

Timothy James Bowyer

Beyond Suffering and Reparation

The Aftermath of Political Violence in
the Peruvian Andes

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To
The memory of my mother
and
to all those who suffered
and died in Mauthausen KZ

*“To live with the sensation of helplessness:
today, probably this is the moral state under
which, by resisting, we could be faithful to
our times”. Imre Kertész*

Preface and Acknowledgements

Is it ever possible to properly acknowledge someone else's suffering? If the failure to engage with terrible things is simply the result of detachment and objectivity, what does the adoption of a subjective attitude to suffering really mean? Much of the incentive for this study derives from trying to understand more about the conditions for mutual recognition so that they might be infringed less often and with less devastating consequences. Though the causes and consequences of suffering have been extensively studied, the particular facts with which it is associated have not always been taken into consideration. Instead, the emphasis on impartiality, neutrality, tolerance and pluralism has encouraged the idea that human suffering is "... something that is a mistake...or something to be fixed".¹ To move beyond this situation, the adverse effects of material disadvantage and the effects of insecurity, anxiety and lack of social integration need to be brought into full view. This involves exploring the relationship between the psychological, the historical, the socio-economic and the spiritual by giving emphasis to the importance of such theoretical issues as power, conflict, exploitation and hierarchy. In this way, an attempt can be made to rescue the long-term impact and psychosocial consequences of political violence from acts of closure and the deadening effects of historical amnesia.²

By returning to the reality of the lives of the poor and vulnerable, this study aims to bring into consciousness the relevance of history for understanding contemporary problems "...because the present and the future are connected to the past by the continuity of today's institutions. Today's and tomorrow's choices are shaped by the past."³ To communicate the determining influence of such theoretical issues as

¹Sontag, S., (2003: 88)

²For the purposes of this book, violence is broadly defined as the violation of a person's physical and psychological integrity. However, this study is primarily concerned with structural violence which focuses attention on victims and the harm and humiliation they suffer from forces such as poverty and oppression. In this way, the meaning of violence can be said to overlap with the notion of social injustice. See, for example, Bufacchi, V., (2007, 2009).

³North, D. (1990: vii)

power, conflict, exploitation and hierarchy, we need to explore suffering as an organic whole rather than in segmented categories.⁴

From the point of view of the poor and vulnerable, this requires a framework broad enough to ensure that the adoption of a subjective attitude to suffering is the best possible means for making this study relevant to policy-making in complex areas. This is only possible if the criteria for the choice of disciplines to be involved adequately reflect the interconnectedness between specific types of suffering. On these grounds, the adverse effects of material disadvantage and the effects of insecurity, anxiety and lack of social integration can be properly recognised because they are not subject to the conventions of disciplinary boundaries.

To bring the experience of human suffering into full view so as to counter the “... slow transmutation of suffering and caring into efficiency and cost”, an addition of narratives, ethnographies and social histories as a complement to economic indicators is needed.⁵ By documenting the vulnerability of lived experience through the psychological, cultural and social origins of responsibility, accountability and decision-making, this study sets out to refigure and analyse human suffering, so that the individual and the specific context in which people live their lives are no longer regarded as redundant or interchangeable.

This effort to better understand what happens to people who suffer and the stand they take towards their situation amounts to an opportunity to challenge modes of political decision-making, professional practice and policy formation. Though resistance to evidence-based policymaking is less pronounced than it used to be, far too many places continue to be dominated by policies and programmes that pay no attention to the importance of a locally informed analysis. In this respect, the need for more empirical research into the long-term consequences of political violence and its impact on the physical and mental suffering of people is clear.

Though this type of analysis is inevitably incomplete and subjective, the insights it provides into the local patterns of suffering and distress might make us better equipped to take on politicians and policy-makers and get them to take action against the circumstances that cause people to live under conditions of so much misery and degradation.⁶

My personal and professional involvement with rural communities in Latin America first began more than 30 years ago. From the very start, I was fortunate enough to be able to build experience in public health policy, social development, administration and rural development. In the early years, this was made possible through my having responsibility for the development and management of primary health-care programmes for rural communities affected by conflict, discrimination and remoteness. In this capacity, I obtained relevant field experience with rural communities from Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Peru. More recently, my work has focused on the social determinants

⁴ Kleinman, A. & Kleinman, J., (1997a, b: 8)

⁵ Bandura, A., (2001: 1–26)

⁶ Kleinman, A., (1995a, b); Das, V., (1994); Das, V., (1997a); Das, V., (1997b)

of health, popular participation, political violence, negotiating power and the development of more effective links between civil society and the state.

The work for this study was supported financially by a major research grant from the British Academy. From the very outset, this study would not have been possible without the loyal and long-lasting support of Armando Gomez Moreno and his wife Clotilde Alfaro Gomez. Both people worked with me throughout this study as well as in earlier fieldwork in the rural Andes dating back to 2001. Their contribution to the study and its eventual outcome has been immeasurable, not just through their local knowledge of the South-Central Andes, but also with their help in introductions, translation work from the Quechua, etc.

The study also owes an immense debt to the other members of my team responsible for the research at community level over a 3-year period. Their dedication to extremely difficult working conditions was exemplary, and the hardships they endured were nobly borne. They are Guillermo Victor Kajatt, Percy Hugo Ochtane, Alegria Julio Cesar Gomez and Victor Amador Bravo Cauna. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the Mother Superior and Sisters of the *Monasterio Carmelitas Descalzas de Borja* for the lease of an office between 2008 and 2011 whilst the fieldwork was being carried out.

In Great Britain, I would like to acknowledge the support and input from Dr. Christopher Barrow and Dr. Jeremy Holland and from Dr. Helen Hintjens, International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University, Rotterdam, for their editorial assistance and support in the preparation of the manuscript. I would also like to thank Anita Jo Dunn for her own outstanding support, particularly during the writing up stage. I would also like to acknowledge the support I have received from Honey whose unique brand of cheer and goodwill has been of lasting and inestimable value. Finally, and most importantly of all, I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to all of the people from the five communities who participated in this study and without whose support and cooperation this study would never have been possible. The conditions under which so much hardship and suffering is endured are testimony to an extraordinary capacity for survival against all odds.

Introduction

How can we avoid the tendency to over-objectify human suffering? How can we stop emptying human suffering of its subjective content? From time immemorial human detachment and objectivity have been used to deny the lived experience of other human beings.¹ Instead of adopting an honourable emotional response, the policymaker would routinely ignore the inner world of other people. For the poor and vulnerable victim, this is a violation because it renders the emotional or affective response to their situation null and void.² By reducing everyone to “sameness”, technocratic, institutionalised and over-objective procedures and ways of thinking were able to transform human suffering into a subject that allowed other people to acknowledge the misery as if nothing in particular had happened. Because it had no regard for the uniqueness of the individual, this objectivist view of the suffering of others removed the human being from the centre of moral concern. Thus, the single lived subjectivity of any one person was replaced by a supra-individual subject that was utterly disconnected from the context in which that person lived.³ Having no regard for local knowledge, motivation and participation, grassroots organisations and social networks, expression of discontent, moral convictions and responsiveness to the injustices of the past and access to justice, mainstream social inquiry and research would frequently undermine the vulnerable and socially disadvantaged and the meaning and significance they assign to their own situation.⁴

¹How it became possible for the social act of producing knowledge about social life “...as though it was divorced from any enactment of moral value or expression of political preference” is discussed at length in Kleinman, A., & Wilkinson, I., (2016); see also Kleinman, A. & Kleinman, J., (1997: 11–14) in Kleinman, A., Das, V., and Lock, M. (eds.) (1997a, b).

²Hoffman, M.L., (2000: 4)

³“...To reduce all others to sameness is a politics without ethics which eventually destroys all that does not comply with the reductionist view of other people. It is a perspective that radically universalizes itself and eliminates every non-conforming individual. Whoever does not comply with this approach is ignored as though they did not exist. This is a code of conduct that is without mercy. This strips the individual of dignity and self-respect” Haas, P.J. (1988: 34).

⁴“...The difficulties encountered by models of rehabilitation and peace-building plans proposed for times of war or post-conflict periods are due not only to the complexity of the situations, but

However, a new generation of scholars has emerged in the last two or three decades and begun to fill this gap by exploring such issues as identity, history, violence inequality and cultural transformation. Working in a range of different disciplines, their outputs are helping to bring about a deeper and richer commitment to social justice, social care and humanitarianism.

For instance, the commitment to witness and respond to the root causes of human suffering has received a significant boost from scholars working on community experiences of survival and memories of political violence. In particular, a growing number of studies have been using archival materials and ethnographic fieldwork to explore the historically rooted and locally specific power relations, social conflicts and cultural understandings that shape the lives of ordinary people caught up in political violence.⁵ By examining daily life as told by ordinary people who have limited influence or authority, this current generation of scholars is helping to shape a new interpretation of local political culture and memory in relation to local and national power structures over time.

Through this commitment to witness and respond to the root causes of human suffering, the use of archival materials and ethnographic fieldwork is helping to reframe the terms of public debate. By engaging with the lives of ordinary people received, accepted understandings of social issues are being challenged and a new way of thinking about social action and social support is being promoted. Though recognition of the potential contributions of this type of approach is growing, it does not mean that the question of how to respond to human and social suffering is by any means exhausted. Indeed, if this commitment to witness and respond to human suffering is to be effective, it needs to engage with material disadvantage, insecurity, anxiety and lack of social integration in ways that enable researchers to connect critical thought with problem-solving.

Being an ethnographic witness to how life is lived by the poor and vulnerable means that the researcher is able to reconstruct the historically rooted and locally

also to their chosen methodological approaches, which overlook cultural and social specificity." See Beneduce, R., (2007: 41ff) in Pouligny, B., Chesterman, S., and Schnabel, A. (eds.) (2007).

⁵Examples of this way of understanding political violence and the impact it has on ordinary people include Lewis Taylor's *Shining Path: Guerrilla War in Peru's Northern Highlands, 1980–1997* (Liverpool University Press, 2006), Olga M. Gonzalez's *Unveiling Secrets of War in the Peruvian Andes* (University of Chicago Press, 2011), Miguel La Serna's *The Corner of the Living* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012), Kimberly Theidon's *Intimate Violence: Violence and Reconciliation in Peru* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Other examples from other parts of Latin America include Sandy Smith-Nonini's *Healing the Body Politic: El Salvador's Popular Struggle for Health Rights from Civil War to Neoliberal Peace* (Rutgers University Press, 2010), Ellen Moodie's *El Salvador in the Aftermath of Peace: Crime, Uncertainty and the Transition to Democracy* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), Kristi Anne Stølen's *Guatemalans in the Aftermath of Violence: The Refugees' Return* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). Other examples from other parts of the world include Tricia Redeker Hepner's *Soldiers, Martyrs, Traitors, and Exiles: Political Conflict in Eritrea and the Diaspora* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), Azra Hromadžić's *Citizens of an Empty Nation: Youth and State-Making in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), and Kristin Conner Doughty's *Remediation in Rwanda: Grassroots Legal Forums* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

specific power relations, social conflicts and cultural understandings that shape their lives.

However, if the poor and vulnerable are to get the attention they deserve practical knowledge commitments to social justice; humanitarianism and social care by themselves are not enough. What is lacking is the means by which critical thought can be used to more effectively transform the adverse effects of material disadvantage and the effects of insecurity, anxiety and lack of social integration.

The Scope of This Study

From its inception, the fieldwork this study draws upon has focused on the relationship between context and its influence on human nature and responsibility and the failure of the social capital discourse.⁶ By returning to the reality of the lives of survivors of the political violence, this study aims to advance understanding of the psychosocial nature of human beings and how they seek to manage and shape the world around them. This way of seeing means that we need to understand the reality of what it is like to live in conditions of low trust, anxiety, high vigilance and insecurity; otherwise, we will not be able to adequately assess the impact of physical and mental suffering.⁷ To attain clarity about the forces responsible for this near-total uncertainty of daily life, a locally informed analysis is necessary, for understanding the subjective aspects of individual suffering.⁸

Though this type of analysis is in regular use, its association with research into the long-term consequences of political violence and its impact on the physical and mental suffering of people are less commonplace.⁹ To redress this situation, the research for this study sought to provide a longitudinal and comparative analysis of human suffering in five rural communities affected by political violence in the South-Central Andes of Peru.

The overriding objective is to provide a reasoned account of human suffering so that its effects can be sufficiently acknowledged and so that social interactions can be recognised as a step towards improving the lives of rural people and their

⁶For discussions on the social capital discourse see, for example, Coleman, (1989); Putnam et al., (1993). For the importance of context in relation to human suffering, see Kleinman, A., Das, V., and Lock, M., (1997a, b: 207ff) "...There is a profound diversity in the meaning and interpretation of what people mean by suffering that can generate and sustain greatly different responses to suffering"; see also Wilkinson, I., (2005a: 16); Muller, Adam, et al. 2017: *Digitized Suffering Reconciliation* in Anderson, R.E. (ed) *Alleviating World Suffering*, Springer.

⁷Safety nets or "socioeconomic safety nets" are non-contributory transfer programmes seeking to prevent the poor or those vulnerable to shocks and poverty from falling below a certain poverty level. See Grosh, M, del Ninno, C. & Tesliuc, E. (2008).

⁸Dussaillant, F. & Gonzalez, P. A., (2015: 233–251) Lifetime Suffering and Capabilities in Chile in Anderson, R.E. (ed) *World Suffering & the Quality of Life*, Springer

⁹See Kleinman, (1995a, b, 1996); Das, (1997a); Bourdieu, et al. (1999); Frank (2001); Morgan and Wilkinson, (2001).

communities. While the focus is on rural people in the South-Central Andes, the lessons have far wider application for the understanding of what psychosocial processes and other issues relating to the aftermath of political violence look like from the perspective of victims and survivors.

This effort to better understand what happens to people who suffer and the stand they take towards their situation offers an opportunity to advance ethical and political debate. By making people more alert to the consequences of human suffering, this study aims to challenge established and flawed modes of political decision-making, professional practice and policy formation.

The starting point for such an understanding is to demonstrate that human suffering is powerfully determined by social factors that undermine people's control over their own existence. This study argues that this can only be fully appreciated through an understanding of the various forms of social suffering in the population, which are in turn determined by the legacy of political violence, hunger, deprivation, ill treatment and so forth.¹⁰

By documenting the psychological, cultural and social origins of responsibility, accountability and decision-making, this study sets out to demonstrate what happens to people who suffer from economic and other hardships. This study explores the roots of the immense difficulties that confront communities affected by political violence.¹¹

This is vital because only through a thorough analysis of the relationship between the social context and its influence on human nature and responsibility can the risk of over-objectifying the complexity of human suffering be avoided.

Thinking About Suffering

Because suffering has the capacity to affect every part of our lives, it may be that it is beyond the bounds of language to represent all the ways in which it can afflict people.¹² However, suffering's capacity to be multi-causal (often acting cumulatively) and its power to violate and destroy humans mean that it is supremely important to find ways of researching and representing it effectively. The problem lies with suffering's resistance to conceptualisation.¹³

¹⁰“Social suffering”, is a relatively new label for suffering that is produced primarily by social conditions that damage a collectivity's sense of self-worth and heightens powerlessness produced from socially shared traumas. One consequence of social suffering often is the loss of caring for self and others as valued human beings. See Anderson, R. E., (2013: 44); for an extended discussion on the origins of social inquiry and how its original commitment to building knowledge and practices to improve the lives of people who experience social suffering, see Kleinman, A. & Wilkinson, I., (2016).

¹¹Hickel, 2017: Addressing the structural causes of Suffering Jason in Anderson, R.E. (ed) *Alleviating World Suffering*, Springer

¹²Kleinman et al. (1997a, b); Wilkinson, I. (2001); Wilkinson, I. (2005a:18)

¹³See Wilkinson, I. (2005a:16ff). For Scarry, “...The fact that suffering cannot be shared means that

Currently the legitimised view of suffering is “...as a commodity and through this cultural representation experience is being remade, thinned out and distorted”.¹⁴ In practice, this excludes anything specific about the nature of suffering and replaces it with objectified modes of representation that are both formulaic and standardised.¹⁵ Having removed the actual lived experience of suffering from the realms of public life, researchers have dishonoured the uniqueness of the individual and undermined role and value at the heart of moral concern. This is an unfortunate misconception because it means that the world often attends to suffering without emotional engagement.

By deflecting legitimate moral expectations away from public life, any symbolic representation of suffering can be subsumed under “...issues involving economic factors and the problem of distributing scarce resources to those in need”.¹⁶

For the victim, this failure to properly acknowledge the awfulness of suffering is not just an affirmation of the supreme importance of power, but an indication of how the conventional meaning of dignity and self-respect is invalidated.¹⁷

By failing to assume a subjective attitude to human suffering, the world undermines and ultimately destroys conventional notions of what is good, trustworthy, beneficial, important, useful, desirable and constructive.¹⁸ Detachment and insensitive over-objectivity deny people proper acknowledgement of their suffering and make it impossible to assume the sort of appropriate responsibilities needed for meaningful dialogue and a shared moral understanding.¹⁹ These over-objective and

it confounds representation and defies our capacity to provide an outward expression of the contents of our experience” (Scarry, 1985: 4–5).

¹⁴ Kleinman, A. and Kleinman, J., (1997a, b: 2) in Kleinman, A., Das, V., and Lock, M. (eds.) (1997a, b)

¹⁵ Kleinman, A., (1995a, b, 1996); Das, (1997a); Bourdieu, et al. (1999); Frank (2001); Morgan and Wilkinson, (2001)

¹⁶ Langer (2008: 25–47) in Kleinman, A., Das, V., and Lock, M. (eds.) (1997a, b). See also Farmer, P. (2005) *Never Again? Reflections on Human Values and Human Rights. The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, University of Utah

¹⁷ In elucidating the implications of this failure to properly engage with the actual awfulness of human suffering, I am indebted to the insights into the human dimension of a situation and the consequences of an objective and detached attitude towards others by Vetlesen: “...Given a detached attitude, there is a danger that I shall remain blind to the human reality of the situation in front of me, that it will awaken no engagement on my part but will instead leave me indifferent. And indifference is a prime threat to morality, even more destructive to it than hatred or resentment, because the intrinsic logic of indifference sets no limits to its spread. What is threatened, often effectively suspended, in indifference is what I term the ‘emotional bond’ between humans. To miss the human dimension of a situation is also to miss its moral dimension” Vetlesen, A.J., (1994: 10). See also Dussailant, F. & Gonzalez, P. A., (2015: 233–251) Lifetime Suffering and Capabilities in Chile in Anderson, R.E. (ed) *World Suffering & the Quality of Life*, Springer.

¹⁸ “...Suffering is greatly intensified in relation to the dominant ways in which it is symbolically represented in the realms of public life.” Das, V., (2000) in Das, V. Kleinman, A. Ramphel, M. and Reynolds, P. (eds.).

¹⁹ Agamben, G. (1999: 20ff)

reductionist portrayals of what suffering actually is and what might be done to combat the effects it has on people's lives have largely been left unchallenged.²⁰

To better understand the ways in which people live in and through their suffering, we need to explore the individual's subjective felt experience.²¹ This means giving emphasis to the psychological, cultural and social origins of responsibility, accountability and decision-making.

If we accept that social location profoundly shapes human beliefs and practices, then it is reasonable to expect that suffering is not always going to mean the same thing.²² However, this does not also mean that the social meaning of suffering is exclusively determined by the local cultural values and power relations associated with that particular social location. This is because the modern world is responsible for a multiple stream of social traditions and practices that compromise and often undermine the authority of local cultural values and power relations. This can alter how people make decisions or act; it can constrain a person's free will; it can also mean that much human suffering is unrecognised.²³

For people affected by political violence, the emotional consequences are often huge.²⁴ For example, it may mean that thinking about and experiencing emotional states associated with what happened are perceived not as a symptom of human suffering, but as the expression of a new norm.²⁵ It is therefore important that particular attention is paid not just to the specific context in which suffering arises, but to its social meaning as well.²⁶ However, as with the body in pain, it is only when the experience of human suffering is externalised that it is able to offer the best opportunity for being better understood.²⁷

²⁰ See Kleinman, (1996); Das, (1997a); Grant, A., (2011)

²¹ Turiel, E. (2002: vii)

²² Bliese, P. D. and Britt, T.W. (2001)

²³ Farmer, P. (2005: 140ff) *Never Again? Reflections on Human Values and Human Rights. The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, University of Utah

²⁴ To aid our understanding of the emotional consequences of human suffering, Dominick LaCapra has developed an approach that involves feeling for another without losing sight of the distinction between one person's experience and the experience of the other. He calls this "empathic unsettlement" to denote the desired type of affective involvement and to distinguish it from what he calls "self-sufficient, projective or incorporative identification" LaCapra, D., (2001: 40). See also Silverman, K. (1996).

²⁵ In this respect, the distinction between the emergence of new post-conflict norms and values and pre-conflict norms and values is consistent with the insights provided by Vetlesen with respect to the performance of our emotional capacities and their relationship with the social setting in which it takes place. This is because "...a faculty such as empathy – giving rise to care, compassion, sympathy – is highly susceptible to changes in the moral subject's social environment, which means that the social environment may help encourage or impede the faculty's actual exercise" Vetlesen, A.J., (1994: 81).

²⁶ Wilkinson, I., (2005a: 39); Melzack, R., & Wall, P., (1965); Wall, P., (1999); Kleinman A., (1986); Kleinman, A., (1988); Kleinman, A., (1992) in DelVecchio Good, M.J., Brodwin, P.E., Good, B.J., & Kleinman, A. (1992)

²⁷ Scarry, E., (1985: 52–3)

To break through the detachment and over-objectivity that empties the meaning of human suffering and misery of all subjective content a different approach is needed.²⁸ It is suggested that “...acts of symbolic violence on the qualitative experience of personal suffering”²⁹ can be avoided only if the researcher is able and willing to “...engage with how people respond to their feelings in ways that do not simplify them...”.³⁰ In the case of people that lack power, there is no alternative but to begin the investigation into suffering with the testimonies of ordinary people.³¹ This allows the researcher to break with the absence of any kind of emotional engagement at both the personal and collective levels and make use of testimony to illustrate what suffering means to the victim.³² It also provides the researcher with a means to begin to understand the influence of context and social location, as well as the cultural formations and social processes that make up the lived experience of suffering.

To better understand the particular situation as people perceive and cognitively construct it, testimonies provide a means by which we can “...attempt to understand experience and its aftermath, including the role of memory and its lapses in coming to terms with or denying and repressing the past”.³³

This also provides the researcher with the opportunity to better understand the moral and intellectual tensions born in the face of suffering and their influence on cultural innovation, political and practical engagement and to better interpret their implications.

²⁸The need for a different approach to the representation of suffering is discussed at some length in Langer, L., (2008: 53ff) in Kleinman, et. al., (1997a, b). See also Dussaillant, F. & Gonzalez, P. A., (2015: 233–251) Lifetime Suffering and Capabilities in Chile in Anderson, R.E. (ed) *World Suffering & the Quality of Life*, Springer.

²⁹See Bourdieu et al. (1999: 607–26); Frank (2001); Wilkinson, I., (2005a: 27).

³⁰LaCapra, D., (2001: 40)

³¹Langer, L., (2008: 55)

³²“...To testify – to vow to tell, to promise and produce one’s own speech as material evidence for truth- is to accomplish a speech act, rather than to simply formulate a statement. As a performative speech act, testimony in effect addresses what history is in action that exceeds any substantialized significance, and what in happenings is impact that dynamically explodes any conceptual reifications and any constative delimitations.” See Felman, S. & Laub, D., (1992: 5).

³³LaCapra, D., (2001: 86–7)

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Glossary of Acronyms

AFAVIP	<i>Asociación de familias afectadas por la violencia política</i> (Association for Families who are Victims of Political Violence in Peru)
APAFA	<i>Asociación de Padres de Familia</i> (Fathers of Families Association)
APRA	<i>Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana</i> (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance)
APRODEH	<i>Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos</i> (Association for Human Rights in Peru)
CAD	<i>Comites de auto-defensa</i> (self-defence committee) – a programme that was made official in 1992 by the Fujimori administration
CBO	Community Based Organization
CCR	<i>Consejo de Coordinación Regional</i> (Regional Coordination Council)
CENIA	<i>Centro Andino de Investigaciones Antropológico Forenses</i> (Andean Centre for Forensic Anthropology Research)
CEPLAN	<i>Centro Nacional de Planeamiento Estratégico “Plan Bicentenario: El Peru hacia el 2021”</i> (National Centre for Strategic Planning Bicentenary Plan: Peru Towards 2021)
CMAN	<i>Comisión Multisectorial de Alto Nivel</i> (High-Level Multisectoral Commission)
CONACAMI	<i>Coordinadora Nacional de Comunidades Afectados por la Minería</i> (National Coordinator for Communities affected by Mining)
CONOI	<i>Concejo Educativo Institucional</i> (Institutional Education Council)
CORAVIP	<i>Coordinadora Regional de Afectados por la Violencia Política</i> (Regional Coordinating Committee for Victims of Political Violence)
CPR	Civil and Political Rights

CRECER	The national “Grow” strategy, led by the Ministry for Development and Social Inclusion (MIDIS) started in 2007
CVR	<i>Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación</i> (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) installed in 2001, final report delivered in 2003
DEVIDA	<i>Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo y Vida sin Drogas (Encuesta Nacional de Prevención y Consumo de Droga)</i> (National Commission for Life and Development without Drugs)
DIGESA	<i>La Dirección General de Salud Ambiental</i> (General Directorate of Environmental Health)
DIRCOTE	<i>Dirección Contra el Terrorismo</i> (Group Counter-Terrorist Directorate) is the branch of the National Police of Peru that is responsible for Peru’s anti-terrorist law enforcement efforts
DIRESA	<i>Dirección Regional de Salud</i> (Regional Health Directorate)
DNI	(National ID)
DNS	National Sanitation Direction
ELITES	<i>Equipos Locales Itinerantes de Trabajo Extramural</i> (Itinerant Local Extramural Teams)
EMZ	Ayacucho Emergency Zone
EPAF	<i>Equipo Peruano de Antropología Forense</i> (Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team)
EPS	Health Provider Entities
ESCR	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
EsSalud	<i>El Seguro Social de Salud del Perú</i> (National Insurance coverage)
FFAA	<i>Fuerzas Armadas</i> (Armed Forces)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FONB	<i>Funciones Obstétricas Básicas</i> (Basic Obstetric Functions)
FONCODES	<i>Fondo de Compensación Social</i> (Social Fund for Social Compensation)
FONCOMÚN	<i>El Fondo de Compensación Municipal</i> (a national fund to promote investment in isolated and neglected municipalities throughout Peru)
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
INEI	<i>El Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática</i> (National Institute for Statistics and Information)
GAD	Generalized Anxiety Disorder
GEIN	<i>Grupo Especial de Inteligencia</i> (Special Intelligence Group)
GPIR	<i>Grupo sobre el Plan Integral de Reparaciones</i> (Integral Reparations Plan Group)
GRO	Grass Roots Organization
HW	Health worker
INEI	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática</i> (National Institute for Statistics and Information)

IPAZ	<i>Instituto de Investigacion y Promocion del Desarrollo y Paz de Ayacucho</i> (Institute for the Promotion of Development and Peace in Ayacucho)
JAAS	<i>Junta Administradora de Servicios de Saneamiento</i> (Sanitation Services Management Board)
JUNTOS	<i>Together</i> (A conditional cash transfer (CCT) programme started in 2005)
MEF	<i>Ministerio de Economia y Finaciamento</i> (Ministry of Finance and the Economy)
MIMDES	<i>Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social</i> (Ministry of Women and Social Development)
MINSAL	<i>Ministerio de Salud</i> (Ministry of Health)
MINEDU	<i>Ministerio de Educación</i> (Ministry of Education)
MRTA	<i>Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru</i> (Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement)
NURAJ	<i>Nucleo Rural de Administracion de Justicia</i> (Rural Nuclei for the Administration of Justice)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAR	<i>Programa Nacional de Apoyo a la Repoblacion</i> (Programme to support the Re-Population) or <i>Programa de Apoyo al Retorno de los Desplazados</i> (Programme to Support the Return of the Displaced People) created in 1993 by the Fujimori administration)
PARSALUD	<i>Programa de Apoyo a la Reforma del Sector Salud</i> (Programme of Support for Health Sector Reform)
PCP-SL	<i>Partido Comunista Peruano-Sendero Luminoso</i> (Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path)
PIR	<i>Plan Integral de Reparaciones</i> (Comprehensive Reparations Program)
PNP	<i>Policia Nacional del Peru</i> (National Police Force Peru)
PRONAA	<i>Programa Nacional de Apoyo Alimentario</i> (National Food Assistance Programme)
PRONAMACHCS	<i>Programa Nacional de Manejo de Cuencas Hidrograficas y Conservacion de Suelos</i> (National Programme of Watershed Management and Soil Conservation)
PRONAMA	<i>Programa Nacional de Movilización para la Alfabetización</i> (National Mobilization Against Illiteracy)
PRONASAR	<i>Programa Nacional de Agua y Saneamiento Rural</i> (National Programme for Rural Water and Sanitation)
PRONEI	<i>Programa no escolarizado de Educación Inicial</i> (Programme for early childhood education out of school)
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
RENIEC	<i>Registro Nacional de Identificación y Estado Civil</i> (National Registry of Identification and Civil Status)
RUV	<i>Registro Unico de Victimas</i> (National Register of Victims)

SEPS	<i>Superintendencia Entidades Prestadoras Salud</i> (Supervisory Authority Providers Health)
SERUM	<i>Servicio Rural y Urbano Marginal de Salud</i> (Rural and Marginalized Urban Health Service)
SFT	Specialized Forensic Team
SIS	<i>Seguro Integral de Salud</i> (Comprehensive Health Insurance)
SL	<i>Sendero Luminoso</i> (Shining Path)
SUNASS	<i>Superintendencia Nacional de Servicios de Saneamiento</i> (National Superintendence of Sanitation Services)
TBA	Traditional Birth Attendant
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UGEL	<i>Unidades de Gestion Educativa Local</i> (Local Education Management Units)
UIT	<i>Unidad Impositiva Tributaria</i> (Tax Unit)
VRAE	The VRAE is shorthand for the Valley of the Apurimac and Ene River (Spanish: <i>Valle de los Ríos Apurímac y Ene</i>). It is a major centre of coca production and currently at the centre of terrorist activity in the ongoing internal conflict

Glossary of Spanish Words and Phrases

<i>abigeo</i>	Cattle rustler
<i>agente municipal</i>	Municipal agent (local government official)
<i>alfabetizadores</i>	Literacy workers
<i>anexo</i>	Nucleated settlement in a district under municipal authority
<i>assistencialismo</i>	Handouts
<i>clubes de madres</i>	Mothers Clubs
<i>campesinos</i>	Peasants – the term has ethnic and class connotations
<i>cholo</i>	Acculturated Indian
<i>comedor popular</i>	Soup kitchen
<i>comité popular</i>	Popular committee used within the SL structure in charge of administering community activities
<i>comunidad</i>	A village as a defined territory
<i>comunero</i>	A member of a legally recognised community
<i>condenado</i>	Soul of a condemned person who having been sinful in life wanders in search of other souls at night to gain salvation
<i>conformismo</i>	Attitude of the person who readily accepts any public or private circumstances, especially when diverse or unfair
<i>Consejo de Coordinación Regional</i>	Regional Coordination Council
<i>Coordinadora Nacional de Comunidades Afectadas por la Minería</i>	National Coordinator for Communities affected by Mining
<i>Curandero</i>	Traditional healer
<i>delincuentes</i>	Young offenders usually associated with drugs
<i>desaparecido</i>	Disappeared or missing person

<i>Dirección Nacional de Saneamiento</i>	National Sanitation Direction.
<i>empresa communal</i>	Community workshop
<i>Encomienda</i>	From the Spanish <i>encomendar</i> , “to entrust” (dependency relation system used by the Spanish throughout Latin America until its formal abolition in 1730)
<i>faenas</i>	Obligatory community tasks/chores
<i>hacendado</i>	Owner of a hacienda
<i>hacienda</i>	Land estate, originally part of the <i>encomienda</i> system
<i>individualismo</i>	Individualism/selfishness
<i>juéz de paz</i>	Justice of the peace
<i>junta directive communal</i>	Communal Executive Board responsible for the management of the community’s lands
<i>latifundio</i>	Traditional large estates
<i>Ley Orgánica de Gobiernos Regionales</i>	Organic Law of Regional Governments
<i>mestizo</i>	A person of mixed Spanish-Indian ancestry
<i>minifundios</i>	Small plots of land for cultivation
<i>Ministerio de Vivienda, Construcción y Saneamiento</i>	Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation
<i>muchiladores</i>	Human mules for carrying drugs
<i>Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales</i>	Peru’s National Office of Electoral Processes
<i>pueblo</i>	Village, community or people
<i>Organización Comunal</i>	Community Organization
<i>Regidor</i>	Third ranking member of the <i>varayokuna</i> authority system
<i>rondas campesinas</i>	Armed peasant patrol started in Ayacucho during the political violence
<i>Senderistas</i>	Members of Shining Path
<i>Sinchis:</i>	Special US-trained “counterterrorist” police battalion
<i>Sinverguenza</i>	Shameless
<i>Subversivos</i>	Terrorists and subversives
<i>teniente gobernador</i>	Lieutenant governor (of a community)
<i>terrucos</i>	Slang for terrorist
<i>turco</i>	Terrorist
<i>Vaso de Leche</i>	Glass of Milk (government programme)
<i>Varayocc</i>	Indigenous mayor (of a community)
<i>Vecino</i>	Neighbour

Glossary of Quechua Words and Phrases

<i>Ayllu</i>	A localised group or work party
<i>Ayni</i>	Reciprocal labour exchange, designed to establish solidarity, hierarchy and indebtedness
<i>Cawananchicaman micushun. Upushun</i>	As long as we have life, let's eat. Let's drink
<i>chakra suwa</i>	The poor peasant who steals out of need
<i>chakra</i>	A plot of agricultural land or small farm
<i>ichu</i>	Straw
<i>Juc shungulla cawashun</i>	Let's live with just one heart
<i>llakis</i>	Suffering associated with loss and memories
<i>lloqalla</i>	This refers to all unmarried persons, who are assumed to be dependent and not allowed to take on communal duties and responsibilities
<i>manchay tiempo</i>	Times of fear
<i>minka</i>	A request for labour; a collective work party
<i>mishti yarpay suwa</i>	A thief who steals or rapes out of anger or greed
<i>mishtiyasha</i>	Used to refer to those who turn their back on their heritage
<i>puna</i>	A neotropical ecoregion and one of the eight Natural Regions of Peru; the Puna region comprises high plateaus and cliffs
<i>runa</i>	This refers to all married persons who own land and take on communal duties and responsibilities

sasachakuy tiempo

The difficult time used by Quechua speakers to refer to the political violence

sinchi

A highly specialized counterinsurgency police battalion

suwa

A thief

varayoq

A community leader entitled to hold a staff of office

washa rima

To steal a person's reputation by gossip

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Chapter 1

The Complexities of Human Suffering



1.1 Defining Suffering

The discussion about suffering presented here cannot reflect the full complexity and variability of human life. It can only accurately apply to those types of human suffering relevant to people in rural Andean communities affected by political violence.¹

The study is especially focused on the destruction of deeply held commitments and ideals; and on the suffering that arises from the legacies of the past including chronic states, conflict and post-conflict traumas.² Also important is the suffering that arises from routine misery and inappropriate policies and programmes, bureaucratic practices and cultural forces.³ However, it is helpful to start with some broad-ranging characterizations of suffering before moving on to those aspects of suffering most relevant to this study.

To begin, what do we mean by suffering? How does a better understanding of what suffering means improve our insights into the varied experiences of human communities? First and foremost, suffering is a universal human experience that can be described as a negative basic feeling or emotion that involves a subjective character of unpleasantness, aversion, harm or threat of harm to body or mind.⁴ Cassell

¹ See also Anderson, R. E., (2013): "...From the data presented on global suffering...it is evident that most suffering, especially in non-affluent countries, results from illness, injuries, disability and poverty, especially poverty-related scarcities. The scarcities are forces largely under human control through social institutions."

² See for example: Regel, S. and Joseph, S. (2010: 75); Zoellner, L.A. and Bittenger, J.N., (2004) in Rosen, G.M. (2004) (ed.).

³ See also Cohen, S. (2001: 227ff); Montoya Vivanco, Y. (2012: 159ff) in Almqvist, J. and Esposito, C. (eds). (2012).

⁴ Spelman, E.V., (1997); Cassell, E.J. (1982); (1991); (2004); Hudson, (2012); Kleinman, A., Das, V., Lock, M.M., (1997b); Das, V., (2007); Brady, D. & Burton, L.M., (2016); Fassin, D., (2007); Fassin, D., (2009); Bourgois, P., (2009); Brehm, S.S., Kassin, S & Fein, S.(1996); Levinas, E., (2006).

(1982) defines suffering as “...a state of severe distress associated with events that threaten the intactness of the person.”⁵ As he emphasizes elsewhere “...what is threatened or injured in suffering is the intactness of the person as a person.”⁶ More recently, Hudson, (2012) defined suffering as “...an experience of unpleasantness and aversion associated with the perception of harm or threat of harm in an individual.”⁷ Cassell (1982) draws our attention to the close relationship between suffering and pain.

He has described this as a sense of impending disintegration, distinct from pain or distress taken alone, and not immediately translatable into terms appropriate to non-human animals.⁸ For the individual victim the reality of suffering is self-evident, but it is far from self-evident to others.

To better understand what happens to people who suffer a somewhat broader use of the term is needed. This is partly because no individual suffers “...in the same way anymore than they live, talk about what is at stake, or respond to serious problems in the same way.”⁹ It is also because suffering is so closely bound up with the human condition that “...we cannot address the question of what it is to be human without also attending to the question of what it is to suffer, of how suffering is to be understood, and of what suffering calls for by way of response.”¹⁰ The fact that suffering is such a personal experience may well be part of the explanation of why commentators find it so difficult to agree on a definition.¹¹

In practice this means that the human consequences of extreme poverty and political violence cannot be examined as a one-dimensional issue or a uniform experience.¹² It is of no assistance here to assign the victims of political violence to the category of the dehumanized. Where those in authority commonly refer to the powerless as dehumanised, it is likely that context and culturally reinforced beliefs converge.

⁵ Cassell, E.J., (1982); (1991); (2004); See also Kleinman, A. & Kleinman, J., (1997a); Wilkinson, (2005); Weicke & Guinote, A., (2008); Kleinman, A., (2009b); Langle, A., (2008); Hewstone, M., Stroebe, W., Stephenson, G.M., (1996); Weicke & Guinote, A., (2008).

⁶ Cassell, E., (2004: 274).

⁷ Hudson, W., (2012) in Malpas, J & Lickiss, N., (eds.) (2012); see also Kleinman, A. & Wilkinson, I., (2016: 14-16ff).

⁸ Cassell, E.J., (1982: 639-645).

⁹ Kleinman, A., (1988); Geras, N., (1998); Martin-Baro, I., (1994a, b, c).

¹⁰ Malpas, J., & Lickiss, N., (2012:1).

¹¹ Illich, I., (1976: 146-8) as cited in Wilkinson, I., (2005a, b: 16).

¹² Kleinman, A., Das, V., and Lock, M., (1997a, b: xxiv).

1.2 The Importance of Understanding Suffering

To make the lived experience of suffering a focal point for social and political concern the multiple ways in which suffering takes place need to be understood and emphasized, and that means from the perspectives of ethnography, social history, medical anthropology, critical humanities (including holocaust studies).¹³

This is confirmed by recent social science reviews that argue for multidisciplinary perspectives on violence to counter the tendency to compartmentalize, with “few links among different ... approaches.”¹⁴ Building on the idea that the appropriate approach to suffering is one that grounds research in social experience, many authors argue that such an approach can lead to more effective local interventions, better social policy, and social change that addresses the roots of poverty, inequality, and social suffering.¹⁵

From this perspective we can begin to serve the needs of those whose horrific experiences are capable of “...shattering basic assumptions about the self and the world such as the assumption of personal invulnerability, the perception of the world as a meaningful place, and the perception of the self as positive.”¹⁶

To come to a more complex understanding of the human issues at stake this new perspective has to come from the places where the abuse of power tears people “... from the first places where the first affective relationships, the primordial senses of self and basic belonging, formed by reciprocity and complementarity are fashioned.”¹⁷ This is particularly applicable to the aftermath of political violence because it focuses attention on the lived experience of distress and injustice, while exposing the “...often close linkage of personal problems with societal problems.”¹⁸

To avoid unconscious collusion with its over-bearing influence we need to pay considerable attention to the ways in which power has the capacity to shape interactions between individuals within groups and between groups.¹⁹ In these circumstances its principal role is associated with the ability to satisfy core self-and group-serving needs. Having power affects the way in which people resolve human suffering and promote well-being.²⁰

For the state the exercise of power is used to set the agenda and determine what issues will be recognised as candidates for discussion or influence. To investigate

¹³ Kleinman, A., (1995b: 181–191).

¹⁴ See (Bufacchi 2009; Krause 2009; Panter-Brick 2010) (McIlwaine 1999:455) as cited by Rylko-Bauer, B. & Farmer, P., (2016: 47-75) in Brady & Burton, L.M., (2016) (Ed); see also Kleinman, (1988); Kleinman and Kleinman, (1997a, b).

¹⁵ Abadia-Barrero, C.& Castro, C. (2006); Adimora et al. (2009) as cited as cited by Rylko-Bauer, B. & Farmer, P., (2016: 47-75) in Brady & Burton, L.M., (2016) (Eds.)

¹⁶ Gautier, A., & Sabatini Scalmati, A., (2010: 132).

¹⁷ Gautier, A., & Sabatini Scalmati, A., (2010: 32).

¹⁸ Kleinman et al. 1997a, b:ix); See also Das, V., (1997b).

¹⁹ Guinote, A. & Vescio, T.K., (2010: 3).

²⁰ Kleinman, Das, and Lock (1997a, b:ix).