Pines and Nantack Village Pueblos. Martin et al. (2010) focus on women and antemortem violence, asking, “Can bioarchaeology be used to distinguish patterns of violence that reflect gender and status identity within a society?” Similar to Lacroix-Martin (2013), their research population consists of pre-contact indigenous remains from the American Southwest. The violence examined in Martin et al.’s (2010) work was presumed not to have occurred in wartime, though it was probably a result of intergroup conflict. Standen and Arraiza’s (2000:246) research on the nature of injuries on Chinchorro remains from precontact Chile likewise revealed violence caused by low-intensity interpersonal conflict. Their results supported their hypothesis that men were more likely than women to suffer cranial trauma due to conflict (Standen and Arriaiza 2000:240, 241). Much of the forensic or bioarchaeological literature (for example, Buzon and Richman 2007; Gaither 2012; Jurmain 2001; Lacroix-Martin 2013; Martin et al. 2010; Osterdorf Smith 2003; Paine et al. 2007; Standen and Arriaiza 2000; Tung 2007) that focuses more exclusively on interactions between gender and skeletal trauma is not very relatable to contemporary contexts because, like much other forensic skeletal trauma literature, it focuses on ancient, pre-contact, or older historical populations and cannot speak to effects of contemporary arms use against civilians.

Some literature exists on contemporary Latin American contexts that is similar to my research in its examination of gendered violence in death. In her study on femicide ("the
killing of females by males because they are females”), Sanford notes that in 2005, cases of female homicide in Guatemala that displayed signs of torture also bore signs of sexual assault (2008:111, 112). Silva Zuñiga (2011) also shows that women can be subjected to forms of violence and killing different from those directed at men. He notes that the killing of women in Guatemala is more personal, involving more physical contact. High rates of female murders are linked to the state and judicial system’s maintenance of structures of “impunity and silence” (Silva Zuñiga 2011:7). Backlash against women’s increased public participation also contributes to the violence, and the violence is enabled by the lack of accountability for the murders of women (Silva Zuñiga 2011:64). These cases differ from my research in that they examine individual murders rather than a massacre and they focus on Guatemala rather than Peru. On the other hand, Guatemala: Never Again!, The Recovery Of Historical Memory Inter-Diocesan Project (or the REMHI Report) released by the Archdiocese of Guatemala after the country’s internal conflict ended in 1996, graphically documents the murder of women through the targeting of areas such as their breasts and wombs (Human Rights Office of the Archdiocese of Guatemala [ODHAG] 1998:74, 79). The authors of the report interpret these atrocities as the torture of women by assaulting their sexuality and bodies, and by using their motherhood against them (ODHAG 1998:74, 79). Jones (2002:81) and Sharlach (1999:396) also mention that mutilation of breasts, wombs, and genitals was used to kill women during the Rwandan genocide, and often accompanied rape before murder.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced and explained the two bodies of theory that inform my research. Both feminist geography and forensic anthropology seek to amplify the voices of marginalized people, whether they are alive or in a mass grave. As a feminist researcher, I
described my own positionality and subjectivity because they affect how I approach and carry out my research. Finally, I reviewed literature on gendered violence in armed conflict, particularly about violence targeted at women, and described the gap in the literature into which my research contributes. Chapter Three will show how processes of colonization have contributed to the marginalization of indigenous peoples and the socially subordinate position of women throughout Peruvian history. The chapter will explain how marginalization left indigenous peoples more susceptible to violence during the internal armed conflict, and how marginalization interacted with dynamics of the conflict to particularly affect women.
Chapter Three: History, Power and Susceptibility to Violence

This chapter links Peruvian history with geographies of power and violence. Spanish colonization particularly contributed to the marginalization of indigenous peoples. Inca and Spanish colonial processes also altered female gender roles from relatively egalitarian traditional dynamics to more patriarchal arrangements. Marginalization and accompanying lack of power on the part of Peru's Andean indigenous peoples will be linked to heightened susceptibility to violence. The ways in which torture and abuse targeted Andean femininity and indigeneity during the conflict will also be described.

Formation of Ethnic Hierarchies in Peru Since the Conquest.

Indigenous Peruvians occupied a low space in racial and ethnic hierarchies formed during the colonial period, and even those who assisted in the Spanish conquest of Peru ranked below Africans and Central American indigenous servants and slaves brought by the Spaniards (Lockhart 1968:200). Tribute taxes were paid only by indigenous peoples and fees for Catholic sacraments differed according to one's ethnicity (Cahill 1994:336). The category of "Indian" or "Indio" was an ethnic label created by Spanish authorities in the 1570s during Viceroy Toledo's reforms for the purpose of taxing and controlling the labor of indigenous populations (Charney 2001:xvii; Stern 1993:80). Despite the bureaucratic creation of an "Indian" ethnic identity, individual ethnicity could flow between Andean and Hispanic identity (Cahill 1994:336). Indigenous populations also shaped "Indian" identity through adoption of select Hispanic practices and retention of particular Pre-Hispanic customs (Charney 2001:xxiii). Though Charney (2001:xxiii) interprets this mixing of cultural

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practices as a means to create an identity separate from that of non-indigenous society, according to Stern (1993:159) by the seventeenth century indigenous success in colonial Peru hinged on the adoption of Hispanic practices and lifestyle. Hispanic acculturation in turn undermined “traditional Andean rights and resources” and reinforced an ethnic hierarchy that elevated all that was Hispanic above all that was Andean. Being considered more “Indian” was often linked to poverty, although communal plots shared by indigenous communities provided a “social safety net” for their members (Cahill 1994:336, 337; Stern 1993:173).  

In colonial Peru, biological ancestry also affected social perceptions of virtue and crime. For example, a degree of “whiteness” could be bought: indigenous individuals with sufficient financial means sometimes purchased a cédula de gracias al sacar, a certificate of legitimacy (usually sought by those born out of wedlock), but also of honour and whiteness (Cahill 1994:336). According to Cahill (1994:336), “a change in racial status thus denoted a change in fiscal status, and vice versa.” “Race” and class were linked to each other during the colonial period, and non-indigenous groups experienced negative social connotations linked to these social constructs (Cahill 1994:336; Nolin 2006:37). For example, Walker (2008:157) notes that lower class Africans and people of mixed “race” were blamed for the crime wave that followed the 1746 Lima earthquake. Crime was “deeply racialized” in late colonial society, and Africans were deemed “inherently prone” to crime and dishonor. They were also blamed for the spread of disease (Walker 2008:160). At the time of the Peruvian internal armed conflict, “race” and class were still correlated. With “dark-skinned kids born in poverty” filling the rank and file under “a leadership composed mostly of light-skinned

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14 Because shared subsistence plots helped indigenous communities stave off poverty, at times mestizes, rather than indigenous, were the poorest in society (Cahill 1994:337).
elites”, the hierarchy of the PCP-SL reflected the very system it sought to overthrow (Starn 1995b:551).

Perceptions of Ethnicity, and Control of Indigenous Labour. Since the conquest and into the twentieth century, Spanish colonizers and later republican authorities and elites saw most indigenous people as labourers to be controlled and used for tribute production. In early colonial times, the Spanish saw indigenous Peruvians as inherently “lazy” and prone to immorality, needing to be taught to work (Cole 1985:20; Graubart 2007:38). Lockhart (1968:205-207), in his survey of Peruvian society in the time period of 1532-1560, states that most of Peru’s indigenous populations were included as part of encomiendas, providing tribute for their overseers in the form of produce and labour (Lockhart 1968:205-207). In return, encomenderos (encomienda owners) were supposed to provide protection and religious instruction to their subjects (Graubart 2007:43). In many parts of colonial Latin America, encomenderos rarely fulfilled these obligations (Bakewell and Holler 2010:245). In Peru, indigenous people were sometimes enslaved, usually if they were not on an encomienda. They were also susceptible to slavery if they were on an encomienda and had no tribute to offer. In such cases, the encomendero saw little reason to watch over the indigenous workers, and often did not protect them from enslavement (Lockhart 1968:201).

Due to encomenderos’ excessive demands of their subjects, the Spanish Crown attacked the

15 The encomienda was royally-awarded access to the labour of indigenous peoples, usually given to conquistadores but awarded increasingly on the basis of political affiliation and noble birth. The encomendero (owner of the encomienda) had the right to enjoy tribute paid him by the indigenous were part of his encomienda (Lockhart 1968:11, 13, 14, 15). The granting of the encomiendas was a means not only to collect tribute, but also to control the indigenous and their labour. Lockhart notes that more encomiendas would be established if the indigenous were “organized into small political units and were therefore hard to control”, (Lockhart 1968:11). Fewer encomiendas were needed in the cases where indigenous peoples belonged to large political units, and the encomendero could use traditional indigenous authority to control the encomienda (Lockhart 1968:11-12).
encomienda system in its New Laws of 1542, and introduced the mita. The mita was a state-directed form of compulsory indigenous draft labour used in various enterprises and industries in colonial Peru (Bakewell and Holler 2010:245; Cole 1985:1, 5). It replaced the encomienda in parts of Latin America, and in other parts coexisted with it for many years (Bakewell and Holler 2012:245; Cole 1985:1, 5). Though the mita had the potential to shield indigenous populations from abusive employers, it eventually became very onerous due to increasing labour demands on declining indigenous populations (Bakewell and Holler 2010:246). By 1600, mita labourers allocated to the Potosi silver mines were working every other year, rather than the officially sanctioned one year in seven (Bakewell and Holler 2010:246). Higher demand for workers in mining led to more indigenous people being hired as wage labourers (Bakewell and Holler 2010:246). In the late sixteenth century, agricultural smallholdings had also appeared. Smallholdings, grants of land and labour to criollos and high-ranking Spaniards, and land claimed by indigenous people through proof of noble Inca lineage, became haciendas by the seventeenth century (Bakewell and Holler 2010:243, Smith 1991:49). The Spanish Crown claimed lands unused by Indian communities, and landowners could pay for a deed for land from the colonial authorities (Smith 1991:49). Such titles to land were granted on the condition that the indigenous peoples of the area be given “sufficient pastures and fields”, or allowed to graze their animals on, or pass through, the land in question (Smith 1991:49).

The hacienda endured through colonial times and into Peru’s republican era. Rifts between campesinos and hacienda owners, especially with regard to differential access to power, hindered the development of Peruvian nationalism and caused class conflict. Hacienda owners, privileged with territorial power, saw no advantage in nation-building, and
the peasants, already saddled with obligations to their landlords, did not want to support another institution that they believed would add to their burdens of obligations (Mallon 1987:265-266). Bonilla (1987:223) argues that even though campesinos fought for Peru against Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), they did so out of a desire to protect their land and livelihood against the Chileans, who were destroying crops. Conversely, hacienda owners supported Chile in this conflict, and were therefore the target of campesino resistance (Bonilla 1987:226). Indigenous peoples continued to be subjugated throughout Peru’s republican history. By the mid-1960s, the majority of the indigenous peasantry was illiterate, still could not vote, and had very few avenues through which to contest the social establishment (La Serna 2012:104). Peasants who could vote were often compelled by the hacienda owner to vote for the candidate of his choice (La Serna 2012:104).

Changes to Female Status: Inca and Hispanic Colonial Times

It is unclear if the position of women within Andean society has ever been entirely equal to that of men. Pre-Incan Andean society defined conquest as intrinsically male, casting male deities as conquerors of female (or feminized) original inhabitants of the land. Ayllus (Andean kin groups) of differing rank claimed descent from either the deities or the conquered inhabitants, though rank seemed to have a more ceremonial/ritual meaning, and did not legitimize access to the labour and resources of lower-ranked ayllus (Silverblatt 1987:68, 70, 75). Even so, because conquest and masculinity were linked, only men could be the heads of “conquest lineages”, and thus social power was attributed to men (Silverblatt 1987:75). The Incas’ worldview shared some aspects with that of the people they conquered – it was structured by parallel gendered lines of descent and inheritance from head deities down to common humans, and reciprocal male and female components were necessary for
the perpetuation of life (Silverblatt 1987:7, 14; Weismantel 2001:139-140). However, the Inca replaced traditional deities of conquered ayllus with a hierarchy of state-approved deities whom they deemed the ancestors of all people (Silverblatt 1987:40-41). This structure promoted sharp class boundaries because social rank was linked to the place of one’s ancestral deity in the hierarchy (Silverblatt 1987:43-44, 45). This structure made all people kin, and justified the Inca’s use of traditional kinship-based norms of reciprocity to exact tribute in labour and resources.

Women were some of the “resources” demanded by the Inca government through the institution of the aclla. Accllas were young virgin women demanded as tribute by the Empire, and then consecrated to sun (the Inca’s head deity). They were sacrificed to the sun, taken to be the emperor’s wives, or given to other nobles as wives, servants, or concubines (Costin 1998:134; Silverblatt 1987:81-85). Though Inca conquest had little effect on female access to ayllu resources, royal demand for acllas changed women’s status relative to men. The institution of the aclla alienated women from their communities without their consent and altered women’s citizenship by legitimizing their treatment as “alienable goods” to be rewarded to the empire’s officers as sexual objects (Patterson 1991:113; Silverblatt 1987:87, 94). The practice of giving acllas as primary or secondary wives helped make multiple wives status symbols (Silverblatt 1987:88). It is possible that acllas exercised some power in the Empire’s workings by influencing their husbands. Through the appropriation of acllas, the Incas controlled and limited the ayllus’ social and demographic reproduction (Costin 1998:135). The control of women was instrumental in consolidating the empire’s power (Patterson 1991:101).
Spanish Colonialism and Further Changes to Gender Hierarchies.

Spanish conquest and colonization further changed the status of women in Peru. Indigenous demographic decline, Spanish colonial administration, and introduction of the market economy in the period of 1550-1700 altered relatively equal Andean gendered labour divisions and gender parallelism (Graubart 2007:31; Silverblatt 1987:202). The colonial administration assumed men were the heads of households, thus rendering Andean women legally invisible. Only men were counted in censuses and as tribute or mita labourers. Though women were not named as tributaries, their labour contributed significantly to the tribute demanded of their male relatives (Graubart 2007:32, 57). Colonial administrative positions were open mostly to men. Lack of female access to posts in the village government or church created a stronger gender imbalance than was seen during Inca times, when both men and women held positions of authority in the aymllu because of traditional structures of gender parallelism (Silverblatt 1987:21). Equal political access for women further declined due to decreased legitimization of traditional social structures and traditional female authority (Silverblatt 1987:150-151, 155).

Colonially instituted positions were outside the traditional authority structure of the aymllu, and men in these roles often ignored traditional mores regarding wealth and power. One of the consequences of this shift from traditional norms was abuse of Andean women in ways “unthinkable” before the conquest. Western norms further legitimized the perception of women as men’s property (Silverblatt 1987:138, 154) and served to further lower female social status. Women gained some respect and authority in the aymllu for protecting and reproducing traditional spirituality, but the colonial church persecuted these practices as witchcraft (Silverblatt 1987:170-171, 198). This was in part because the Catholic church of
the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries viewed women as spiritually weaker and more prone
to lust and corruption than men (Silverblatt 1987:160-161).

Peru’s independence from Spain (1821) was accompanied by a social shift toward a
stronger public-private dichotomy. For example, in urban areas in colonial Peru, such as
Arequipa, it was seen as acceptable for women to air their grievances, such as abuse from
partners, in a public manner and thus gain public support and leverage against abusers
because a man’s reputation hinged partly on his ability to keep an ordered household
(Chambers 1999:101). In the nineteenth century, after independence, social attitudes
frowned on the publicizing of private life (Chambers 1999:101), and so women likely lost
this avenue of recourse. Post-republican attitudes also placed great importance on the
woman’s role of upholding family honour through personal virtue and sexual restraint
(Chambers 1999:192). Revised codes of honour that depended more on personal (sexual)
virtue for women resulted in a “stricter code of morality for women and increased subjection
to patriarchal authority in the home” (Christiansen 2004:4). The increased emphasis on
patriarchal authority often resulted in the subjugation and physical abuse of women. In her
scholarship on the rural department\(^{16}\) of Cajamarca in the 1800s, Christiansen (2004:36)
states that women with the means to do so sought redress for abuses via civil courts, but these
avenues were shut off to many, such as rural women on haciendas. It should be noted that
sexuality and gender relations among the lower classes often differed from the idealized
early-republican codes of honour for men and women. Court proceedings from late
nineteenth-century Cajamarca show that common-law marriage and premarital sex were not
unusual among rural, lower class Peruvians (Christiansen 2004:2, 134). Even so, illicit sexual

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\(^{16}\) A department is the largest administrative division of the Peruvian state. They are divided into provinces,
which in turn are divided into districts (Christiansen 2004:1).
relations threatened female honour, while sexual conquest bolstered male reputations (Christiansen 2004:134).

Feminist movements have been active in Latin America and Peru since the 1980s, if not earlier (Padilla 2004:93). As seen in other countries, there was not one cohesive “feminist movement” due to cultural and social divisions (Moser 2004:217). The agrarian reforms instituted in Peru in the 1970s targeted class inequality, rather than gender inequality (Deere 1985:12; Zavaleta 2010:20). Rural women's federations were established in the 1980s and legislation against domestic abuse was passed in the 1990s (Boesten 2006; Huamán 2008:61). Though activism and legislation have improved the lot of Peruvian rural indigenous women, domestic abuse is still an issue in Peru, much of it brought about through alcoholism and mental health issues caused by the trauma of the conflict (Boesten 2006:356).

Similar to many feminist or female-initiated movements in Latin America, Peruvian women usually organized themselves “to either protest or solve the practical problems of survival” faced under the economic crises and repressive governments of the 1980s and 1990s (Padilla 2004:97, 98). Examples of initiatives brought about by Peruvian women in these times were *comedores populares* (communal kitchens), mothers’ clubs, medical posts, and child-care centres (Moser 2004:212, Padilla 2004:98). These activities enabled women to become more active in the public sphere while still conforming to traditional norms of femininity (Boesten 2006:370; Padilla 2004:97). During the conflict, women’s organizations “took a lead role in providing a support network for the victims of violence” (Boesten 2006:369). Boesten (2006:369) recounts that one mother's club “searched for the disappeared, negotiated with military authorities, and created an information and support network throughout the department of Ayacucho, as well as with other such organizations in bordering departments.”
Though these actions were responses to crises and conflict, Hays-Mitchell (2001:316-317) states that her field work with Peruvian female market vendors and conflict survivors has shown her that “activism does not fade as crisis conditions pass.”

However, women’s increased participation in organizing community activities and groups met with backlash in at least two ways: In public, from the PCP-SL and military, and in private, from male family members (Boesten 2006:369). First, the PCP-SL saw women’s organizations as a threat because they involved “independent grassroots leadership” and (potential) opposition. For example, the PCP-SL killed Federación Popular de Mujeres’ (Federation of Popular Women) leader María Elena Moyano in 1992 and continued to threaten and discourage women’s community participation (Padilla 2004:99). Boesten (2006:369) states that both sides of the conflict attacked civil organizations. Women were also vulnerable to violence from their husbands if they did not approve of their wives’ increased activity in the public sphere (Boesten 2006:370).

*Peasant Activism Before the Conflict and the Position of Andean Peasantry at the Outset of the Conflict*

Starn (1995b:555) refers to Andean campesinos of the 1980s as “Peru’s poorest inhabitants”; others have noted that indigenous people and rural lifeways are considered culturally inferior (Young 2002:82). The PCP-SL was able to take root because its actions against adulterers, thieves, and corrupt authorities appealed to “desires in an impoverished countryside for a more just order” (Starn 1995a:405, 1995b:551). At the University of Huamanga, the PCP-SL’s promise of armed revolution appealed to indigenous students who wanted societal change in the face of poverty and racism (Starn 1995a:404-405). The PCP-SL was particularly favoured in communities where authorities had abused their power or had not
kept troublemakers in check (La Serna 2012:16, 165). Its emergence was prefaced by (but not necessarily linked to) peasant movements for land reform, such as invasions of haciendas, which by the end of 1963 had spread throughout the Peruvian countryside (La Serna 2012:64, 104). Women joined in hacienda invasions, at times marching in front of men as a way to protect them (Huamán 2008:55). Peasant movements and hacienda invasions, which began in the late 1950s and early 1960s, were made possible in part by the construction of schools and highways at the time. Highways enabled peasants to travel to the coast, link in with the popular classes there, and create connections between the highlands and the coast (La Serna 2012:104). High school and post-secondary education helped peasants challenge both local authorities and the status quo by providing upward social mobility, and increasing peasants’ awareness of inequality in the highlands (La Serna 2012:40). Politicians of the 1960s noted and acted on peasant mobilization (La Serna 2012:104). The government of Fernando Belaunde Terry (1963) implemented a restrictive land reform, and government forces killed thousands of peasants when quelling land invasions (La Serna 2012:104-105). Land reforms instituted in the early 1970s by the military government of Juan Velasco Alvarado focused on abolishing the hacienda. Alvarado’s government feared hacienda owners would obstruct the process of land reform, and peasant unrest would persist (Huber 1990:173). Alvarado’s Land-Reform Law focused on ending types of access to land which involved unequal power and influence, with the aim of creating a society marked by solidarity and equality. Increased agricultural production was

17 Lazaro (1990:237) notes that the placement of women at the front line of conflict is an old tradition. The women “attempt to detain the opposite forces and to create conditions for men’s counter-attack.”

18 It should be remembered that Belaunde was also elected president in 1980, and that human rights abuses by the military escalated during his tenure (Cornell and Roberts 1990:532).
expected to follow the land reforms and abolition of the haciendas, as landlords were accused of underexploiting the land (Huber 1990:173).

"Racial" and Ethnic Stratification During the Internal Armed Conflict

Social stratification helped cause the Peruvian internal armed conflict by providing an environment supportive of armed insurrection. Inca and Spanish colonialism created local and national hierarchies of "race", ethnicity, class, and gender that endured into the twentieth century (Starn 1995a:403). Against the backdrop of social stratification and resultant poverty and inequality, Huamanga University (UNSch) propagated Maoist and Marxist thinking. Maoism's emphasis on the peasantry, youth activism, and political fervour appealed to middle-class Peruvian intellectuals who wanted Andean villages to remake national society, and to "farm born" students whose numbers had increased since WWII (Starn 1995a:404). Students' personal experiences of poverty and racism increased their desire for social action. Many embraced PCP-SL leader Abimael Guzman's call to arms in the late 1970s (Starn 1995a:405). The PCP-SL also gained support in the Andes by addressing local inequalities; they expelled local troublemakers and corrupt authorities, who had previously operated with impunity (La Serna 2012:16, 165; Starn 1995a:405). Despite its initial appeal in parts of the Andes, the PCP-SL mirrored the racial stratification of Peruvian society; the PCP-SL's leadership were white, middle-class professionals, and its rank and file were "brown-skinned youth of humble origins" (Starn 1995a:405).

The dynamics of the internal armed conflict highlighted the stratified nature of Peruvian society. Civil patrollers were sent on their rounds without adequate or even any

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19 In colonial times, native chiefs, whose positions had been assured by the former Inca regime, became rich, privileged, and acculturated as mediators between the Spanish and the "Republic of Indians". The differential of wealth and power created local hierarchies that persisted into the twentieth century.
weaponry (La Serna 2012:171, Huancasancos Municipal Committee, personal communication, June 14th, 2012). Some ronderos (civil patrolers) even went on duty with fake rifles made of wood, and resistant communities would sometimes fight the PCP-SL using "machetes, sickles, lances and makeshift shotguns" (La Serna 2012:171, 199; Starn 1995b:548). When the Peruvian military began to give the rondas campesinas (peasant patrols) guns in 1991, these were Winchester shotguns rather than automatic weapons like the regular military's FAL rifles or the PCP-SL's Kalashnikovs (Starn 1995b:554, 548). Though around 10,000 Winchesters were allotted to the rondas, these amounted to only a few guns per village (Starn 1995b:554). Starn (1995b:556) notes that the "desperate inequalities of race and class" in Peru of the 1990s were visible in the ability of the urban rich to defend themselves with electric fences, cement walls, Dobermans and watchmen, while campesinos could only use collective action. The discrepancy in armaments reaches back as far as the time of the conquest, when the Spanish conquistadores refused to give even their most trusted indigenous auxiliaries horses and swords, the weapons that they used. The rondas' right to bear arms was officially recognized in 1992 (Starn 1995b:554).

Women's Roles and Participation in the Conflict

Women were actively involved in conflict on the sides of the PCP-SL, MRTA, and counter-insurgent peasant patrols (Guillerot 2006:142). Women participated in the activities of the rondas by providing surveillance, carrying food, and watching children for ronderos who were on duty. Women were sometimes shown how to use weapons, actively patrolled, and even fought (Guillerot 2006:142). Women were involved with the PCP-SL and MRTA as "sympathizers, in emerging or active cadres, and even in high leadership positions within the insurgent groups" (Guillerot 2006:142). As of 1987, women reportedly made up 35 percent
of the PCP-SL’s military leaders (Lazaro 1990:234, 245 [note 7]). Marta, who gave an account of her experiences of the conflict to the 2012 UNBC-EPAF delegation in Huamanquiquia, stated that a woman was a commander of a PCP-SL contingent that attacked the town in 1992 (personal communication, June 13th, 2012). In the Andes, female participation as combatants in guerrilla warfare stretches back at least as far as anti-imperial rebellions in the 1740s and the Tupac Amaru uprising of the 1780s (Lazaro 1990:236).

Guillerot (2006:142) emphasizes that the conflict brought about modifications, at least temporarily, to gender roles. As men succumbed to the conflict, women had to deal with the alteration or disintegration of institutions such as the family, household economy, community, and community organizations. They had to step into the role of the family income-earner, and acquire what had been male roles in communities (Guillerot 2006:143). The community organizations run by women, such as mothers’ groups, community kitchens and gardens, production workshops, and milk programs brought communities together, and organized daily life (Guillerot 2006:143). These community-building activities were seen as obstructions to PCP-SL’s political goals, and for this reason the PCP-SL attacked or tried to win over women’s leadership and projects (Guillerot 2006:143). Women’s other accomplishments during the conflict included protecting the safety and lives of those close to them, and engaging with human rights organizations, the media and the government. Many women participated in these tasks despite their lack of basic education and Spanish literacy (Guillerot 2006:143).

Women, Marginalization and Vulnerability during the Conflict

Marginalization caused women to be vulnerable in particular ways during the conflict, due in part to female positioning in Peruvian society. For example, when a man was killed, his
widow faced poverty and her children a lack of education (Percy Rojas, personal communication, June 10th, 2012). Another interviewee who gave her testimonio during the 2012 UNBC/EPAF Interdisciplinary Field School, Antonia in Hualla, never found the body of her husband, presumably disappeared by the military. She states “I don’t know where he is, and if I knew where he was, I would exhume him myself” (personal communication, June 17th, 2012). She and her son live in extreme poverty, and her son believes he could have had a better education if his father had not been disappeared by the military.

The PCP-SL and the military both attacked indigenous women in ways linked to their “race” and indigenous ethnicity. For example, Marta in Huamanquiquia told not only of the deaths of her husband, father, and neighbour at the hands of the PCP-SL, but also of the PCP-SL’s treatment of the other women – rather than killing them, the PCP-SL cut off their hair (personal communication, June 13th, 2012). Cutting off a woman’s hair is a serious personal violation in the Andes (Guillerot 2006:181 [note 2]). Theidon (2008:11) also tells that the military sometimes cut off the hair of the women they raped, thus adding a further visible sign of their violation against the women. As mentioned previously, in wartime, women of lower-ranked ethnicities or “races” are seen as more available for rape and sexual abuse than are others, and this was the case in Peru. For example, when women were traveling without papers and were stopped by soldiers at military checkpoints, the women would almost certainly be raped. Mestizas could ask to have sex with the commander of the military post, and thus with only one man, while cholas were often handed over to the soldiers for gang rape (Theidon 2008:11-12). Rape was accompanied by racial and ethnic slurs (Theidon

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20 Mestizas are light-skinned mixed-race women (Cahill 1994:339).

21 Cholos are dark-skinned mixed-race women (Cahill 1994:339, 538). Cholas and cholos (dark, mixed-race men) rank farther down the social hierarchy relative to mestizas and mestizos (Theidon 2008:15[note 4]).
The military targeted indigenous women for rape, and women did not have to be part of the PCP-SL to be subject to it (Sharlach 2009:453).

**Poverty, Marginalization and Susceptibility to Violence**

Ethnic, "racial", and class hierarchies formed through the course of Peruvian history have positioned indigenous peoples to be more susceptible and less able to defend themselves from violence. Linkages between indigeneity, marginalization and susceptibility to violence can be seen in the previous pages, especially in the very material example of inequality of arms. In this research I argue that power, poverty, inequality, and social stratification are behind this heightened susceptibility to violence, in both structural and direct forms.

According to Allen (2003), power is a product of spatial and relational attributes, as well as the effect of the mobilization of material and social resources. Resources are not power, but are instead the media through which power is exercised (Allen 2003:96; Sayer 2004:258). Power and its modalities are mediated in space and time (Allen 2003:102). Modalities of power include seduction, domination, authority, and manipulation. Though these modalities do not follow set spatial templates, some modalities are better for reaching across distances (Sayer 2004:258). Furthermore, space itself consists of relationships between people, objects and processes, all of which are already engaged in complex power relations, and these varied topographies of space affect the exercise of power (Sayer 2004:258-259). In summary, those seen as being in "positions of power" are positioned to concentrate and stabilize resources, control their flows, determine the use of resources and capabilities, and use enough of these effectively in the context in which they (the power holders) are situated (Allen 2003:116-119). If power is the ability to control the flows of resources and utilize enough resources in effective ways to achieve desired ends, in the
context in which one is situated, then those who are materially poor and/or occupy low social positions – deficient in material and social resources - are, according to Allen, lacking key media to enable their exercise of power.

Farmer (2009) points to power as enabling actors to perpetrate structural violence, and to poverty as creating susceptibility to violence. Nordstrom and Martin (1992:14) state that “violence starts and stops with the people that constitute a society” and Farmer (2004:307) points to the role of people as actors in creating structural violence: “Structural violence is violence exerted systematically—that is, indirectly—by everyone who belongs to a certain social order: hence the discomfort these ideas provoke in a moral economy still geared to pinning praise or blame on individual actors.” Using examples from his work in Haiti, Farmer illustrates how decisions of powerful actors create conditions of poverty, risk and hardship for those with less social, political and economic power. He describes how the Haitian and American governments’ collaboration on a hydroelectric project may have brought electricity to some Haitians, but those living in the area of the dam were forced to settle on the infertile central plateau after their farmland was flooded. They fell into deep poverty, and consequentially suffered a lack of agency and heightened susceptibility to disease (Farmer 2009:14). By telling the story of the Haitian dam and the poverty it brought, Farmer (2009:19) traces structural violence to organizations made up of people who are positioned to exercise power over the economic and political conditions of the country. In his words:

These afflictions were not the result of accident or of force majeure; they were the consequence, direct or indirect, of human agency. When the Artibonite Valley was flooded, depriving families like the Josephs of their land, a human decision was behind it; when the Haitian army was endowed with money and unfettered power, human decisions were behind that, too. In fact, some of the same decision-makers
may have been involved in both cases. If bureaucrats and soldiers seemed to have unconstrained sway over the lives of the rural poor, the agency of Acephie and Chouchou was, correspondingly, curbed at every turn (Farmer 2009:19).

Farmer links the poverty caused by the dam to the AIDS death of one young woman.

Similarly, he links the death of a young Haitian man to the choices and actions of the Haitian government and military. In both cases, he emphasizes the place of human agency in causing structural violence and the effects of structural violence in curbing the agency of others.

Tyner (2012) similarly links marginalization and susceptibility to violence, though he focuses on violence during genocide. Tyner (2012:7, 10) states that mass killing is facilitated when perpetrators can psychologically, socially, and even physically distance themselves from their victims. Perpetrators of mass violence dehumanize their victims to lessen repugnance at their deaths (Tyner 2012:12). At the outset of the process of social and psychological distancing, the group of people deemed worthy of death (or, as could be seen by the lack of arms provided to campesinos, not worthy of protection from death) occupies a lower social rank:

Most societies contain groups that are on different social footings. Some are included in the “universe of obligation”, where actions to or against them come with social, legal and criminal consequences. Others, considered less than equal, may be offended against with little or no such repercussions (Tyner 2012:11).

Further social distancing includes blaming a group for containing social ills that must be eliminated, or justifying their deaths as a worthwhile price to pay for some “greater good” in society (Tyner 2012:10). Though the massive loss of rural and indigenous lives in Peru has not been labeled genocide, Tyner’s arguments can still be applied to the Peruvian internal armed conflict. The military and dominant society blamed indigenous Andeans for the
conflict. The leadership of both sides of the conflict, already socially distant from Peru’s indigenous people, saw them as inferior and expendable.

The dynamics of blame and sacrifice that Tyner explores can be seen in the counterinsurgency tactics used during the Peruvian internal armed conflict. Tyner (2012:11) refers to the sanction and legitimization of violence against another group as “moral exclusion” – a group is deemed unworthy of fair or equal treatment or protection from death. *Campesinos* were seen as such a group in the 1980s and 1990s. The privileged classes of Lima conflated the concepts “Ayacuchano”, “Andean”, and “Serrano” with “terrorist”, despite the PCP-SL’s lack of affiliation with or respect for indigenous Peruvian culture (Starn 1995b:555; Theidon 2006:440). The stigmatization of *Ayacuchanos* as terrorists ensured that many who fled the violence could not escape it. Many peasants who fled to urban areas were forced to settle in shantytowns; because they were from Ayacucho, they were labeled “terrorists”, and this stigmatization resulted in “arbitrary arrest and employment discrimination” (Hays-Mitchell 2001:318-319). Thus rural Andean communities were seen to contain ills that needed to be eliminated from society, even though the PCP-SL did not promote any sort of traditional Andean ideology, killed *campesinos*, and repressed their culture to the point that the Andeans revolted against them (Starn 1995a:406-407; Starn 1995b:555, 561; Theidon 2001:21).

Similarly, in the 1980s the counterinsurgency forces used a strategy that would “drain away the water, in the process killing the fish” (Taylor 1998:43). Counterinsurgency leader General Luis Cisneros viewed the killing of *campesinos* as a necessary price to pay to stop the PCP-SL:

---

*Ayacuchano* means “Ayacuchean”, or from Ayacucho, and *Serrano* means “mountain born” (Starn 1995b:555).
...the police force do not know who the senderistas [PCP-SL guerrillas] are, nor how many there are, nor when they are going to attack. For the police force to have any success they would have to begin to kill senderistas and non-senderistas, because this is the only way they could ensure success. They kill sixty people and at most there are three senderistas among them ... and for sure the police will say that the sixty were senderistas (emphasis in original).

A few years later Cisneros stated: “If to kill two or three senderistas it is necessary to kill 80 innocents, then it does not matter... The peasants have to decide where they wish to die: with Sendero or the armed forces” (Taylor 1998:43 [original emphasis]). Though this outlook was held by “a faction of the top brass”, the military’s tendencies toward indiscriminate killing in Ayacucho were exacerbated by the lack of precise state intelligence data on the PCP-SL; by Belaunde’s orders in 1982 that the military quell the PCP-SL within sixty days; and by many field commanders’ fear and suspicion of “fellow Peruvians who differed in terms of language, ethnicity and culture” (Taylor 1998:43, 44).

The PCP-SL similarly justified mass killing as a means to achieve their goals. Their attitude toward violence was that it was “the Mother of History”, that a “quota of blood” was required of each village, and “a million lives would be the price of the war Sendero waged” (Theidon 2001:21). According to this philosophy, campesinos’ lives were acceptable currency, expendable for the PCP-SL’s cause.

Tyner’s reasoning also can be applied to the practice of impunity in the Peruvian internal armed conflict. During the conflict, there were few consequences for military members who committed human rights abuses such as mass killings of campesinos (Taylor 1998:44, 46). The military’s lack of accountability for human rights abuses during the conflict reflected its active role in politics, near-complete control over counterinsurgency
planning, and lack of "civilian oversight capacity" (Cornell and Roberts 1990:530; Mauceri 1991:83). During the conflict, the Peruvian judicial system offered no serious investigation of human rights abuses, and thus enabled the impunity of those responsible (Burt 2009:385). As of 2008, the military would not cooperate with investigations into the Putis massacre (Paez 2008). By 2009, no member of the Peruvian military had been prosecuted for the massacre. Peru's Defence Minister, Rafael Rey, said the records were unattainable, having reportedly been destroyed in a fire (Collyns 2008; Collyns 2009b). Through the years, judges were told that information on military members who served on the unit responsible for the massacre did not exist. This misinformation caused the preliminary investigation for Putis to be drawn out for over ten years, despite the presence of forensic and testimonial evidence. Though some high-ranking military members were formally indicted in 2011, as of 2013 no trial date had been set (Burt and Cagley 2013:84).

A degree of impunity and lack of consequences also applied to the PCP-SL. Some PCP-SL members who were accused or brought to trial managed to escape judicial consequences. The Peruvian judicial system of the time was very inefficient and unprepared to address cases of terrorism (Mayer 1991:492; Taylor 1998:45). Evidence would be extracted through torture, causing some cases to fold, and judges would also grant acquittals to PCP-SL members due to intimidation (Taylor 1998:45). Judicial ineffectiveness spurred elements of the police and military to take matters into their own hands when dealing with real or suspected guerrillas (Taylor 1998:45).

To an extent, impunity associated with internal armed conflict was addressed differently in Peru than in other Latin American countries. The difference with Peru is that at least some of the highest-ranked intellectual authors of violence were arrested, charged, and
imprisoned. The leader of the PCP-SL, Abimael Guzman’s arrest in 1992 ended much of the
authoritarian regime of the 1990s perpetrated further terrorism through death squads,
resigned and fled to Japan in 2000 due to charges of election fraud and bribery (Burt
on a visit to Chile in 2005, and extradited to Peru in 2007 (Burt 2009:395-396). Fujimori’s
trials for various offences, including human rights violations and “illicit appropriation of
state funds”, began in 2007; by 2009 he had been sentenced to a cumulative 38 and a half
years in prison, 25 for human rights abuses (Burt 2009:396-397). Fujimori’s trials and
convictions were unique; they were first time a democratically elected head of state was
“extradited to his own country, put on trial for human rights violations and convicted” (Burt
2009:384). At the time of Fujimori’s trial and conviction, heads of state were seldom
prosecuted within their own countries for human rights abuses (Burt 2009:384). In 1999,
during the trial of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, the British House of Lords ruled that
heads of state were not immune from prosecution for international crimes and “genocide,
crimes against humanity, and war crimes” (Laplante 2010:197-198).

Conclusion

Vulnerability to violence, both in war and peacetime, is structured at least in part by social
hierarchies, which in turn are historical products of interactions between groups. By focusing
on gender as the main point of analysis, this research uses aspects of feminist theorization in
its treatment of violence during the Peruvian internal armed conflict. The use of gender in the
analysis of violence is relevant because contemporary warfare does not respect the
boundaries of “battlefield” and “home”, and thus affects civilians far more than soldiers.
Gendered violence affects both women and men, and cases of torture from other Latin American conflicts and other militarized areas provide evidence that torture targets culturally constructed gender roles. However, though there are bodies of literature addressing gender and torture, or skeletal trauma and violence, few sources focus specifically on skeletal trauma as possibly being caused by gendered violence in contemporary contexts, and apparently none do so for the case of Peru. Finally, as shown by dynamics of power and violence during the Peruvian armed conflict, historically produced hierarchies and marginalization leave social “others” who lack material and social resources more susceptible to mass violence. Chapter Four will provide an overview of the methodology, materials and methods used in this research.
Chapter Four: Material and Methods

This chapter describes the two main bodies of data analyzed in this research: forensic analysis reports of the remains of 18 victims from the massacre at Putis, and four testimonio transcripts that the CVR gathered from relatives of victims of the same massacre. I describe the creation of the gravesite, its dimensions, and the EPAF’s exhumation and analysis. I describe how the forensic reports and testimonio were produced and subsequently made accessible for this research, and discuss the analyses applied to each body of data. I conclude this chapter by considering the limitations of the research methods and materials.

The Grave’s Formation

As recounted in Chapter One, the EPAF recovered 92 individuals from the rectangular pit that the army forced the men to dig prior to their execution and burial at Putis, Ayacucho, Peru. Little other detail is available in published sources regarding the pit’s formation besides the CVR’s statement that it was dug by the victims, who were under the impression they were making a pond for a fish farm (CVR 2003a:3, 6; Gonzalez 2011:430; Guest 2008). I included information from the four testimonios that are involved in my analysis because they provided some details on the formation of the grave. These accounts were gathered for the CVR in 2002 and 2003, and are from relatives of the people who were killed at Putis. Because the CVR was informed by interviews, the four interviews here probably contributed to the CVR’s statements on the massacre (CVR 2003a). These interviews were available to me because they were from the only four people involved in the CVR’s investigation into Putis who agree to be identified and recorded. Witnesses for the CVR had to identify themselves if they wanted their statements to be available for future court cases because the
Peruvian judiciary does not admit anonymous evidence. The EPAF was able to access recordings of the interviews because they were kept at the Documentation Center of the Ombudsman, and were therefore implied to be public documents, accessible whether or not the case was in court (Ricardo Alvarado, personal communication, April 27th, 2015).23 The interviews are from two women and two men. In keeping with Supreme Decree No. 065-2001-PCM, which initiated the CVR, the interviewees’ names have been withheld in order to protect their privacy, and pseudonyms have been used instead (USIP 2015).24 Juana (pp. 10 [trans.]) provides some details on the pit: “Yes [not understood]. The army had told them to dig a hole here [like for a fish farm], they said something they said something. We are not going to do anything, they said dig a hole. Without warning the one that had escaped they did not have to do it. A big hole like for a swimming pool.” The testimonios also provide some information on the treatment of the victims at the time of death, which could shed light on how the soldiers deposited the bodies inside the grave. According to Luisa (pp. 9, 10 [trans.]), “Yes they were making them line up and killed them, piled them like firewood...” Juana (pp. 12 [trans.]) also described the deposition of the bodies: “My aunt had died, my grandfather, all... They had buried them in that hole, it was full.” Marco (pp. 36 [trans.]) provided some details on how the soldiers carried out the killings, though he did not say where the killing took place in relation to the grave: “first they killed 6 and then another 6. Thus how it was.” Antonio (part one, pp. 20 [trans.]) gives some information about the victims’ location relative to the grave at the time of their death: “After the army separated the

23 The Documentation Center of the Ombudsman archives all documents related to the CVR (Ricardo Alvarado, personal communication, April 28th, 2015).

24 According to the Supreme Decree, “The testimonies and documents received will be reserved. Following its functions, the documentary heritage that the Commission had sought throughout its term, will be delivered under inventory, the Ombudsman, under strict confidentiality of its contents. The Executive will address the recommendations of the Commission as they are consistent with the law” (USIP 2015).
people by groups and they put them at the edge of the pond they shot them and they fell in the hole.'

The dimensions of this gravesite and a smaller grave in the school are included in the CVR's report on Putis, following the 2003 visit to inspect the burials' reported locations. The larger grave measured approximately 8 by 4 metres and was located behind the community's church. The ground was disturbed and clothing and human remains were visible (CVR 2003a:7). The smaller grave, ca. 4 x 2 metres in size, is about 20 metres away in a classroom of the school. Fragments of clothing were observed in the middle of the gravesite in 2003. The CVR states that garments were exposed when rocks on the grave were moved. However, the CVR does not say who disturbed the grave (CVR 2003a:7).

The EPAF exhumed the largest grave in May 2008 (Gonzalez 2011:430). They analyzed the remains, recorded their findings, and gathered DNA samples before they repatriated the remains, which were later buried in the nearby community of Rodeo (Gonzalez 2011:440-441). Though the people were killed at Putis, the victims were from several surrounding communities: Cayramayo, Vizcatánpata, Orccohuasi, Rumichaca, Sayhullamacniyocc, Pampahuasi, Huancas, and Putis itself (CVR 2003a:2).

Using a metal detector, the EPAF found shell casings about ten metres from the grave, on or a few millimetres below the surface of the soil, as well as in the area overlooking the grave (Guest 2008; Kosiewicz 2008a). The shell casings were 7.62 by 51 millimeters, a round typical of the FAL rifle used by the Peruvian military at the time of the massacre (José Pablo Baraybar cited in Guest 2008). The EPAF mapped the distribution of the shell casings and used this map, along with knowledge of military rifle action, to recreate the estimated
location of some of the shooters in relation to the grave and the victims (Kosiewicz 2008b)\(^{25}\).

The EPAF's analysis of the scattering of the shell casings strongly suggested that more than one shooter participated in the massacre, though the EPAF does not provide a possible estimate of the number of assailants. The exhumation also revealed bullets in the grave, embedded in the dirt under the bodies, suggesting that some of the campesinos were shot while in the grave (José Pablo Baraybar in Collyns 2008; Kosiewicz 2008b). Information about the position of the bodies within the grave was not available for this research.

The scattered shells located ten metres from the grave, overlooking the grave, and in the grave indicate the possibility that some shots came from some distance away from the grave, or that the campesinos were killed near the grave as well as in it. The testimonios contain some statements that offer support for the latter scenario. Marco indicates that killings happened in more than one place. He states (pp. 40 [trans.]) "They said there are three mass graves. And that they have not died in one place but in many places." Antonio also alludes to multiple clandestine graves in Putis, possibly connected to the massacre (part one, pp. 18 [trans]): "So, when they were in Putis, like a week. There they killed all of the ones that went for their animals, [not understood]. That is why there are clandestine graves from here to there." Ash Kosiewicz (2008b), who accompanied the EPAF during their exhumation of the large, rectangular grave, also states that there were four additional graves in the immediate area. He does not say if these other graves are associated with the massacre or with different killings. According to Kosiewicz (2008c), the EPAF returned to Putis two weeks after the exhumation, and began exhuming four more graves. One of these, located in

\(^{25}\) Kosiewicz's short video of the recreation shows the possible orientation of some of the shooters relative to the grave. The recreation was not able to show if the shooters were targeting certain anatomical areas.
a classroom of the local school, is possibly the same one mentioned in the CVR’s report on Putis.

**Materials and Methods**

The materials used for this research include 18 forensic analysis reports prepared by the EPAF, and four testimonio transcripts originally gathered for the CVR. The use of multiple types of data and methods is a way to increase rigour through triangulation, where multiple methods and bodies of data help to “confirm and corroborate results” (Bradshaw and Stratford 2010:77; Hay 2010:390). Qualitative methods and quantitative methods are often used together, such as in the case of this research. I apply statistical analysis to the data from the forensic analysis reports, and then I use coding in a qualitative manner, to categorize information about the massacre at Putis so that I can analyze it and see and compare how the four interviewees talk about the massacre. Qualitative methods used alongside quantitative methods allow for a deeper exploration of the subject (Winchester and Rofe 2010:17). Coding and analyzing the testimonios will lead deeper into the subject of the massacre by showing the interviewees’ perspectives and what they say (or do not say) about the massacre, gendered violence, and the way in which victims were killed.

*The Forensic Analysis Reports*. The EPAF created the forensic analysis reports after their 2008 exhumation at Putis. The reports analyzed are a subset of the total dossier, as the EPAF gave them to me while the Putis case is at trial, and access to information on the case is limited. Moreover, information is also limited by the fact that members of the EPAF are expected to be called as expert witnesses (Valeska Martinez Lemus, personal communication, January 25th 2013). The available forensic analysis reports describe the skeletal remains of seven men and 11 women. The two youngest individuals are women.
between 17 and 25 years old, and the three eldest are women between 40 and 55. Each report provides the individuals’ sex, estimated age, estimated stature, laterality (handedness), the remains’ state of completeness and conservation, antemortem trauma and individualizing anomalies, dental chart, descriptions of associated clothing and artifacts, descriptions of perimortem and postmortem lesions over the skeletons, and possible cause of death, when discernible (Table 4.1). Fifteen of the remains were in a “regular” state of preservation, one in a state of “good” preservation, and two were deemed “poor.” See Table 4.2 for definitions of these terms, and for definitions of other terms, acronyms and abbreviations used in Table 4.1. Each of the cases had been stripped of its official case number assigned by the EPAF and given a different arbitrary number instead (from C4 to C21) before they were delivered for this research. Appendix Two provides tables of the data collected for this analysis, as well as definitions of abbreviations and acronyms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sex</th>
<th>est. age</th>
<th>est. stature (cm)</th>
<th>laterality</th>
<th>completeness</th>
<th>conservation</th>
<th>antemortem information</th>
<th>cause of death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>150-160</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>151-159</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>21 twist., C6-7 fused</td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>148-159</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>11, 12 rotated</td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>151-158</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>148-154</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>21-29</td>
<td>153-162</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW, LWOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>21-40</td>
<td>153-162</td>
<td>poss. R</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>poss. disloc. mandible</td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>144-148</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>152-155</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>23 imp.</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>17-19</td>
<td>139-153</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>33 imp., 11 twist.</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>141-148</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>22 twist.</td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>142-149</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>disloc. L ulna</td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>40-55</td>
<td>146-159</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>poor</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW/other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>35-50</td>
<td>149-157</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>40-53</td>
<td>140-152</td>
<td>poss. R</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>poor</td>
<td>osteoma, frontal</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>140-152</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>pregnant</td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>24-30</td>
<td>141-151</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>150-158</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td></td>
<td>GSW, LWOT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4.2 Acronyms and Abbreviations used in the Anthropological Information Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good preservation</td>
<td>Most bones are solid and show no damage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular preservation</td>
<td>Some bones are solid and some are fragile (usually ribs and vertebrae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor preservation</td>
<td>Most bones are fragile with spongy trabecular bone exposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete</td>
<td>At least 75% of the skeleton is present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly complete</td>
<td>Between 25-75% of the skeleton is present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete</td>
<td>Less than 25% of the skeleton is present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSW</td>
<td>Gunshot wound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFT</td>
<td>Sharp-force trauma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BFT</td>
<td>Blunt-force trauma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND</td>
<td>Not determined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LWOT</td>
<td>Lethal without treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Cervical vertebra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp.</td>
<td>Impacted (referring to teeth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disloc.</td>
<td>Dislocated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twist</td>
<td>Twisted (referring to teeth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lat.</td>
<td>Laterality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assoc.</td>
<td>Associated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: definitions of terms used to describe skeletal preservation and completeness were provided by Franco Mora (personal communication, March 3rd, 2014).
Trauma Distribution Analysis. In order to determine gendered treatment at time of death, the skeletal trauma was analyzed according to body region using divisions guided by White and Folkens (2005) and Burns and Wallington (2013) (Figure 4.1). The anatomical categorization of each injury (cranial, thorax, abdomen, arms, legs, hands, or feet) was determined by the bones affected by the injury. For example, Injury #4 in Case 6 affects the first right rib; therefore, this instance of perimortem trauma is categorized as a thoracic injury. In cases where bones from two areas were affected, the injury was assigned to the anatomical division that contained more affected bones. For example, Injury #5 in Case 15 affected the eleventh and twelfth thoracic vertebrae and the first through third lumbar vertebrae. This injury was classed as an abdominal injury because it affected more abdominal bones than thoracic bones.
In each individual's report, the EPAF numbered the perimortem injuries observed, and described the extent of each by listing the bones affected. I counted each injury listed by the EPAF, as well as additional injuries indicated by clothing damage. After I compiled the trauma data, I calculated the mean number of injuries per person, and compared the
differences in number of injuries per anatomical region between males and females using a Fisher's Exact Test (alpha = 0.05). The Fisher's Exact test is a statistical test which determines if two categorical variables (in this case, gender and trauma distribution) exhibit non-random association (Weisstem 2014). This test is used in other anthropological scholarship to compare trauma patterns and frequencies over two populations. Tung (2007) and Scott and Buckley (2010) applied Fisher's Exact Test to relate cranial trauma frequencies between populations differentiated by sex or geographic location, and evaluate the degree to which different frequencies are due to chance. Buzon and Richman (2007:786-787) use Fisher's Exact Test to analyze frequencies of traumatic injury linked to age, sex, and bone type. I use the test to show if the sex of the victims described in the forensic analysis reports correlates with the distribution of wounds over their remains. Fisher's Exact test is appropriate in this case because it is commonly used on small samples to calculate exact (rather than estimated) deviation from the null hypothesis. The null hypothesis of this research is that the patterns of trauma found on the remains in this sample are not linked to gender.

I used information about the clothing accompanying the remains to help clarify the number of assaults and to indicate possible wounding that did not affect the skeleton (as in cases where a bullet enters the body but does not contact the skeleton). In some of the cases used here, holes indicated multiple injuries rather than one extensive injury. For example, in Case 16 (Figure 4.2) the holes in this woman's sweater support an explanation that three bullets were responsible for the trauma to her lumbar vertebrae, sacrum, and os coxae. The forensic analysis report classified the trauma on these bones as one injury. In other cases, such as Case 4, holes in clothing show where gunshot wounds (GSW) were likely inflicted,
but where they caused no discernible trauma to the skeleton (Figure 4.3). Table 2.4 (Appendix Two) lists the artifacts found associated with each set of remains.

**Figure 4.2 Case 16: gunshot holes in woman’s sweater (EPAF)**

**Figure 4.3 Case 4: possible gunshot holes in man’s sweater (EPAF)**
This summary indicates the presence or absence of clothing, especially pants or skirts. This information is useful because other comparisons of witness and forensic evidence have found that the absence of lower clothing strongly suggests perimortem sexual assault (Burns and Wallington 2013:206).

The Testimonio Transcripts. The testimonios analyzed in this research are a product of interviews conducted for the CVR between 2002 and 2003, notably almost two decades after the massacre at Putis (Percy Rojas, personal communication October 24th, 2013). The CVR was established during the interim presidency of Valentin Paniagua, after President Fujimori resigned office and fled Peru (Laplante 2007:147). As mentioned earlier, its mandate was to “clarify the process, facts and responsibilities” of the violence perpetrated by the PCP-SL and state forces between 1980 and 2000, and to propose initiatives toward peace, reconciliation, democracy, and reparations (Guillerot 2006:139). The CVR was given a staff of more than five hundred people, including 12 Peruvian commissioners, and two years in which to document the national conflict (Leiby 2009b:78). Peruvian and international anthropologists also participated in the CVR’s work, and were instrumental in gathering testimonies and in explaining the CVR’s work to indigenous communities (Hite 2007:119). Regional offices were formed around the country; regional offices managed zone offices, which in turn fielded mobile teams that traveled to remote areas to collect testimonios for the CVR (CVR 2003c). The teams of interviewers that collected testimonies in villages and communities consisted of equal numbers of men and women. The CVR used this team composition as a means to help “develop the gender aspect of its inquiry” (Salazar Luzula 2006:59). CVR team members collected 16,917 private and public testimonies from people affected by the conflict (Laplante 2007:144; Lieby 2009b:78). The testimonies were collected
through interviews that were guided by forms (Guillerot 2006:151). Other methods for gathering information included collecting photos and inviting individuals to a total of 12 public hearings to speak of their experiences of violence (Laplante 2010:194; Lieby 2009b:78). These public hearings were broadcast on national television and radio stations, and addressed 318 cases and 422 testimonies (Lieby 2009b:78). When victim-survivors testified in public hearings, the CVR commissioners “listened without any type of legal-scientific inquiry or interrogation” (Laplante 2007:439). Because the transcripts of the four interviews used in this research contain much interrogation, I assume that they were originally collected at regional offices or in the field rather than in the public hearings.

The sources used here (CVR 2003c; Guillerot 2006; Hite 2007; Leiby 2009a) refer to the victim-survivors’ accounts as “testimonies” rather than testimonios. However, the four accounts used in this research still exhibit the characteristics of testimonios: they are collective, they are from people on the margins of Peruvian society, and they contest the official history of the grave at Putis by stating that a massacre, rather than a skirmish, occurred there. Testimonio differs from courtroom-style “testimony” because it usually is a mediated narrative from a marginalized source which focuses not only on the experiences of the individual relating the account, but also on the collective experiences of their family and community (Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000:267). Testimonio is less about fact-finding or evidence-gathering, and more about understanding how people attach meaning to experience (Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000:270). Testimonio also involves embodied, performative and spatial elements as respondents recount experiences (Riaño-Alcala and Baines 2011:413-414). The testimonio of participants who allowed themselves to be interviewed by the EPAF during the 2012 UNBC-EPAF Interdisciplinary field school in Ayacucho confirmed Nolin
Hanlon and Shankar’s (2000) and Riaño-Alcalá and Baines (2011) description of testimonio. Field-school respondents told not only of their own hardships and losses, but also those of their families and communities. They referenced their physical sequelae of grief, reenacted parts of their accounts, and either spoke about or brought the delegation to places that bore meaning for them (Juliana, personal communication June 15th, 2012; Marta, personal communication, June 13th, 2012). The 2012 field school experience also showed that context affects testimonio, especially if that context involves conflict between neighbours. When visiting the community of Sacsamarca, the EPAF team members told us to avoid asking participants about an unresolved conflict between Sacsamarca and Colcabamba. This was so we did not reopen painful memories that we did not have the resources to address. Finally, the field school experience showed that though recounting traumatic events is painful, people will still do so in the hopes that sharing the information will help improve their lives and those of their community. Respondents’ desire to improve individual and collective quality of life was evident in the wishes for better infrastructure, and better monetary reparations.

The EPAF provided four testimonios, three conducted in Quechua, and one in Spanish. As mentioned earlier, these testimonios were available because they are from the only four people who allowed the CVR to record their interviews regarding the massacre at Putis (Ricardo Alvarado, personal communication, April 27th, 2015). The two men and the two women were 40, 43, 45, and 50 years old at the times of their interviews. The testimonios provide very little information about the interviewers, which is a shortcoming as the identity of the interviewer helps to shape the power dynamics of the interview situation. At least one interviewer was a woman, as denoted by the interviewee, Luisa, referring to her as “miss” (pp. 12 [trans.]). As mentioned in Chapter Two, Mr. Soto, the anthropologist on
staff with the EPAF, transcribed the testimonios from audio and translated three from Quechua to Spanish over the course of eight days (Cristian Silva, personal communication, April 29th, 2013; Percy Rojas, personal communication, October 24th, 2013). Mr. Silva provided translation from Spanish into English. The transcripts follow a similar format: the interviewer asks for the interviewee’s personal information before shifting the topic to the interviewee’s experiences of the conflict, his or her deceased relatives and the events surrounding his or her relatives’ deaths or disappearances. The interviewer then inquires about the interviewee’s life after the loss of his or her relative(s), and sometimes asks about the interviewee’s desires regarding reparations and justice. In the cases of the two men who gave their testimonios, Antonio and Marco, the interviewer also asks about life before the start of the conflict, and these two transcripts contain lengthy segments on the history of the communities in the area of Putis.

In all four testimonios, the accounts of the massacre are informed by second-hand information. Luisa (pp. 26 [trans.]) and Juana (pp. 12 [trans.]) were informed of their relatives’ deaths by survivors who had escaped the massacre. Antonio’s (part one, pp. 22 [trans.]) uncle used a note to inform him of the death of his parents and of two of his brothers. Marco (pp. 37, 40 [trans.]) seems to have gathered declarations about the conflict and the massacre from community members and survivors, and is presenting them to the interviewer. He knew of the massacre because two survivors told him about it, but he does not mention if they, or someone else, told him of the deaths of his mother and son at Putis (Marco, pp. 40-41 [trans.]). Luisa’s mother was killed in a separate incident days before the Putis massacre. Her brother, who escaped the massacre, told her about their mother’s death (Luisa, pp. 10-12 [trans.]). Luisa’s sister and some of her sister’s children were also killed at

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Putis, but she does not specify who told her of these deaths, just that she heard about the massacre from a woman who had escaped (Luisa, pp. 26 [trans.]). Juana likewise says that an escapee told her of her father’s murder at Putis, but she does not say who told her of her mother’s death, which also occurred in an incident separate from the massacre (Juana, pp. 8, 12 [trans.]). At first, it seems Juana witnessed her mother’s murder, and provides details about her mother’s escape from the PCP-SL and her interaction with the soldiers before she was killed:

**Interviewer:** Had they escaped? They went with the army?

**Juana:** We watched. My mother was in another site. The army came with a lot of weapons. My mother was saying I am going to go with them. They will defend me, the Shining Path won’t be able to kill me now. My mother moved to the front. Now, I am going to go with them, my daughter is also in Huanta...[not understood] When the military arrived they told her, Ah, you are a terrorist, they told my mom. My mother, no, they were holding me and I could not escape, my daughter is also in Huanta, that is why I want to go, that is what she said. Liar, you also are a terrorist, two or three times they were talking [not understood] they killed my mother.

Please don’t kill me, don’t kill me, my daughter is in Huanta, they were holding me, that’s why I couldn’t...(Juana, pp. 6 [trans.])

Later, she says she was informed of her mother’s death a month after it happened. Then she changes her account and says she was told two months after her mother’s death. When the interviewer asks her who told her, Juana does not say:

**Interviewer:** And after what happened, they haven’t told you, here in Huanta?

**Juana:** No, after a month, so, they have killed your mother. Your animals were taken too.

**Interviewer:** Where?

**Juana:** I don’t know where.
Interviewer: And who told you?

Juana: As I came, I am telling you.

Interviewer: Just recently, from Cairamayo, they told you after a month?

Juana: Two months, that is what I believe.

Interviewer: Two months later they told you that your mom was killed?

Juana: They have killed her. She was escaping with the soldiers from here and they killed her [not understood] (Juana, pp. 7-8 [trans.])

Another possible interpretation of these passages is that Juana witnessed her mother’s murder and that one or two months later she was told of the army’s theft of her livestock and her mother’s killing was mentioned in conjunction with this news. The lack of clarity regarding Juana’s mother’s murder could be due to the effects of trauma and time on her memory.

Information may have been clouded by the use of region-specific language and terms, as well as the process of translation from Spanish to English. The interview information says that Juana’s interview was conducted in Spanish, not in Quechua as with the other three.

Because they contain accounts of each interviewee’s lived experiences during the conflict, the testimonios are sources of expert information on life during the armed conflict. However, the decision to view the testimonios as expert sources on the Putis massacre is tempered by the fact that all four testimonios recount second-hand information (which would be considered “hearsay” in a court of law), and information will change when it passes between people. The passage of time can also cause memories to deteriorate (see below).

Though the testimonios are affected by the interviewees’ lack of temporal and spatial proximity to the massacre, they will still contain information about the massacre that may not be present in other bodies of evidence, and that could inform or contradict the forensic evidence. This may lead to a fuller understanding of what happened during the massacre by
helping with the interpretation of the forensic evidence, and by providing additional details about the massacre.

**Coding and Analysis of the Testimonio Transcripts.** I used coding and content analysis to analyze the testimonio data. The goal of this analysis was to find areas that described the massacre at Putis, categorize this information in order to compare what each testimonio conveyed about the massacre, and then compare the findings of the testimonio analysis with the findings of the analysis of the forensic data. Content analysis refers to a style of analysis where parts of interview text are categorized together due to similarities in content. The content of each category is analyzed, and the category is situated in relationship to other categories (Morse 2012:197). I applied content analysis to the testimonio transcripts in order to gather information about the massacre’s forensic details, such as type of trauma inflicted, differentiation of trauma by gender, and number and demographic characteristics of people killed. The analysis also sought information about the rape of the women reported in the CVR and suggested by the clothing information in the forensic reports. Coding, a process where the researcher categorizes data, was used to gather and sort information that could inform the forensic data. I created codes, or categories into which data were gathered, and code labels help keep track of the data assigned to each category or categories (Kirby and McKenna 1989:139). Knowledge of my positionality is important because as a researcher, my interpretations guide the coding. By creating the codes and deciding how to categorize the data, I decide what each datum means in the context of the research (Saldaña 2013:4). When coding in qualitative research, a datum can be “a passage from a transcript, a piece of information from field notes, a section of a document, a snippet of conversation.”
(Kirby and McKenna 1989:135). It can range from a few lines to several pages long, but it must be able to stand on its own (Kirby and McKenna 1989:135-136). Besides categorization, coding is also used to find patterns within data, or engage in other analytical activities (Saldana 2013:4). I used coding to categorize information that could provide forensically relevant details about trauma inflicted on the massacre victims.

Creating and Organizing Coding Categories. Kirby and McKenna (1989:140) define coding as an emergent process because codes may be created as the researcher notices topics emerging regularly throughout the dataset. Saldana (2013:6-7) advises that patterns of interactions between codes may emerge from coded text. These might include similarity or difference, frequency (often or seldom), sequence (a certain order), correspondence (things happen in relation to other activities, events, factors, etc.), and causation.

The goal of the coding the testimonio transcripts was to find and categorize forensic information. I looked for material related to information contained in the forensic analysis reports, for example: descriptions of actions by individuals that could possibly have caused blunt-force, sharp-force and GSW trauma, such as beatings or shootings; indications of gendered violence; descriptions of how the victims were positioned relative to the perpetrators and the grave; and treatment of the victims' bodies after their murder. I created codes to categorize information about the victims, actions causing skeletal trauma, perimortem events, gendered treatment, and rape. Previous reading of Guatemala's REMHi Report (ODHAG 1998) showed that victim-survivors' accounts could contain graphic details of physical trauma inflicted during massacres. I expected to find similar material in the testimonios from Putis. The gendered patterns of skeletal trauma revealed by the forensic

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26 Kirby and McKenna (1989:135) actually use the term "bibbit", while Saldana (2013:4) uses "datum" for the same concept. Saldana's term is preferred here because it seems more widely familiar.
data analysis also raised expectations that victim-survivors would talk about actions that led to gendered skeletal trauma. I also used coding to gather information on grave formation processes in order to assist in describing the burial site. Finally, I created codes to mark information on victim demographic and minimum number of individuals (MNI) killed. These codes were emergent – that is, they were created after the coding of the first testimonio began, and I realized that it contained information about demographic and MNI – two fields of information also contained in the forensic analysis reports and other information that the EPAF provided about the massacre. Except for the codes that marked mention of perpetrators and grave formation, I also applied coding to information that was shared between both the testimonios and forensic analysis reports.

I coded with Nvivo 10 (QSR International), software that enables the creation of a coding framework, storage of lists of codes, and access to the material from each source (testimonio PDFs), categorized under each code. This last feature was very helpful because it enabled me to compare what each interviewee had to say on a given subject. Though Nvivo is usually used for large sets of interviews, I chose to use it because it had some features that allowed me to preserve the flow of reading the testimonios, as well as save time creating documents for the material under each code category. For example, as I coded, Nvivo would automatically compile the material under each code into documents that would change as I decided to add or uncode material, expand coded sections, or apply more than one code to a passage. Because Nvivo took over the task of making documents for the material gathered under each code, I was able to read through the testimonio transcripts with minimal interruption, instead of stopping, opening up a document, placing the passage in the document, and then continuing. In retrospect, Nvivo also had its shortcomings: though it sped
up the coding process and allowed me to keep everything for the testimonio analysis in one place, coding in a more hands-on manner might have immersed me more deeply in the testimonios and enabled more insights into what the interviewees had to say.

After I completed the coding, I explored the material contained in each code, and eliminated redundant codes. I deemed codes redundant when they were too general to be useful, a problem that is frequently found when coding. In these cases, it is acceptable to place the information coded under the broad code into smaller, more specific code categories (Cope 2010:288). For example, I eliminated the code “victims” because most of the material under this code was already found under all of the other codes, which all focused on the massacre victims in some way. I also eliminated codes that focused on information that turned out to be irrelevant to the research question. These included codes on perpetrators, which covered material about violence perpetrated by the PCP-SL and by security forces. I eliminated these because the research focuses on a specific violent incident perpetrated by the military, not on other violence perpetrated by the PCP-SL.

Limitations of Materials and Methods

Forensic Analysis Reports, Clothing and Trauma Analysis. The forensic analysis reports were limited by extrinsic factors, such as the quality of the pictures of the remains and clothing. The photos were very helpful, but analysis was limited by the photos' resolution. Intrinsic factors that limited the forensic data include the expertise of the forensic researchers and those who created and translated the reports. In a few instances, some injury descriptions lacked clarity (possibly caused by translation from Spanish to English). Finally, skeletal trauma reflects only those injuries that affect bone tissue (Komar and Lathrop 2012:4). They thus represent a minimum number of trauma incidences.
Testimonia Transcripts and Analysis. King and Horrocks (2010:147-149) list the following limitations to using transcript data: recording quality, missing context, and "tidying up" transcribed talk. The acceptable approach to unclear areas of recording is to note them as "unclear" or "inaudible" and if a guess is offered, to alert the reader that it is only a guess (King and Horrocks 2010:148). In several places within the testimonios, Mr. Soto, during the transcription and the initial round of translation, wrote "not understood". I assume that these are places where the recording quality was poor or where the language was untranslatable.

As a result, some questions and answers are partially or completely unclear, causing information to be lost in some places. This approach is vastly preferable to "tidying up", which involves correcting grammar and mispronunciation, offering a "best guess" on inaudible or unintelligible words and phrases, or interpreting unfamiliar words, such as jargon, in an inaccurate way (King and Horrocks 2010:148-149).

Missing context can hamper transcript usefulness because it limits the ability to interpret the content of the interviews. Context consists of paralinguistic devices such as intonation, which reveal more about the words' actual meaning; interview setting, factors such as degree of formality or the presence of external people; and the social dynamics of the interviewees' lives and where these relate to the topic of the interview (King and Horrocks 2010:147). The original recordings from which the interviews were transcribed are inaccessible to me, and thus so is any information they contain regarding the interviews' context. Occasionally, Mr. Soto wrote down nonverbal actions heard on the audio, such as crying or presenting the interviewer with pictures and materials. The interviews' settings were not recorded on the transcripts, which is a drawback because one might be able to consider how these affected the outcome of the interviews. For example, were other people
present or absent, and did this affect the interviewees’ responses? Were the interviews conducted by a field team in the interviewees' homes, or were interviewees told to come to a central place, such as the local municipal hall? The transcripts also reveal almost nothing about the identity of the interviewers; this is a problem because the interviewers’ age, gender, ethnicity and presentation of self “can potentially affect how respondents react in the interview” (Baxter and Eyles 1997:513-514). My inability to be present during the interviews, my lack of knowledge about the interviewees’ lives at the time of the interviews, and the absence of information on the interviewers’ ethnic and cultural background restrict my commentary on the social dynamics between the interviewers and interviewees.

Finally, three of the transcripts have endured two rounds of translation: from Quechua into Spanish and from Spanish into English. The translation process has possibly, if not probably, affected the sentence structure and the meaning of some words. Certain words and phrases also may mean something different in the geographical area from which they originated than they do to the reader and researcher. The use of these “regionalisms” by the interviewees might cloud the meaning of parts of the transcripts. Though the forensic analysis reports and the testimonio transcripts were made more accessible through translation, incorporation of other relevant Spanish language sources (articles, theses, etc.) was difficult due to my limited Spanish proficiency.

*Effects of Time.* Discussing oral testimony, Hartman (2002:9) states “different witnesses often see things differently or even see different things. This may also happen with a single witness, whose memory is not static but evolves.” Perceptions of events vary

27 Participants in the 2012 UNBC-EPAF Interdisciplinary Field School observed interviews held in people's homes, at the local pharmacy, or even on the street. The EPAF would always ask first for permission to interview.
between individuals, and can change over time. The testimonio evidence is probably affected by the passage of time – the CVR was collecting statements between 2002 and 2003, thus victim-survivors waited between 18 and 19 years to give their testimonios about Putis (Percy Rojas, personal communication October 24th, 2013). Peace and Porter's work (2004) supports the argument that traumatic memories are actually more resilient than positive memories or memories of everyday experiences. Their experiment compared participants' own accounts of both traumatic and positive experiences using interviews set at least three months apart. However, this study was able to examine consistency, but not accuracy, of traumatic memory recall. Traumatic memories may also fade or become distorted given more time than was used in the experiment (Peace and Porter 2004:1157). Wagenaar and Groeneweg (1990) compared two sets of concentration camp survivors' accounts, separated by 40 years. They found that while traumatic memories were generally well remembered, "specific but essential" material was lost (Wagenaar and Groeneweg 1990:77[abstract]). They concluded that traumatic experiences, while memorable, were not immune to erosion and alteration over time. Despite the possibility of erosion and alteration over time, testimonio can be powerful in court settings, providing key details decades after atrocities occur. During the recent trial of former Guatemalan dictator General Efrain Rios Montt (2013), more than 90 survivors of massacres and rapes perpetrated by the Guatemalan military in 1982 and 1983 provided detailed testimony against Montt (MacLean 2013a, 2013b, 2013c:4; Roberts 2013). The evidence these survivors provided contributed to Montt's conviction of genocide and crimes against humanity on May 17th, 2013. Though the Guatemalan Constitutional Court annulled part of the trial's proceedings three days later over a procedural ruling, setting the trial back to an earlier point in its proceedings, Montt's trial
and judgement was the first time a head of state was convicted of genocide in a domestic court (MacLean 2013c:1, 3, 17). It should be noted that many witnesses in the Rios Montt trial saw atrocities firsthand, while the four interviewees in the testimonios received second-hand news of their relatives’ deaths. Therefore, the lack of detail provided in the testimonios about the massacre at Putis may be due more to the interviewees’ proximity to the massacre than to the passage of time.

One must also remember that traumatic experiences, such as living through an armed conflict, can also produce post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in victim-survivors. McKinnon et al. (2014:7) show that both PTSD-afflicted and healthy interviewees gave more details about traumatic events. However, when PTSD-afflicted victim-survivors recalled the traumatic event that caused the PTSD, they included more details that were not specific to the event itself. Whether or not a person had PTSD did not affect the amount of details or accuracy of details they recalled about the traumatic incident. Other research points to memory difficulties in PTSD sufferers, however. According to Jobson et al. (2014:697) PTSD-afflicted victim-survivors tend to recall memories related to collections of events, rather than memories related to specific occasions. They can have difficulty voluntarily accessing “coherent accounts” of trauma, yet at the same time be afflicted by intrusive memories of the trauma (Jobson et al. 2014:697). Remembering specific details of trauma may be more painful. Avoidance of specific, painful memories can lead to inability to voluntarily recall details of trauma, and can affect the general ability to recall specific memories (Jobson et al. 2014:697).

Traumatic events can produce memories that are fragmented and nonlinear. For survivors of traumatic experiences, recounting memories can cause physical reactions
ranging from crying to shock and anxiety (Kennedy 2013:51). The concept of traumatic memory as a physical burden is also located in Andean culture in Ayacucho, where women have recounted the long-term effects of traumatic memory on children born during the conflict, and expressed a desire not to “martyr their bodies” by remembering the violence and pain of the conflict (Theidon 2008:9).

The interview process itself may affect interviewees' ability to accurately recall information. Writing about forensic investigative interviewing, McKenzie (2002: 432) states that interviewer questioning that is “formulaic or agenda driven”, omits details, or includes inaccurate or nonexistent details on the topic of the interview can contaminate memory.

Finally, the accounts of the massacre at Putis are also second-hand evidence. It is very difficult, if at all possible, to know to what degree details were added, dropped or changed as the accounts made their way from the eyewitnesses to the interviewees.

Conclusion

This chapter presents a discussion of the positioning and relationships between the people and concepts involved in this research, followed by a description of the forensic analysis reports and testimonio transcripts, and the methods used to analyze these two bodies of data. It must be noted that both the forensic analysis reports and the testimonios have limitations. The forensic analysis reports are limited by the expertise of the EPAF and the quality of the photographs of the eighteen victims’ remains. The testimonio transcripts bear a range of limitations, from inaudible or unclear patches in the original audio recordings to lack of information about the interview setting, context, and interviewer-interviewee relationships and power dynamics, and how these factors affected the interviewees’ responses. The interviewees were also reporting second-hand information on an event that occurred decades
earlier, so the testimonio transcripts are also limited by the ways information changes when it
is relayed between people, and by the effects of time and trauma on memory. Chapter Five
presents the results of the data analyses, and how these results address the research questions.
Chapter Five: Results

This chapter outlines the results of the methods used to address the two research questions:

(1) do patterns of skeletal trauma reveal differences in the ways in which men and women were executed, and what do these patterns suggest about linkages between gender and violence in times of armed conflict; and (2) in what ways does information in the testimonios support or counter the information found in the EPAF’s forensic analysis reports? I analyzed patterns of perimortem trauma in order to address the former question, and I coded forensically relevant information in the testimonios transcripts, and compared this information with the data from the forensic analysis reports, to address the latter question.

Results of the Skeletal Trauma Analysis

The remains of the seven men in the sample bear a total of 32 perimortem injuries, and of the remains of the eleven women, nine bear a total of 46 injuries (Table 5.1 and Appendix Two). The two women who show no perimortem trauma are also the two youngest individuals in the sample, aged 17-19 and 18-25 years. Possible explanations for the absence of skeletal trauma might include death by asphyxiation, or exsanguination from injuries that did not affect the skeleton. It is also possible that gunshot wounds (GSW) killed them, but the shots passed through soft tissue without marking the skeleton. This possibility is present elsewhere in the sample; as mentioned in Chapter Three, the male in Case 4 was possibly wounded by shots that did not affect his skeleton. His sweaters display five additional holes likely caused by ballistics, but the bones nearest to these holes are reportedly unaffected. At least one previous study has shown that GSW do not always affect bones. Langley (2007:532-533) found that in a sample of 87 thoracic GSW, inflicted by handguns and rifles,
which affected 134 bones, including 101 ribs, 14 percent of the shots passed through soft tissue without striking bones. Ubelaker’s (1996) study of skeletal GSW also acknowledges that trauma on bones represents a minimum number of injuries because of the likelihood that some GSW will not affect bones.

**Statistical Analysis and Results.** The number of perimortem injuries per anatomical area is presented in Table 5.1, and graphed in Figure 5.1. Only the cases that exhibited perimortem skeletal trauma are included in the total number of individuals whose data are used in the distribution analysis.

**Table 5.1 Perimortem Injuries per Anatomical Area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cranial</th>
<th>Thorax</th>
<th>Abdomen</th>
<th>Arms</th>
<th>Legs</th>
<th>Total Injuries</th>
<th>Total Cases Examined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5.1 Distribution of injuries between men and women**
The mean number of injuries per individual reveal no meaningful difference between men (4.4 per person) and women (4.2 per person). However, the injury distribution over the cranial, thoracic and abdominal areas is significantly different between men and women (Fisher's Exact Test: $p = 0.017$), supporting the contention that males and females were targeted differently. Injury frequency differs most in the abdominal area; the remains of the men bear only two abdominal injuries, compared to 13 on the remains of the women. Similarly, the remains of the women show 14 injuries to the thorax, twice as many as seen in men. The men suffered 12 cranial injuries, and the women only eight.

_Anomalies in the Forensic Data._ It should be noted that the description of some injuries in the forensic analysis reports is vague or unclear, particularly concerning the female of Case 14. The fourth injury described affects the vertebrae T1-T5, T9-T12, and the tenth left rib. Though high-velocity ammunition, such as was used in the massacre, can penetrate multiple bones and cause extensive skeletal damage (Kimmerle and Baraybar 2008:414), it seems improbable that only one injury could cause such extensive damage to nearly all of the thoracic spinal column with the exception of T6-T8. Case 14’s third injury might also possibly be at least two injuries; right ribs one, three, four, and seven through 11 are affected. Again, the injured bones are not adjacent to each other. The injuries to bodies of the seventh and eight right ribs are very clearly associated and attributable to a single GSW on a trajectory from right to left and below to above, as is the injury to the fourth rib.

However, the injuries to the first, third, ninth, tenth, and eleventh right ribs are relatively distant, and the rib heads are missing. The articular facets of the head of the seventh rib are also absent. The trauma to all eight rib heads might be caused by the shock and disturbance of a single high-speed round. Though rib fractures caused by blunt-force trauma (BFT) more
frequently affect the anterior rather than the posterior aspect of the ribs (Kimmerle and Baraybar 2008:224), an unassociated blunt-force compression injury to the right thorax might have caused the separation of rib heads before the shooting. Compression and separation might also have been caused by the weight of soil, stones, and other bodies at the time of burial.

In Case 16 (pp. 30 [trans]), the description of the bones affected by the third injury is also unclear. The description of this injury (in reality, three separate injuries as shown by associated holes in clothing) reads “Absence of lumbar vertebrae, sacrum and almost all costal arches; associated with loss of part or substance of the right ilium and both pubis” [emphasis added]. This statement is ambiguous because there is no specified number or siding of ribs whose costal arches are involved in this section of the forensic analysis report. The pluralization of “costal arches” indicates the report is referring to multiple features on multiple ribs, but the definition of “costal arch” in this context is unclear. Separate medical dictionaries define “costal arch” as the curvature formed by the shafts of the ribs, or the arch at the bottom of the ribcage formed by the cartilage of the seventh through tenth ribs (Anderson et al. 2002:439; Dorland 2012:127). As the costal arches (or arch?) were absent, it was probably not possible to say more about the type of trauma that caused their separation. The ambiguous or unclear parts of the forensic analysis reports did not hamper analysis, however; though some of the ambiguous injuries were quite extensive, these were treated as single injuries unless the EPAF or the clothing evidence stated otherwise, and the statistical analysis involved the most conservative total of injuries possible.

Results of Clothing Analysis. A comparison of the type of clothing found associated with the men and the women reveals that the men in the sample are more likely than the
women to have been found with lower garments (i.e., pants versus skirts). Only one man out of the seven lacks pants, but seven of the 11 women lack skirts. All but two of the women who lack skirts are not older than 35 years old. Three of the four women who have skirts are between 35 and 55 years old, but the fourth (Case 14) is a comparatively young 20-30 years old. Table 5.2 shows a breakdown of which individuals do or do not have lower garments, focusing on their sex and estimated age. The boldface information is that of the youngest and oldest women who do or do not have lower garments.

Table 5.2: Presence/Absence of Lower Garments, as Related to Sex and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case #</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>est. age</th>
<th>Lower Garments?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C04</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C05</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C06</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C07</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C08</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C09</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>21-29</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C10</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>21-40</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C11</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C12</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C13</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>17-19</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C14</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C15</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40-55</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35-50</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40-53</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>C19</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25-35</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C20</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24-30</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C21</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absence of most of the women’s lower garments suggests rape, as does an injury to the left ulna (Case 14) and one to the left ascending ramus of the mandible (Case 16), both of which correspond to trauma suffered by rape victims (Burns and Wallington 2013:206; Sawyer Sommers and Buschur 2004:63). The absence of the skirts and the presence of
Injuries to the mandible and forearm mirror a case cited by Burns and Wallington (2013:206). A witness to a massacre at Río Negro, Guatemala stated that the military raped and beat their female victims. An exhumation of the corresponding grave turned up many blouses but few skirts. Many of the female remains bore perimortem fractures of the zygoma (cheekbones), mandibles and forearms. Spiral fractures, consistent with wrenched arms, were also present. The injuries to the face and arms were "consistent with facial beating and defense attempts" (Burns and Wallington 2013:206).

The results of the trauma distribution analysis address the first research question by showing that the remains of the men and the women bear different injury patterns. The statistical analysis applied to the trauma distribution show significant differences in trauma patterning on the cranial and torso regions of the men and the women. The higher frequency of trauma over the women's thoracic and abdominal areas suggests this area was targeted on the women more than on the men.

*Results of the Testimonio Analysis.*

Compared to their overall length, the testimonios contain relatively little information that addresses the second research question: do the testimonios support the EPAP's forensic analysis reports vis-à-vis victimization and gendered violence? The information in the reports which is pertinent to the research question falls into the following categories: perimortem trauma, including blunt force, sharp-force, and gunshot wounds (BFT, SFT, and GSW respectively); rape; gendered treatment; and miscellaneous perimortem events or circumstances.

*Perimortem Trauma.* Perimortem trauma is the main focus of the forensic analysis reports. However, the testimonios do not describe it in great detail. When speaking of their
experiences and their communities’ experiences of the years of conflict, the interviewees mention actions and weapons linked to BFT, SFT and GSW. Material regarding perimortem trauma and associated weapon use was categorized under the codes BFT, SFT and GSW. Overall, the testimonios indicate that the military inflicted mainly GSW. No actions that possibly lead to BFT or SFT are described in the context of the massacre, though interviewees mention these being inflicted by both the military and the PCP-SL at other times in their experiences of the conflict as a whole. Antonio and Luisa explicitly mention the lethal use of guns against the campesinos at Putis. Antonio’s (part one, pp. 19 [trans.]) interviewer asks him how the campesinos were killed:

Interviewer: How did they kill them?

Antonio: With bullets, putting holes in them. From the ones that escaped there is a [married] woman, I saw her in Huanta.

Luisa (pp. 23 [trans]) was also asked by her interviewer about the means with which the military killed the campesinos:

Interviewer: They had killed them with bullets?

Luisa: Only with bullets, they said it was with bursts [of gunfire]. They had made them line up and with bursts they had killed old and young.

This statement shows the interviewer clarifying information about the massacre.

Juana and Marco also recount the massacre at Putis, and though they state the soldiers killed the campesinos, they do not mention weapons in the context of the massacre. Marco’s omission seems strange, since he provides other details about the soldiers’ actions at the time of the massacre: the soldiers were drinking all night before the massacre, they had already
schemed to take the peasants' livestock, told the peasants they were digging a "piscigranja" ("farm pool"), took the women aside and raped them, and killed people in groups of six (pp. 33-34, 36 [trans.]). Marco also states that the officers in charge used pseudonyms (pp. 33 [trans.]). Marco does not altogether fail to mention weapons: he tells how, at a different time in the conflict, the PCP-SL used guns to execute authorities in the neighbouring community of Cairamayo (pp. 25 [trans.]):

Interviewer: They had already corralled you, what happened?

Marco: They united all the people in the centre of the plaza in Cairamayo. They had already taken Sacarias Curo and Rodrigo, also Benito Mdeño [not understood] ex-president and [not understood]. Then they tied them up like this. In front of the people they killed them with bullets.

Similar to Marco, Juana tells of death without mentioning weapons. She provides details about her mother's death in an incident outside the massacre, describing how her mother pleaded with the soldiers who killed her. Juana does not mention what weapons the soldiers used to kill her mother, nor does she mention what the soldiers used to kill the victims at Putis (pp. 3, 6, 23 [trans.]). Marco and Juana's omission of weapons might have been caused by a wish to not talk about them, by assumptions about the interviewers' knowledge of the Peruvian military's methods, or by lack of information about how the people were killed, as Juana (pp. 23 [trans.]) states regarding the case of her father:

Interviewer. Did your siblings see how your father was killed?

Juana. No, no.

It is also possible that Marco and Juana feel that other details of the massacre, and the basic fact that people were killed, are more important than the type of weapons used by the
military. The testimonios’ information on the use of guns against the campesinos at Putis does not contain details that allow comparison with the information found in the forensic analysis reports. All four testimonios omit information on trajectory, which areas of the body were shot, or whether or not men and women were shot in different regions of the body. Therefore, the words of the four interviewees do not confirm that men and women were shot in different ways during the massacre.

Rape. The skeletal analysis reports show a lack of lower garments on the women, as well as two injuries to the mandible and forearm which strongly suggest the women in this sample were raped. Marco talks about the rape of the victims at Putis, and he, Antonio and Juana mention the rape of a woman who escaped the massacre. Antonio and Marco state that this woman would have been executed along with the rest of the victims if a soldier had not taken her away, raped her, and let her go free:

Interviewer: Then group by group they killed them? Then, only two were left?

Antonio: The other was a woman how she was saved? A soldier had his eye on her, took her elsewhere to rape her and then released her. He took her away, if not she was going to die, because she was a nice girl, that was how she escaped [not understood] (Antonio, part one, pp. 21 [trans.]).

Marco: To this, [not understood] he/she said that a soldier brought him/her in, that he/she was guilty, brought him/her to Putis and after raped him/her and did not make him/her return. Escape now. That is how he/she said that he/she escaped. (Marco pp. 37 [trans.]).

Antonio’s interviewer follows up this exchange with “Then [she was] let go?”, but asks no more about this incident (Antonio, part one, pp. 21 [trans.]). Juana (pp. 12 [trans.]) mentions the rape of a survivor in conjunction with telling how she came to know her father had been killed at Putis:
Interviewer: *Who told you, how do you know that your Dad has died there?*

Juana: *The ones who had escaped. When they were ready to kill a girl she escaped [not understood] they wanted to rape her. I think they raped her, the girl had escaped.*

This statement is similar to Antonio's and Marco's statements about the rape of a survivor. Juana, Antonio and Marco all mention one female survivor who was raped and freed, and it is possible that this could be the same person, though the testimonios do not confirm this.

Marco (pp. 34 [trans.]) is the only interviewee who mentions the rape of the massacre victims at Putis. He specifies that older and younger women were separated, and that women were raped:

Interviewer: *They said we are going to make a farm pool?*

Marco: *Saying, here we are going to make a farm pool of these dimensions. Then [not understood] first they made the young people line up aside, the Elder ladies aside, the young ladies aside. [Somebody] said to the young ladies they had been raped, the soldiers.*

In this statement, it seems the younger women were singled out, but it is not entirely clear that they were, as the older women are also mentioned. The CVR states that young women were raped, and offers no mention of the rape of older women (CVR 2003a:6). As mentioned previously, most of the relatively younger women in the forensic cases used in this research lack lower garments, but some of the older women lack these as well.

Marco's statements may also provide some information about the youngest female cases that display no skeletal trauma. Marco (pp. 37 [trans.]) states that the women were taken elsewhere, raped, and returned to the massacre site:
Interviewer: To kill they brought the soldiers?

Marco: They said yes, they raped them in another part and then they returned them and after they killed them.

Cases 12 (est. age 17-19 years) and 13 (est. age 18-25), as mentioned earlier, do not display skeletal trauma, though they were found in the larger mass grave. It is possible that they were killed away from the massacre site at the time of the rape, in such a way that would not mark the skeleton (e.g., asphyxiation) and then buried in the grave when the massacre was over. If the women were raped at a different location from that of the massacre, some of their clothing might have been left at that site, which could explain why some women's lower garments were not found in the grave. Overall, the testimonios provide very few details when mentioning rape. None of the interviewees state that the soldiers removed the women's clothing, or indicate what kind of physical abuse the women might have sustained during the rapes. The interviewers also do not pursue the subject of rape. When the interviewees mention rape (a total of four instances), the interviewers quickly or immediately shift the topic, and do not attempt any in-depth follow-up on the mention of rape. Lack of discussion of rape may be due to any number of factors: missing knowledge of the situation, inhibitions on speaking about rape, or a desire not to risk re-traumatizing the interviewees by prying into topics that are potentially very traumatic.

Gendered Treatment. The testimonios contain little material focusing on gendered treatment of men and women at the hands of the military, besides statements that the men dug the grave at Putis while the women were raped. Much of the material originally categorized under the “gendered treatment” code pertains to rape before the massacre. This material was later categorized under the “rape” code because I thought it redundant to code it
as gendered treatment: rape is already overtly gendered, there was already a code dedicated to it, and it was more important to isolate information on other gendered abuses perpetrated by the military. The remaining material that addresses gendered treatment relates to three instances where interviewers question the conduct of the military. In the one instance involving a question about gendered violence during the massacre, Luisa’s interviewer also asks her if men were beaten; she replies that they were not (Luisa, pp. 27 [trans.]). The interviewer does not follow this up with any corresponding questions on abuse of women.

The other two questions about gendered treatment concern military conduct at bases, and are not related to the massacre. These were included because it was hoped that they could provide some information on the military’s conduct toward women. In one instance, while Antonio is recounting his own experience of torture and beatings at the hands of the military and Policía de Inteligencia del Peru (Peru Police Intelligence, or PIP), his interviewer asks him how the military treated the women (part two, pp. 4 [trans.]). Earlier in his testimonio, Antonio had told about the military’s capturing him and some other campesinos after the massacre at Putis, and he says that he and his wife, cousin and cousin’s wife were together when the military apprehended them (Antonio, part one, pp. 24 [trans.]). Antonio responds by saying that the women were at the base in Putis, but offers no other information before resuming the account of his detention (part two, pp. 4 [trans.]). A few pages later in the transcript, Antonio’s interviewer asks if the military raped the women that they captured. Antonio says he does not know; when the interviewer presses the point, stating "this is a crime, for the military it is a crime too", Antonio says that he had asked his wife, but he gives no other information (part two, pp. 8 [trans]). The interviewer does not ask about rape again. In Luisa’s case, the interviewer asks her if women as well as men were abused at
a military base in Sivia, the area to which she fled after the massacre at Putis. In response, Luisa states that *ronderos* and soldiers beat men, women, and "*toddlers*", though the soldiers and the *ronderos* "*did not kill that much*" (pp. 32 [trans.]). Overall, very little information is given in response to the interviewers' questions on gendered trauma, and it does not provide enough detail to allow for comparison with the forensic evidence.

*Miscellaneous Information about the Massacre.* Luisa (pp. 10 [trans.]) states that people were lined up before they were shot, and Antonio (part one, pp. 20 [trans.]) says people were positioned and shot so that they fell into the hole. These statements imply that at least some of the victims were positioned to fall over when shot, i.e., they were probably standing or kneeling. Frequency of perimortem injuries to the legs and feet can indicate position at death (standing vs. kneeling); more of the leg is exposed when the victim is standing than when they are kneeling. So victims bearing more leg trauma might have been standing or running. The forensic data show that, collectively, men bore four leg injuries and women bore seven.

Antonio (part one, pp. 18 [trans.]) and Marco (pp. 30 [trans.]) also state that the civilians who incited the military against Putis sent beer to the base the night before the massacre. Antonio states that seven mules carrying beer were sent, while Marco says four cases were sent, and possibly only shared among the officers. Though the victims' position relative to the killers, and the mental state of the killers at the time of the massacre might have affected patterns and severity of wounding, the interviewees still do not state if men and women were killed differently.

*Other Forensic Information Contained in the Testimonios.* The testimonios also contain some forensic information that did not address the research question. This
information concerns grave formation, MNI, and demographics. These categories provide some details about the circumstances of the massacre and the people who were killed, but they do not help address the research questions. The material categorized under grave formation concerns the timing of the massacre and the deposition of the bodies in the grave. Three of the interviewees state different times when they remember the massacre happening: April, July, and September. These differ from the CVR's statement that the massacre was committed in December 1984. Some statements describe how the bodies were deposited in the grave: Luisa (pp. 10 [trans.]) states the bodies were "piled ... like firewood". This statement could reveal more about taphonomic effects on the skeletons. For example, bodies in the centre of the "body mass" would decay more slowly than bodies on the periphery. However, information about grave conditions and the deposition of the remains described in the skeletal analysis reports was not available for this research. The testimonios’ statements on body deposition are also very general, and one should not extrapolate much from them.

The testimonio transcripts provide a little information on the number, ages, and sex ratio of the people who were massacred. The interviewees' knowledge of number of people massacred was gathered from their statements about the number of campesinos who entered Putis and the number of those who were shot. These numbers vary widely, from 25 (Luisa, pp. 9 [trans.]) to 150 (Antonio, part one, pp. 18 [trans.]) to 700 (Marco, pp. 35 [trans.]) campesinos and their children. Most information on the victims' age and sex consisted of general statements that men, women, children, and elderly were massacred. Some interviewees state their relatives' ages at time of death. Though some of the ages stated in the testimonios overlap with the estimated ages in the forensic analysis reports, it is impossible to know if the two bodies of data are referring to any of the same people because the
testimonios do not provide specific details on the kinds of trauma and wounding patterns inflicted during the massacre.

Conclusion

Statistical analysis revealed that the distribution of perimortem trauma differed significantly by sex, thus supporting an explanation that men and women were killed in ways linked to their gender. The comparison of the forensic evidence to the material found in the testimonios revealed a lack of commonality between the bodies of data due to the testimonios' lack of detail concerning perimortem trauma and rape. Though both fields of data contain information about victim demographics, weapons used at the massacre, and rape during the massacre, the testimonios do not provide details that could be compared to the information in the forensic analysis reports. The following chapter presents a discussion on the meaning of the apparently gendered patterns of trauma over the remains, explores factors behind the disparities in the two bodies of data, and provides recommendations for further anthropological study and the implementation of transitional justice measures such as truth commissions.
Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusions

This final chapter situates the results of my research in the literature on gender, trauma, and conflict, and offers explanations of possible causes for these outcomes. I explore the significant gendered differences in the patterns of wounding, and the lack of corroboration between the forensic and testimonial evidence. It is important to note that the four testimonios used in my research are not enough to be representative of the nearly 17,000 accounts of the 20 years of violence gathered by the CVR. In the rest of the chapter, I also address and contextualize areas of interest found within the two bodies of data. I present differences between the results of this research and the findings of other literature on gender, trauma, and conflict, as well as suggestions for future research and implementation of truth commissions.

Situating Gendered Patterns of Trauma

The results of this research show that frequencies of trauma between men and women differed significantly, primarily related to injury patterns in the thoracic, abdominal, and cranial areas. The nine women received twice as many injuries to the thorax as did the seven men (14 to seven). The difference in the number of abdominal injuries is greater: the women bore 13 injuries compared to the men’s two. Gendered differences in wounding are also evident in the distribution of cranial injuries. The seven men in the sample suffered a combined 12 cranial wounds, compared to the eight inflicted on the women. The difference in trauma distribution between the remains of the men and women reflects findings presented in the scholarship on gendered treatment in conflict. As Lieby (2009a) states, most people killed during the Peruvian internal armed conflict were men. Men make up the bulk of deaths in other internal conflicts, such as the Rwandan genocide (Jones 2002). The pattern of
injuries seen on the men in this sample is similar to injury patterns found on males in other massacre contexts. Baraybar and Gasior (2006:104, 105) studied a mostly male sample of 298 individuals from a mass grave in the former Yugoslavia, and found that injuries were inflicted most frequently to the head, followed by the trunk (thorax and abdomen), legs and arms. In the sample from Putis, most of the injuries on the men were inflicted in the cranial area (12), followed by the thorax (seven), abdomen (two), arms (seven) and legs (four). The crania of some of the men exhibit overkill patterns. For example, Case 4 is a male with at least four different gunshots to the head.

Shoots to the head indicate intent to kill rather than wound (Baraybar and Gasior 2006:107), while the extensive distribution of injuries over the women’s thoraxes and abdomens can be interpreted to indicate sexually-motivated torture and mutilation as a means of killing, as shown by literature on genocide (Jones 2002; ODHAG 1998; Sharlach 1999; Waller 2012). Literature on the Guatemalan, Rwandan, and more recently, Sudanese genocides describe the murder of women through mutilation of their breasts, wombs, and genitals (Jones 2002:81; ODHAG 1998:74, 79; Sharlach 1999:396; Waller 2012:90). This distribution matches the most heavily wounded areas seen on the nine women with skeletal injuries in this sample: the thorax and abdomen. Several explanations could be proposed regarding why the women in this sample, and other female victims of genocide and massacres, have been killed in ways targeting their female anatomy and thus linked to their sexuality and femininity. For example, the results of this research and the findings of scholarship on genocide indicate a phallic use of weapons against women. Sharlach

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28 The Peruvian internal armed conflict has not been classed as ethnically driven, due to the PCP-SL’s focus on class as the cause of wrongs in Peruvian society. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, class is tied to perceptions of “race” and ethnicity in Peru, and much of the violence “had a strong ethnic and racist dimension” (CVR 2003b; Leiby 2009a:111; Starn 1995b:551).
(1999:396) states that during the Rwandan genocide, women were sometimes killed by being impaled through the genitals to the sternum. In Guatemala, women were impaled on stakes through their genitals (ODHAG 1998:79). In the sample from Putis, women bore gunshot injuries to the hips and lower pelvis, suggesting a deliberate targeting of the pubis. Jones (2002) and Sharlach (1999) also state that the phallus has been used as a deadly weapon: some Rwandan rape victim-survivors contracted AIDS from their rapists, condemning these women to a slow death as a result. Hubbard (2012:101) states that approximately 70 percent of Rwandan rape victim-survivors contracted HIV.

Attacks focused on female anatomy may also be interpreted culturally; for example, Guatemalan survivors interpreted violence specific to women – mass rapes, mutilation, and the killing of pregnant women and the unborn – as aimed at cultural perceptions of women. In Guatemala, women are seen as caregivers, preservers of life, and symbols of perpetuation of life (ODHAG 1998:80). In the words of one Guatemalan survivor, “to kill women is to kill life” (ODHAG 1998:80). Killing older women also has particular cultural significance. In Guatemala, to kill older people was to “kill the people’s wisdom, their historical memory, their roots” (ODHAG 1998:80). Attacks on female anatomy and conceptions of womanhood through mutilation and rape fit into the discourse of bodies as contested geographical spaces where “identities...cultural values, morality and social laws” are inscribed (McDowell 1993:159, 160; Valentine 2001:7-8, 24). With regard to Guatemalan rape victims, Nolin Hanlon and Shankar (2000:279) state “due to their [women’s] centrality in the creation and nurturing of Maya cultural values, their bodies became the primary sites of military penetration”. Violence against Andean women’s bodies, as seen in this research, could also be interpreted as targeting their role as bearers and procreators of Andean culture. Andean
women, to a greater extent than Andean men, retain indigenous dress and language, and often do not migrate to the cities. They have been deemed “more indigenous” than Andean men, implying that they too primarily symbolize their culture (Vasques de Aguila 2006:111). Military rapes against Andean women were heavily tinged with ethnic slurs and interracial power dynamics, even though the rapists were usually also of Andean heritage (Theidon 2008:12). These actions on the part of fellow Andeans suggests internalized racism at work, spurring rapists to attack people who symbolized their own culture.

Violence against women’s cultural roles and reproductive capacity could also explain the wounding patterns. In genocidal and ethnically motivated massacres in Rwanda, Guatemala, and more recently the Darfur region of Sudan, killers cut women open and killed their unborn children (Hagan et al. 2005:544; Jones 2002:81; ODHAG 1998; Sharlach 1999:396); at least one woman (Case 19) in the Putis sample was pregnant, as shown by accompanying fetal remains. This woman’s remains bear an extensive injury to the thorax and abdomen, though the EPAF could not determine the mechanism of injury. Though the Peruvian internal armed conflict was not officially deemed genocide, the killings and sexual abuse bore strong racial and ethnic overtones. The CVR’s Final Report, in its chapter on sexual abuse of women, states “many times, ethnic and racial differences...were invoked by the perpetrators to justify actions committed against those who were their victims” (Theidon 2008:12). As mentioned in Chapter Two, soldiers would use ethnic slurs against their rape victims (Theidon 2008:11). Tyner (2012) and Waller (2012) point to social distancing and dehumanization as precursors to genocide and genocidal actions such as rape and killing.

Literature on genocide and internal conflict shows how military or dominant forces targeted female reproductive capacity through rape and killing (Jones 2002; Nolin Hanlon and
Shankar 2000; ODHAG 1998; Sharlach 1999; Waller 2012:87). In Guatemala, for example, the military sought through torture, rape and murder to exterminate “the seed” of Maya life (Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000:279). “The seed” would include children and the unborn who could possibly become future guerrillas. Similar patterns were seen in the El Mozote massacre in El Salvador, where many of the casualties were very young children; a survivor who witnessed the massacre says the soldiers justified the killing of children because “they’ll just grow up to be guerrillas” (Danner 1994:75). The similarities shown by the literature suggest inter-ethnic or inter-racial hatred is responsible for the sexualized patterns of wounding in the women in this sample, perhaps especially in the case of the pregnant woman.

Alcohol may also have factored into the intensity of the wounding patterns seen on the women, as well as the overkill patterns seen on some of the men. Two testimonio transcripts (Antonio, part one, pp. 18 [trans.]; Marco, pp. 30 [trans.]) state that the civilians who conspired with the military against the campesinos at Putis gave the military personnel alcohol the night before the massacre. Alcohol-fuelled frustration at resistance to rape might be responsible for the soldiers inflicting extensive trauma on the women. Alcohol has been involved in other internal conflicts and genocides; Jones (2002:68-69) points out that alcohol was prominent during the Rwandan genocide – organizers of killings in Rwanda offered free beer to Hutu men who would murder Tutsis. Alcohol use has been seen as enabling male bonding (Jones 2002) and helping soldier-rapists overcome inhibitions to rape (Alison 2007:77). Alison (2007:77) points out that in genocidal circumstances, inhibitions against rape paradoxically can cause rapists to become more violent as they seek to reassert to themselves their masculinity and national or ethnic loyalty. Similarly, group bonding and
peer pressure (within a military cohort, for example) can also spur violent acts if avoidance of these acts indicates nonconformity with the group (Waller 2012:95-96). Theidon (2008:11) and Alison (2007:77) both interpret rape and gang rape as having a bonding effect among participating soldiers; gang rape creates shared complicity, which “makes loyalty to the group vital”. The alcohol provided to the military personnel at Putis, the targeting of the women’s sexuality (linked to their ethnicity), and military sanctioning of aggression, likely contributed to the brutality of the killings at Putis.

**Possible Factors Affecting the Absence or Presence of Lower Garments Among the Victims.** As shown in the results, seven of the eleven women in the sample lack lower garments. Most of these individuals are younger women, except for Case 18, who is aged 40-53. One of the four women who had lower garments (Case 14) is considerably younger than the other three, with an estimated age of 20-30 years. In contrast, only one man (Case 6) lacks lower garments. The CVR (2003a:6) states that young women and married women were raped in conjunction with the massacre. While the CVR does not explicitly state that older women were also raped in the massacre at Putis, the CVR does say that in whole of the conflict, elderly women were also raped, though the majority of victims of sexual violence were between 10 and 29 years old (Falcon 2005:3). The lack of lower garments associated with the remains of both younger and older women suggests older as well as younger women were raped at Putis.

**Lack of Corroboration Between the Forensic and Testimonio Evidence, and Possible Contributing Factors**

The forensic trauma analysis reveals significantly different patterns of wounding on the bodies of the women versus the men. Regarding the second part of this research, the
testimonios neither corroborate nor contradict the forensic evidence from the EPAF’s forensic analysis reports. The testimonios do not contain enough forensic detail to allow for effective comparison and interpretation between the two bodies of data. Though in many cases survivor and eyewitness evidence supports and strengthens the results of forensic analyses, the four testimonios examined here speak quite briefly of the massacre, and offer little information to support, explain, or even contradict the trauma and trauma patterns in the forensic analysis reports. The rapes before the massacre are only mentioned in four short passages from three testimonios; two passages refer to the rape of a survivor, one to the rape of the victims, and one to the rape of both the victims and the survivor (Juana pp.12 [trans.]; Antonio part one, pp.22 [trans.]; Marco pp. 34, 37 [trans.], respectively). After each of the four instances when the interviewees mention rape, the interviewers change the topic immediately or very shortly afterward. The interviewers do not attempt any depth of follow-up on the mention of rape.

The lack of corroboration between the forensic evidence and the evidence in the four testimonios which I analyzed is unexpected because one of the CVR’s goals was to exhume mass graves and analyze any remains recovered in order to help clarify truth, restore dignity to the victims and their families, and enable access to justice (CVR 2003d). The CVR was responsible for three exhumations in the course of its work, two of which happened after representatives from the CVR, Prosecutor’s Office, Ombudsman’s Office, and the National Human Rights Coordinator joined together to form The Joint Work Platform for the Investigation of Mass Graves in June 2002 (CVR 2003d). All three exhumations happened in 2002. Forensic experts from the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAFG), Guatemala and Chile were involved in exhuming and analyzing remains from two of these operations:
exhumations in the communities of Totos and Lucanamarca. The CVR’s press releases about the first of the three exhumations, Chuschi, does not state if these forensic experts were also involved in this exhumation (CVR 2003d).

The interviewers in the four transcripts do not inquire if survivors saw how people were killed (i.e., what parts of the body were shot), nor do they ask about individuating features such as antemortem injuries or the victims’ clothing – information that helped the CVR identify victims in other exhumations (CVR 2003d). For example, during the exhumations and forensic analysis at the village of Totos, clothing and personal items found in the graves were displayed so relatives would recognize them and thus help identify the victims in the graves; analysis of the remains was also used to help identify victims (CVR 2003d).

The interviewers are also mostly silent regarding another of the CVR’s goals: the investigation of rape and sexual violence against women. The CVR examined sexual violence as a human rights violation in its own right; the Final Report of the CVR (IFCVR) included two chapters on gender, one of which focused on sexual violence against women (Falcon 2005:1; Nesiah 2006:4). The IFCVR was “the first official attempt” to compile human rights violations committed specifically against women, and to acknowledge that the violence of the conflict had impacted men and women in different ways (Guillerot 2006:140). The CVR also recommended that the state provide reparations for the victims of sexual violence (Falcon 2005:1). To help bring forth the voices of victims of sexual violence, the CVR provided training materials that focused on communication strategies for investigating rural areas, guidelines for interviewers, and a public hearing on women’s human rights (Falcon 2005:2). Rather than investigating only rape, the CVR examined cases
of "sexual blackmail, sexual slavery, sexual mutilation, sexual handlings, sexual humiliation, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy and forced nudity" as well as other forms of sexual violence (Falcon 2005:2). However, though the CVR provided a chapter focusing exclusively on sexual violence against women, this is only one segment in one volume; the CVR's Final Report is nine volumes in total (CVR 2003e; Guillerot 2006:181 [note 22]). The relatively small amount of coverage given to sexual violence against women by the CVR could be the result of underreporting on the part of victim-survivors. Massacres, extrajudicial executions, detention, and torture also tended to overshadow or hide related sexual abuses (Falcon 2005:3). The interviewers in the four testimonios may have sought to focus solely on the massacre in the case of Putis. Only once do they ask questions about rape. As mentioned previously Antonio is asked specifically about rape, and this regarding the conduct of soldiers in a context unrelated to the Putis massacre (part two, pp. 7-8 [trans.]). In two other instances, interviewers ask about unspecified violence or abuse directed particularly at men or women, and only one of these questions involves the massacre at Putis (Luisa pp. 27, 30, 32 [trans.]). The four testimonios used in this research are a very small sample of the nearly 17,000 accounts of the 20 years of violence gathered by the CVR; their level of detail cannot be taken as representative of all of these accounts.

The testimonios' lack of detail about the massacre and the rapes could be attributed to numerous intrinsic factors (coming from the interviewees) or extrinsic factors (produced by outside factors beyond the interviewees). Intrinsic factors described here include the interviewees' knowledge about the Putis massacre, which details of the conflict that had

29 The four testimonios do not provide any information about the number or identity of the interviewers. More than one interviewer probably gathered the four testimonios. At least three may have been from Ayacucho, or at least the Andes - three of the interviews were conducted in Quechua, and one in Spanish.
particular meaning for them, and perceptions of rape as a human rights offence. Extrinsic factors include the organization and carry-through of the CVR, the training of its interviewers, and the effects of inter-community conflict on interviewees' desire to speak fully about their own and their communities' experiences. Finally, as stated by Clifford (1986), people share partial truths, through conscious and unconscious decisions to withhold information, and because no one on his or her own can know everything about a situation or event. Regardless of factors within or outside of the interviewees, they had their own reasons to share or withhold information, and their own limitations to doing so.

*Possible Intrinsic Factors Affecting Testimonio.* The four testimonios used in this research may reflect aspects of the conflict that the interviewees felt had meaning for them. Testimonio is less about fact-finding and more about understanding how people attach meaning to concepts and events (Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000:270). The four interviewees whose words are used in this research may not have considered details of the massacre and rapes to be as important as telling about other aspects of their experience of the conflict. They told who killed whom; they told of their grief and that of their families; they told of the hardships of life during and after the conflict, poverty, raising siblings, and the need for reparations. These topics might have had more meaning for them. The CVR may have been the first organization that the interviewees had encountered that had any power to help them change their lives.

The testimonios used in this research and in the CVR's account of the massacre at Putis only very briefly mention the rapes associated with the massacre. When interviewing survivors of other massacres, the CVR noticed that many did not emphasize any accompanying rapes. "In innumerable accounts, after narrating the horrors of the
assassinations, extra-judicial executions and torture, only then in passing do people refer to rape" (CVR Vol. 8:89-90 in Theidon 2008:10). Even so, the CVR states survivors’ accounts of the conflict infer that rape was common, though statistics on the number of rapes do not reflect this (Theidon 2008:10). Rape is often underreported due to victim-survivors’ feelings of shame and fear of social consequences (Falcon 2005:2). According to Guillerot (2006:146), Peruvian women, who are more likely to mobilize to demand justice for their dead and disappeared relatives than for themselves, do not believe rape and sexual violence are crimes against humanity because the women are “generally not fully aware of being persons capable of holding rights.” The CVR found that rape was underreported due to “the erroneous idea on the part of victims and Peruvian society at large that sexual violence is not a human rights violation, but a collateral damage of war” (Falcon 2005:3; Guillerot 2006:147). Guillerot (2006:147) explains that the sexual violence committed in the conflict was seen as collateral or secondary because it did not impair the right to life, and it was committed against “socially invisible women”. The idea of rape as “collateral damage” of war may have contributed to the four testimonios’ lack of emphasis on rape.

Possible Extrinsic Factors Affecting Testimonio. The operation of the CVR likely affected the testimonios because of what may be characterized as a ‘flawed’ CVR process (e.g., how interview forms and guidelines were developed and implemented) (Falcon 2005:2). Little could be found regarding the content and quality of the CVR’s interview guidelines or interviewer training, though Salazar Luzula (2006:59) states that interviewers were trained to “identify when a woman had suffered sexual violence and register that information properly” when taking testimonies in the field. Lack of investigation into the massacre and rapes might also be due to the interview forms’ timing and design. Guillerot
(2006:151) explains that the interview forms and associated database were designed before the CVR’s gender team was created or was “able to identify specific, gender-based violations”. She does not indicate when in the gender team was formed during the process of the CVR. The interview forms and database were also created before the CVR’s legal team had defined the list of crimes against humanity that the CVR would focus on (Guillerot 2006:151). This timing could also be responsible for the four testimonios’ lack of information on physical trauma or victim identification. If it was not clear which crimes would be examined in the CVR, or that exhumations might take place, then it would not have been clear what sort of information the interviews would need to gather in order to facilitate these investigations. Guillerot (2006:152) also states that the communication between the different teams working on the CVR was poor, and the findings of different work areas of the CVR were not efficiently cross distributed. Nesiah (2006:4) agrees, stating that only the gender team attended to gender issues on a “day-to-day basis”, while issues of gender were “invisible” on other teams of the CVR. However, Guillerot (2006:152) says that the CVR’s gender-based approach to its work “was reflected in its research methods, communication strategy, and testimony-collection methods.” Nesiah (2006:4) conversely points out that the material gathered for the CVR showed “critical gaps and omissions” regarding a gender focus in statement taking, though these gaps were not described.

The fratricidal nature of the internal armed conflict is a very important extrinsic factor that could have affected the testimonios. Victim-survivors of armed conflict may keep silent because of beliefs that reopening past issues creates more conflict and violence (Riaño Alcala and Baines 2011:414, 429). In Ayacucho, communities and neighbours sometimes used the conflict to violently settle old scores (La Serna 2012:11). The testimonios and other accounts
of the massacre state that individuals from neighbouring communities incited or conspired with the army to kill the campesinos at Putis by accusing them of assisting the PCP-SL (Antonio part one, pp. 18-19 [trans.]; Luisa pp. 20, 24, 26-27 [trans.]; Marco pp. 37-40 [trans.]; Gonzalez 2011:430). The military, and possibly people from other communities, stole the victims' livestock after the massacre. According to Theidon (2006:436), post-conflict Ayacucho is a “charged social landscape”, where former soldiers, ex-guerrillas, perpetrators and victim-survivors still live near one another. The potential for conflict was evident in Sacsamarca during the UNBC-EPAF Interdisciplinary Field School in June 2012. In order to avoid opening old wounds, the field school contingent was told to not mention a past deadly incident between Sacsamarca and neighbouring Colcabamba. The four testimonios here come from relatives of victims; they may have chosen to not say very much about the massacre and rapes in order to avoid rekindling trouble for themselves. However, while the four testimonios are relatively brief about the massacre, three interviewees actually identify people from neighbouring communities whom they accuse of conspiring with the military to get the people at Putis killed in order to take their animals; two interviewees state these people's locations at the time of the interviews (Antonio part one, pp. 18-19 [trans]; Luisa pp.24, 26-27 [trans.]; Marco pp. 37-40 [trans.]). Marco (pp. 33, 42 [trans.]) provides the nicknames of the officers who ordered the killing. One would assume that if the possibility of renewed conflict dissuaded the interviewees from speaking at length about the massacre, they would not name the people involved. Luisa (pp.34 [trans.]) states that during the conflict, no one denounced the perpetrators of the killings because the perpetrators would only say they had killed terrorists. She seems to indicate hope that justice could be attained post-conflict by adding, “if it was like these times, we could have made a denunciation”
Perhaps three interviewees are initiating a denunciation by providing the names of the conspirators. However, Luisa (pp.34 [trans.]) also says "if we do that [make a denunciation] we will put people against us." Because of the inconsistent tense of the translation (the past is referred to in present tense in the rest of this passage) this statement could refer to the time of the conflict, but it could also acknowledge risks of speaking up in post-conflict times.

Risks of speaking up during the conflict also affected the memories recounted in the testimonios. Regarding conflict and transitional justice in general, the continued presence of repressive regimes may cause people to wait years before speaking, and those still living amid violence stay silent for fear of their safety and that of their families and loved ones (Nolin 2006:64-65; Schepers-Hughes 2004:176). Many Peruvians who participated in the CVR very likely related traumatic experiences many years after their occurrence. In the case of Putis, victim-survivors recounted their experiences 18 to 19 years after the massacre, as the CVR gathered testimonios about Putis from 2002 to 2003 (Percy Rojas, personal communication October 24th, 2013). Their memories may also be distorted by the time between the massacre and their testimonio about it (Wagenaar and Groenweg 1990). The trauma of loss caused by the massacre can affect the ability to recall specifics of the massacre and the time period around it (Jobson et al. 2014:697). The lack of congruency between the testimonios and the forensic data may be attributed to the amount of knowledge the interviewees could or wished to impart, the CVR's ability or intent to inquire about that information, and the post-conflict context in which the interviews were conducted. At the outset of this research, I assumed that testimonios from victim-survivors of the Peruvian internal armed conflict would be similar to those from other conflicts, such as the accounts
gathered by the REMHI report of Guatemala: they would contain more details about the massacre and how it was carried out. The testimonios of the REMHI report also indicated highly gendered violence, as does some scholarship on the Peruvian conflict (Theidon 2008) and it was assumed that details about gendered violence would also be present in testimonios about Putis. Finally, I assumed that the degree of meaning that the interviewees attached to the massacre would have led to more discussion about its details.

**Implications for Further Research and Future Transitional Justice Work**

Future forensic anthropological research on gendered patterns of trauma should analyze victims’ physical remains, rather than their forensic analysis reports. This strategy would allow researchers to examine perimortem injuries firsthand. In the case of this research, re-examining the remains might have provided more information about the injuries where the mechanism of injury was undetermined. A larger sample of remains would also provide a more statistically robust analysis of patterns of gendered trauma. Future work could also focus on gendered skeletal trauma on the remains of men and women in other mass graves and confirm if these skeletal trauma patterns recur in different geographical and historical contexts. Though the scholarship on genocide cited in this chapter recounts gendered injuries inflicted at time of death, it does not describe the skeletal effects of such injuries (Jones 2002; Nolin Hanlon and Shankar 2000; ODHAG 1998; Sharlach 1999; Waller 2012). Future forensic work could determine how the perimortem injuries described in literature on genocide affect the skeleton. Future forensic work that incorporates witnesses’ and relatives’ testimonies or testimonios should include more of their accounts in order to provide better representation of how they speak of the trauma that has affected them, and how their statements interact with forensic information.
Transitional justice measures addressing internal conflicts have repeatedly involved exhumations of clandestine and mass graves (Steadman and Haglund 2005:1-2). The CVR’s mandate sought “clarification of the process, acts and responsibilities” of crimes against humanity committed during the conflict, including enforced disappearances (Theidon 2010:4). Between the period of 1974 and 2008, 52 truth commissions were initiated (Ben-Josef Hirsch 2014:826 [note 1]). When measures such as truth commissions are formed, their authors should broaden their scope of inquiry to account for present or future needs to exhume, analyze, and repatriate remains. Forensic exhumation and analysis serve the following ends: to collect information needed to identify and repatriate victims, and prosecute perpetrators; to create a record of atrocities that will resist attempts at historic revision on the part of governments and others who wish atrocities to remain hidden; and to expose atrocities to world scrutiny (Haglund et al. 2001:57). To facilitate identification and repatriation, interviewers should ask relatives of the dead and missing about identifiers such as the clothing that the victims were last seen wearing, and life events that could have marked the skeleton, such as pregnancies and broken bones. Though interviewers could also be trained to ask about how trauma was inflicted in massacre situations (e.g., which parts of the body were targeted), requesting this information of massacre survivors may not be realistic due to risk of re-traumatization. Adequate psychosocial support would be needed for those who wished to come forward and share graphic, detailed information regarding massacres.

Future truth commission and transitional justice work should also address the practicalities of constructing a commission and gathering information from survivors. Though the four testimonios used in this research are not a representative sample, the CVR’s
lack of coordination between the interview forms, database, and the Commission’s objectives, as well as its lack of coordination between its various teams, potentially hampered the effective gathering and use of information from witnesses and survivors (Guillerot 2006:151-152). Future truth commissions should ensure they proceed in a more integrated manner when developing tools needed for information gathering. For example, they could create the interview forms and database after objectives are formed, in order to keep these tools linked to the objectives of the investigation.

More research is needed regarding gendered trauma in clandestine and mass graves in Peru (and elsewhere). Many more graves have yet to be exhumed. Though the Peruvian internal armed conflict is not classed as a genocide, researchers should be attentive to the gendered patterns of trauma found in this study, and to the reports of ethnically or racially driven violence on the part of the military against the campesinos at Putis, and against women in particular (Theidon 2008:12). Peru is still a country wrought with racial/ethnic divisions. Though the conflict is over, and Peru has been lauded as a counterterrorism “success” story (Theidon 2010:10), the manner of the PCP-SL’s defeat aggravated Peru’s social divisions because structural inequalities underlying the conflict were not addressed. The field school with the EPAF to Ayacucho in 2012 showed that while the CVR’s recommendations and reparations program look excellent on paper, they have not been implemented effectively, and survivors of the conflict remain impoverished, especially women who lost fathers and husbands. Since the conclusion of the CVR in 2003, survivors have become cynical and disappointed due to the state’s failure in implementing the CVR’s recommendations (Laplante and Theidon 2007:231, 240). Those who provided testimonio for the CVR wanted restorative justice in the form of reparations (Laplante and Theidon
The state’s recalcitrance over reparations can be attributed to the fact that the Peruvian elite has “little sympathy for rural, non-Spanish-speaking, poor and illiterate people (Rubio-Marín et al. 2009:4).” The state’s lack of commitment to a vision of a more politically and socially inclusive nation hampers even relatively small steps such as reparations (Rubio-Marín et al. 2009:1). The poor and indigenous are frequently labelled terrorists when they demand social justice and a share in the nation’s economic benefits (Theidon 2010:10-11). Moreover, new conflicts are arising around resource extraction activities on indigenous lands in the Andes and Amazon. Local communities have attempted to block mining projects because they fear these will ruin land and water. Communities are frustrated by the lack of benefits these lucrative projects bring to the Andes, where 70 percent of the population lives in poverty (Slack 2009:2, Koven 2012). Conflicts over mining have already claimed lives of indigenous Peruvians and security forces. Last year, the government extended criminal immunity to police and military members who kill protesters (Dearden 2014).

Conclusion

In this research, I studied the case of the massacre and mass grave at Putis, Ayacucho, Peru. The EPAF created forensic analysis reports after exhuming the remains of 92 people. I examined a sample of 18 of these reports to provide data on the distribution of perimortem trauma over the bodies of seven men and 11 women. Analysis of the forensic data showed that patterns of trauma differed between men and women, with women sustaining significantly more trauma to the thorax and abdomen. The targeting of sites of female sexual identity and reproductive ability fit into the discourse of the body as a geographical space that helps to constitute gender differences. The body is also a place upon which
“identities…cultural values, morality and social laws” are inscribed (McDowell 1993:159, 160; Valentine 2001:7-8, 24). In the case of Putis, women were killed in a manner different from that of men, a manner linked closely to their sexuality and gender roles. The discovery of gendered patterns of trauma is also in keeping with the purposes of both feminist theory and forensic anthropology: to amplify and reveal more about the experiences of the people in the mass grave (Haglund et al. 2001:57; Kobayashi 1994:75-76; Staecli and Lawson 1994).

The results of my research lead into a larger, troubling question: Why do patterns of gendered violence, which particularly target parts of the body associated with female sexuality and reproductive capacity, emerge in similar ways in different places which have different histories, cultural backgrounds, and geographical contexts? The gendered patterns of skeletal trauma on the sample of remains from Putis mirror patterns of trauma seen in genocides and internal armed conflicts in other areas of the world. The local histories of Peru, Rwanda, Guatemala, the Balkans, and Darfur likely were not responsible for these similar patterns of their own accord. Future research into this subject could examine how patterns of gendered violence on the body are theoretically connected across geographies, histories, and cultures.

In this research, I asked if patterns of skeletal trauma reflected differences in the way in which men and women were killed at Putis, and what the patterns suggested about gender and violence in armed conflicts. The massacre at Putis provides evidence of violence reflecting ethnic and gender hierarchies in Peru’s internal armed conflict. Strengthened due to colonialism, these hierarchies continued on to produce a fragmented, stratified society in which the PCP-SL could gain a foothold. The internal armed conflict exacerbated ethnic and gender hierarchies. Scholarship on the conflict, including the CVR, states that ethnic
differences intensified violence. As a result, though the Peruvian internal armed conflict was never officially deemed genocide, the patterns of trauma on the sample of the remains of the women from Putis are reminiscent of those seen in genocidal conflicts. This research also asked if forensically relevant information in the testimonio accounts corroborated the conclusions of the EPAF’s forensic analysis reports. In the case of my research, the two bodies of data did not corroborate each other. While the accounts of witnesses and victim-survivors are often used to help support and contextualize forensic evidence, the four testimonios used in my research were not suitable for this as they came from second-hand sources, and were possibly affected by other factors such as the passage of time, continuing inter-community strife, and possible effects of lack of integration within truth commissions. As they are only four of nearly 17,000 accounts on the conflict as a whole, they cannot be taken as a representative sample of the testimonios given to the CVR.

While documentary evidence such as forensic analysis reports provides detailed information on the nature of atrocities against the body, academic research should directly examine physical remains when possible, and should involve larger samples in order to increase statistical rigour. Exhumations are a part of transitional justice processes, and truth commissions should train interviewers to ask about victims' clothing and other individuating features in anticipation of identifying remains. Interviewers should also receive training on communicating about details of massacres and other traumatic events. Overall, truth commissions should strive to integrate their objectives and their information-gathering methods in order to better serve the victim-survivors of conflicts and address the factors behind internal conflicts. In the case of Peru, one of these factors, continued inequality, is setting the country up for more violence, this time around resource extraction. Unless
stratification and inequality are effectively addressed, cycles of violence and human rights offences against Peru’s vulnerable populations risk repetition.
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Winchester, Hilary P. M., and Matthew W. Rofe

Young, Grace Esther

Zavaleta, Jennifer
Appendix One: Original Spanish Translations of Quoted Material

Chapter Four

Page 61

Juana (pp. 10 [trans.]):

Yes [not understood]. The army had told them to dig a hole here [like for a fish farm], they said something they said something. We are not going to do anything, they said dig a hole. Without warning the one that had escaped they did not have to do it. A big hole like for a swimming pool.

Ajha. [No se entiende]. Los militares habían dicho hagan un hueco acá pici-granja, algo, le había dicho, algo le había dicho. No se te vamos a hacer nada, hagan un hueco diciendo. Así sin avisar a todos los que habían escapado. Hueco grande como para piscina.

Luisa (pp. 9, 10 [trans.]):

Yes they were making them line up and killed them, piled them like firewood...

Si alli haciéndoles formar los había matado, apilándolos como leñas...

Juana (pp. 12 [trans.]):

My aunt had died, my grandfather, all... They had buried them in that hole, it was full.

A muerto mi tía, mi abuelito, todos... Le habían enterrado en ese hueco, llenecito.

Marco (pp. 36 [trans.]):

first they killed 6 and then another 6. Thus how it was.

Sí, primero los matarian a 6 luego a otros 6. Así era.
Page 62

Antonio (part one, pp. 20 [trans.]):

After the army separated the people by groups and they put them at the edge of the pond they shot them and they fell in the hole.

Después los militares se habían separado por grupos y a las personas los habían puesto en los bordes, los habían disparado y habían caído a los huecos.

Page 63

Marco (pp. 40 [trans.]):

They said there are three mass graves. And that they have not died in one place but in many places.

Dicen que hay tres fosas. Y no habían muerto en un solo lugar, sino en varias partes.

Antonio (part one, pp. 18 [trans]): So, when they were in Putis, like a week. There they killed all of the ones that went for their animals, [not understood]. That is why there are clandestine graves from here to there.

Entonces cuando estaban en Putis, como semana. Allí han matado a todos los que fueron por sus animales, [No se entiende]. Por eso hay fosas comunes de aquí allá.

Page 76

Juana (pp. 6 [trans.]):

Interviewer: Had they escaped? They went with the army?

Juana: We watched. My mother was in another site. The army came with a lot of weapons. My mother was saying I am going to go with them. They will defend me, the Shining Path won’t be able to kill me now. My mother moved to the front. Now, I am going to go with them, my daughter is also in Huanta... [not understood] When the military arrived they told her, Ah, you are a terrorist, they told my mom. My mother, no, they were holding me and I could not escape, my daughter is also in Huanta, that is why I want to go, that is what she said. Liar, you also are a terrorist, two or three times they were talking [not understood] they killed my mother. Please don’t kill me, don’t kill me, my daughter is in Huanta, they were holding me, that’s why I couldn’t ...
Interviewer: ¿Se habían escapado? Ya habían ido con militares.

Juana: Guardamos, mi mamá estaba en otra parte. Los militares aparecieron bastante con armas. Allí me voy a ir con ellos. Ellos me van a defender, ya sendero ya no me va a poder matar. Mi mamá se había corrido hacia adelante. Ahora me voy a ir con ellos, mi hija también está en Huanta... [No se entiende] Viene los militares y había dicho, ha tu eres terrorista había dicho a mi mamá. Mi mamá, no a mi me han atajado no podía escapar, mi hija también está en Huanta, porque quiero ir, diciendo. Mentira, tú también eres terrorista, dos tres veces estaba hablando [no se entiende] ya muerto mi mama. Ha no me maten, no me maten, mi hija está en Huanta, me han atajado por eso no he podido...

Juana (pp. 7-8 [trans.]):

Interviewer: And after what happened, they haven’t told you, here in Huanta?

Juana: No, after a month, so, they have killed your mother. Your animals were taken too.

Interviewer: Where?

Juana: I don’t know where.

Interviewer: And who told you?

Juana: As I came, I am telling you.

Interviewer: Just recently, from Cairamayo, they told you after a month?

Juana: Two months, that is what I believe.

Interviewer: Two months later they told you that your mom was killed?

Juana: They have killed her. She was escaping with the soldiers from here and they killed her [not understood]

Interviewer: ¿Después que ha pasado, a ti no te han contado, aquí en Huanta?

Juana: No, después de un mes, así a tu mama le han matado. Tus animales también le han traído.

Interviewer: ¿A donde?

Juana: No sé a dónde.
Interviewer: ¿Y quién te ha contado?

Juana: Así viendo, te estoy diciendo.

Interviewer: O sea recién de Caimayo, te avisan después de un mes?

Juana: Dos meses, por ahí creo.

Interviewer: Dos meses después te avisan que a tu mama le habían matado?

Juana: Le habían matado. Ya estaba escapándose con militares de acá y lo han matado, diciendo. [No se entiende]

Chapter Five

Page 91

Case 16 (pp. 30 [trans.])

Absence of lumbar vertebrae, sacrum and almost all costal arches; associated with loss of part or substance of the right ilium and both pubis.

Ausencia de vértebras lumbares, sacro y casi todos los arcos costales; asociado a pérdida de sustancia de ilium derecho y ambas pubis.

Page 94

Antonio (part one, pp. 19 [trans.]):
Interviewer: How did they kill them?

Antonio: With bullets, putting holes in them. From the ones that escaped there is a [married] woman, I saw her in Huanta.

Interviewer: ¿Cómo los habrían matado?

Antonio: Con bala, haciéndoles hacer hueco. Lo que ha escapado hay una señora, la vez pasado me tope en Huanta.

Luisa (pp. 23 [trans.]):
Interviewer: They had killed them with bullets?
Luisa: *Only with bullets, they said it was with bursts [of gunfire]. They had made them line up and with bursts they had killed old and young.*

Interviewer: ¿*Les habían matado solo con bala?*

Luisa: *Solamente con bala, con ráfaga dice que fue. Los habían hecho formar y con ráfaga los habían matado a grande y chicos.*

**Page 95**

Marco (pp. 25 [trans.]):

Interviewer: *They had already corralled you, what happened?*

Marco: *They united all the people in the centre of the plaza in Caimayo. They had already taken Sacarias Curo and Rodrigo, also Benito Madeño [not understood] ex-president and [not understood]. Then they tied them up like this. In front of the people they killed them with bullets.*

Interviewer: ¿*Ya a ustedes les ha acorralado y qué pasó?*

Marco: *Así a todas las personas los ha reunido a la plaza del centro de la plaza de Caimayo. A Sacarias Curo y Rodrigo ya los han agarrado, además de Benito Madeño [no se entiende] ex presidente y [no se entiende]. Entonces los amarrado ya así. Delante de la gente los mato con bala.*

Juana (pp. 23 [trans.]):

Interviewer. *Did your siblings see how your father was killed?*

Juana. *No, no.*

Interviewer: *Tus hermanos no han visto como les han matado a tu papá?*

Juana: *No, no.*

**Page 96**

Antonio (part one, pp. 21 [trans.]):

Interviewer: *Then group by group they killed them? Then, only two were left?*
Antonio: The other was a woman how she was saved? A soldier had his eye on her, took her elsewhere to rape her and then released her. He took her away, if not she was going to die, because she was a nice girl, that was how she escaped [not understood]
Interviewer: ¿Entonces grupo en grupo los habían matado? Entonces ¿Solo dos había quedado?

Antonio: El otro sabes, mujer, ¿cómo se había salvado? Un militar la había puesto el ojo, la había llevado a otra parte para violar y le había soltado. La había sacado de lo que iba a morir, porque era una simpática chica, así había escapado [No se entiende].

Marco (pp. 37 [trans.]):

To this, [not understood] he/she said that a soldier brought him/her in, that he/she was guilty, brought him/her to Putis and after raped him/her and did not make him/her return. Escape now. That is how he/she said that he/she escaped.

A este, [no se entiende] dice que un militar le trajo, que era culpable, lo trajo a un lado de Putis y lego de violarla ya no lo hizo volver. Escápate ya. Así dice que se había escapado.

Antonio (part one, pp. 21 [trans.]):

Interviewer: Then [she was] let go?

¿Entonces la soltó?

Page 97

Juana (pp. 12 [trans.]):

Interviewer: Who told you, how do you know that your Dad has died there?

Juana: The ones who had escaped. When they were ready to kill a girl she escaped [not understood] they wanted to rape her. I think they raped her, the girl had escaped.

Interviewer: A ti quien te ha contado, como sabes que tu papa ahí ha muerto?

Juana: Los demás que se han escapado. Cuando estaba por matar una chica se había escapado [no se entiende] querían violar ella. La habian violado creo, se ha escapado la chica.

Marco (pp. 34 [trans.]):

Interviewer: They said we are going to make a farm pool?
Marco: Saying, here we are going to make a farm pool of these dimensions. Then [not understood] first they made the young people line up aside, the Elder ladies aside, the young ladies aside. [Somebody] said to the young ladies they had been raped, the soldiers.

Interviewer: ¿Vamos a hacer la Piscigranja diciendo?

Marco: Aquí vamos a hacer una piscigranja de tanta medida diciendo. Entonces, [no se entiende] primero los hizo formar a los jóvenes aparte, a las ancianas aparte, a las señoritas aparte. Dice a las señoritas todavía los habían violado, los soldados.

Page 98

Marco (pp. 37 [trans.]):

Interviewer: To kill they brought the soldiers?

Marco: They said yes, they raped them in another part and then they returned them and after they killed them.

Interviewer: ¿Para matar habría traído el militar?

Marco: Dice que sí, los violaban en otra parte y luego los devolvían y luego los mataban.

Page 100

Antonio (part two, pp. 8 [trans]):

Interviewer: this is a crime, for the military it is a crime too
Eso también es delito, es delito para los militares

Luisa (pp. 30, 32 [trans.]): In response, Luisa states that men, women and “toddlers” were “beat up”, though the soldiers and the ronderos “did not kill that much” (My words, with Luisa’s italicized).

Page 101

Luisa (pp. 10 [trans.]):

*piled ... like firewood*.

*apilándolos como leñas*

Chapter Six

Page 115

Luisa (pp.34 [trans.]):

*if it was like these times, we could have made a denunciation*

*como estos tiempos seria, habríamos denunciado también pues.*

*if we do that [make a denunciation] we will put people against us.*

*Solamente en nuestra contra.*
Appendix Two: Data gathered from the Forensic Analysis Reports

Table 2.1: Acronyms and Abbreviations used in the Forensic Datasheets

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<th>Term</th>
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<td>T</td>
<td>Thoracic vertebra</td>
<td>anatomy</td>
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Table 2.2: Male Trauma Data

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158
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Table 2.5: Definition of Spanish Terms used in the Clothing and Artifact Table

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<td>Multicoloured belt or sash, 2 m long by 10 cm wide. It is worn around the waist, usually by women</td>
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Note: definitions provided by Mr. Cristian Silva, March 2013.