

CHAPTER FIVE

Wartime Rape and Peacetime Inequalities in Peruⁱ

In 1993, in the village of Santa Rosa in Tingo Maria –an area referred to as *ceja de selva*, (eyebrow of the jungle), describing the landscape in between the Andean highlands and the jungle- a battalion of soldiers detained two young women; one a juice seller, and the other a dentist. According to the soldier who remembered the incident, a technician nicknamed *Gitano*, (Gypsy), there were few reasons for stopping the women, other than that the battalion was “high” on its own violence after torturing the village’s men, killing its leader, and playing football with his head.ⁱⁱ Gitano had never seen anything like it; ‘it was a party, I tell you’. That evening, the troops demanded a woman, so the captain authorised the capture of the two women. The juice seller was “given” to the troops as war booty to be subjected to the *pichana*, a metaphorical reference to gang rape.ⁱⁱⁱ ‘We were forty’, recalls Gitano in his testimony to the Truth Reconciliation Commission. The dentist, meanwhile, was raped by the captain. After and the captain was finished with her, according to the same soldier, ‘he asked me if I did not want to go over her. I said no ... more than anything because she deserved considerable respect I thought’.^{iv} Afterwards, the dentist publicly accused the soldiers of rape, reporting them to the authorities in a nearby town. The accusation was

immediately denied by the troops and the captain and thus dismissed. The juice seller, raped by at least forty soldiers, did not denounce what had happened. In fact, Gitano does not remember what happened to her: 'I believe she disappeared, or they made her disappear, I don't know'. In Peru, intersecting inequalities based on gender, race, and class inform people's social position and the level of 'respect' that people receive (Harvey 1989, De la Cadena 1991, 2000, Ugarteche 1998, Manrique 2002, TRC 2003, Portocarrero 2007, Boesten forthcoming).^v Given such hierarchies, the juice seller was available to be raped by all, while the dentist, an educated professional reserved for the higher ranking officers, was sufficiently respected not to be given the *pichana*, and she lived to tell about it.

There are many observations to be made about what Gitano tells us in his testimony, and throughout the paper I will refer back to his testimony and to others. I am mainly interested in how existing gendered and racialised hierarchies are reflected in the narratives of the extreme violence that Peruvian military forces used against the population, both civilians and (suspected) terrorists, during the counterinsurgency campaign against Shining Path between 1980 and 2000. In doing so, I respond to concerns expressed by Alberto Flores Galindo throughout the 1980s, about 'the [nature of the] relationship between the domestic servant, the treatment of criminals in prison, and the mass graves in Ayacucho' (Flores Galindo 1988, 188). Flores Galindo was concerned with the institutionalized violence that breached the public and the private. Such violence, Flores Galindo thought, was as much a part of the family home as it was of the war against Shining Path and thus as much part of peace time everyday life as of militarized life during a state of

emergency. Reading narratives of sexual violence in testimonies given to the Truth Commission, I argue that existing intersecting inequalities based on race, class, and gender inform institutionalized violence in 'peace time' and were clearly reproduced, exacerbated and reinforced in the political violence of the 1980s and 90s. Focusing on narratives of wartime rape shows how sexual violence is used as a means to perpetuate hierarchies based on race, class and gender. Sexual violence was not only used as a 'weapon of war', but was an extension of peacetime violence and inequality.

The war between Shining Path and the counterinsurgency forces, mainly fought out in the Peruvian highlands during the 1980s and 1990s, was not an ethnic war; that is, there was no ethnically motivated objections to the violence as there was, for example, in the wars in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.^{vi} The war against the Peruvian state commenced in 1980 when the Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path, led by university professor Abimael Guzman, blew up ballot boxes in the Andean town of Chuschi, Ayacucho. The goal was to dismantle state and society and replace it with a communist utopia using guerrilla techniques inspired by Maoist theories. Shining Path found support among provincial youth, especially the first generation of university educated young men and women of rural origin, and initially among rural peasants (Degregori 1990). Thus, Shining Path focused on class in its analysis of the wrongs of Peruvian society, which was not translated into tensions between specific ethnic groups. Nevertheless, class being strongly intertwined with perceptions of race in Peru, there was a strong ethnic and racist dimension to the violence that followed.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was installed in 2001 and published its findings in 2003, concluded that the majority of victims of the violence during the 1980s and 1990s were poor Quechua-speaking Andean people (TRC 2003). Although the social background of soldiers and police was more diverse, the TRC confirms that most soldiers were perceived as being from ‘other’ areas, coastal or urban, whiter or taller. According to Gonzalo Portocarrero (2007), such labeling reflects the ideology of racial mixing, *mestizaje*, central to the Utopian construction of a non-racist Peruvian nation, and in which the military performs a civilizing mission for its unruly young men (Gonzalez 2000). In such an ideal of *mestizaje*, ‘becoming civilised’ is associated with becoming whiter, less Indian. However, as Eduardo Gonzalez shows, military conscription during the war institutionalised and legitimised the class violence, racism, and sexism these ‘unruly young men’ were accused of in the first place. The same brutalizing social divisions were effectively deployed to define the enemy and commit numerous abuses against the Andean population (Gonzalez 2000). There was, confirms the TRC, an ‘us’ and ‘them’ prevalent in the conflict which separated the state, represented by the armed forces, from ‘terrorists’, represented by the Andean population. Likewise, in the narratives of victims and witnesses, one hears how the Andean population distinguished themselves from terrorists and military by referring to *both* as being ‘foreign’.

Although enough is known about the character of Shining Path to conclude that there was no overt ethnic dimension to its aims and objectives, race was central to how the war against the Shining Path was waged. The violence that the military used against the Andean population was

often justified with racist discourses about the inherent brutality of Indians, and by extension, of Shining Path. As Jean Franco points out, the hegemonic ‘discourse of common sense’ that converts racist beliefs into truisms is in Peru exemplified by the idea that the Indian population is inherently and inevitably violent (Franco 2006). Kimberley Theidon (2000) tellingly reproduces a quote from an army commander, who suggested in 2000: ‘There has always been violence in the mountains, since the time of the Incas and the Spaniards. Mutilating bodies, constant fighting –this is natural. How can we have peace with these *Indios*?’ The discourse that accompanied the ‘common sense’ of the violent Indian in the war years was the equation *Indio/a=Terruco/a*.^{vii}

The perception of the Andean population as being irrational, mysterious, violent, and savage was grounded in an orientalisation of ‘the Indian’ and of Andean culture, or Andeanism, as anthropologist Orin Starn observed (1991). Such perceptions, Starn argues, obscured the dynamics and grievances of modern Andean life, particularly of the educated young people of peasant origin who breached the perceived gap between city and countryside and who became the cadres of Shining Path.^{viii} Such damaging stereotyping of Andean people, or racism as Nelson Manrique would say (2002), contributed to the violence with which, starting in 1982, counterinsurgency forces approached the population living in the areas affected by the violence of Shining Path. This racism also contributed to the ease and impunity with which soldiers raped Andean women (Henriquez and Mantilla 2003).

The TRC confirmed that the army used rape as a weapon of war against the Andean population, both as a way to

destroy the social cohesion of the communities under attack and to reinforce an aggressive culture of masculinity and complicity among its soldiers (TRC 2003, Theidon 2004: 120-122, Henriquez 2006. See also Franco 2006). Apart from the few soldiers who spoke of sexual violence, testimonies given to the TRC that refer to sexual violence in the first person are scarce. Nevertheless, special research teams gathered data and some testimonies of victims, witnesses, and perpetrators of sexual violence (Henriquez and Mantilla 2003, Crisostomo 2005). Based on this data, the TRC concluded that rape and sexual violence during the war was widespread.^{ix} The few testimonies in which victims, perpetrators, or witnesses speak about sexual violence shed light on the extraordinary circumstances which facilitated the widespread rape of women, i.e., the state of emergency, as well as on the existing normative framework which made these actions possible.

The narratives of violence show how race was sexualised, and sex was racialised. However, rape did not have the same ethnic significance as it had in the cases of Yugoslavia and Rwanda, where rape was deployed in a context of ethnic cleansing (Hague 1997, Morokvasic-Müller 2004, Nowjoree 2007), or as in the case of India during the partition, where rape and abduction were strongly related to religious, ethnic and above all, nationalistic ‘purification’ (Das 1995, 2007). In the Peruvian conflict, race and class played a role, making soldiers perhaps more violent against a population perceived as other, but there were no ideologies that encouraged ethnic cleansing through systematic rape as existed elsewhere.^x Nevertheless, the TRC concluded that the majority of victims of rape were under 30 years of age, had little to no formal education, spoke an indigenous language as

their mother tongue, and lived in rural areas, especially in the department of Ayacucho (TRC vol. VI, chap. 1.5). These characteristics coincide with the general picture that the TRC drew of the majority of the victims of the political violence.

The majority of perpetrators of sexual violence were police and army personnel. Other aggressors were also found responsible for acts of sexual violence, including the members of the *rondas campesinas*, self-defence groups (a fact in urgent need of further research). In the case of Shining Path, the TRC concluded that its use of violence, including gendered violence, was based on a different ideology than that perpetrated by the army and the police. Whereas the sexual violence of the latter could be called a magnification of existing institutionalized and normative violence against women, the violence of Shining Path was aimed at countering these existing patterns. Especially in the first years, Shining Path imposed strict moral rules upon communities whereby adulterers and rapists, for example, were publicly and violently punished. Nevertheless, although Shining Path forbade its cadres from engaging in rape and sexual abuse, there is ample evidence that Shining Path activity led to forced unions, pregnancies, sexualized torture, and sexual slavery (APRODEH/TRC 2005: 115-136). As I am interested in how sexual violence in war time reflected ‘peace’ time racialised sexuality and violence^{xi}, I will focus on narratives related to army personnel as perpetrators (see also Boesten 2007a and 2007b).

The testimonies given to the TRC are not literary texts, nor judicial documents, but represent narratives of experiences that can have multiple meanings and serve multiple purposes.^{xii} In the above case, the narrator, Gitano, a technician who served twenty-four years in the Peruvian

army, speaks about the horrors of serving in an internal war in a passionate voice, as if he is telling of his years as a professional adventurer who finally found a listening ear. His audience is made up of two interviewers working with the Truth and Reconciliation Committee. Gitano indicates that he appreciates this listening ear, and the rhythm of his story suggests that indeed he does. However, he also has more instrumental interests: in telling his story to the TRC, the TRC is committed to protecting Gitano against potential threats that might come about as a result of his testimony (TRC I:4, p 232). He does not want material returns, and plain amnesty is not desired in a world where the judiciary does not prosecute individual soldiers, but in which the military persecute each other. Gitano –and his fellow *testimoniantes*– want asylum status elsewhere out of fear for retaliation.^{xiii} In this chapter, I am not interested in layers of ‘truths’ as might be necessary when pursuing legal justice. Rather, I am interested in narratives of sexual violence as reflections of social relations, and see these as valuable for understanding realities that are generally difficult to grasp.

The chola: sexual availability embodied

Social divisions based on race, gender and class are productive in creating hierarchies and are necessarily fluid. Thus, to better understand the reproduction of social inequality, we need to look at the use of factors that constitute differences and how these are grounded in the interests of the person or group that intends to make the difference instrumental (De la Cadena 2000, 10-11). The sexualisation

of race and the racialisation of sex can be exemplified by the meaning and use of the label 'chola' in Peruvian society and indeed in the testimonies of soldiers. According to Marisol De la Cadena, who examined Peruvian discourses with regard to the *chola*, early twentieth century Cusqueño intellectuals placed the *chola* in between the ideal types of the 'shy and virgin' Indian woman and the 'decent and enclosed' *criolla* (white, of European descent) woman (De la Cadena 2000). The *chola* represented the sexualized image of trespassing ethnic groups. She was depicted as promiscuous, lazy, and dirty. By stepping out of the relatively enclosed domain of the indigenous community and transgressing into the commercialised public space of the city, she became an 'available' woman. De la Cadena, like anthropologists working on Bolivia (Stephenson) and Ecuador (Weismantel), analyses the meaning of the concept *chola* as the symbol of an in-between; not culturally or ethnically 'pure', a trespasser and a traitor to her 'own' people as well as to whiter-skinned elites. The *chola* is the woman who defies the female task of bearing and reproducing tradition and ethnicity in favour of more personal autonomy, economic progress and modernity, therefore she is not accepted into a *criollo/mestizo* category of identification: she has trespassed both indigenous as well as *criollo/mestizo* cultural (and ethnic) borders. In this respect, then, the term *chola* serves to evoke female activities that transgress known codes of race and gender but with a vocabulary filled with racialized and sexualized perceptions. More than anything, *chola* is a term to show women their 'place' in a hierarchical society. The fact that the term is also used as a term of endearment among non-indigenous people does not alter this. Although a male variant of the term, *cholo*, is as widely used as *chola*, it has far fewer sexual

connotations. This differentiated use of the label *chola/cholo* underpins the idea that (racial) contamination and mestizaje are perceived as an inherent trajectory of the female sexual body. This perception is, of course, a pillar of patriarchy, and as such, also of racialised patriarchal relations as observed in colonial societies. As such, analysis of the concept *chola* and the constitution of racialised heterosexuality in Peru can be undertaken by examination of the literature on late-colonial societies. In particular, Stoler (1995, 2002), Young (1995), and Clancy-Smith and Gouda (1998), showed how ‘racialised heterosexuality’, i.e. perceptions that helped define ‘rules’ of race, gender, and sexuality, became a part of everyday negotiations of power in which ‘difference’ became the pillar of hegemonic power in the colonies and beyond.

War, rape and race

The war time testimonies confirm that the term *chola* sexualizes women, or, women were sexualized and made available by referring to them as *chola*. Certain testimonies suggest that this was a deliberate strategy to humiliate women; one soldier clarified that racialized insults were deliberately used to ‘break’ a woman. The soldier in question tells the TRC that a particularly used common tactic was to tell prisoners that she was an ‘ugly *chola*, stinking *chola*, useless *chola*’, only to come back later with sweet talk (cited in Henriquez and Mantilla 2003: 92). The reference to a woman’s looks and her smell, with the addition of the pejorative appellation ‘useless *chola*’, is in itself, of course, highly sexualized and threatening. The insult suggests that a

woman is not ‘good enough to be loved’, after which she will be raped. The term *chola* seems to have been a particular favorite for the purpose of sexually insulting women in addition to the physical violence they were submitted to. One woman testified that she was raped by five soldiers, who said to her ‘you *chola*, you can take more’.^{xiv} In these instances, the idea that a certain woman has no value as a person, but that her body is available for sexual intercourse as men wish is reinforced by labeling her *chola*. More than anything, by calling a woman *chola*, instead of other racial nominations such as *India*, *mestiza*, or *gringa* (indigenous, mixed, or white), the perpetrators justify raping her as it is the label that makes her sexuality promiscuous and her body available. The fluidity and productivity of the label *chola* is noticeable here: using it does not necessarily refer to a woman’s actual background, but rather, to the dehumazing objective that is being pursued.

The label *chola* is highly relational and refers as much to the perceived position of the perpetrator as of the abused. In a soldier’s testimony about his time in Ayacucho during the first years of the war, the narrator tells of the casualness of the sexual abuse of the women his battalion encountered and/or captured (Degregori and Lopez-Ricci 1990). The soldier ‘stuck his fingers in all the women, young and old’ to check for hidden weapons, and, he says, ‘of course some of these *cholas* asked for a dick’. In addition, he says, ‘as soon as you do it with a *chola*, they stay with you. Perhaps because one is *criollo* they look at you differently. To be honest, to me, the *cholo* is an animal...he does it and then falls asleep.’ Despite the obviously violent and abusive situation, the soldier narrates the situation in terms of racialised desire, whereby the abused women ask for sex with *criollo* soldiers because

their 'own' men (*cholos*) are animals. To emphasise his point, the soldier adds that at first he did not want to do this because he 'did not like them. Go away *chola de mierda*' (fucking *chola*). But then, fifteen days would pass and 'come in *señorita*'. He justifies his behaviour not only in racial terms, but also in gendered terms: his male sexual urges are normal and he believes this 'happens anywhere in the world...in all centuries...' (Degregori and Lopez-Ricci 1990, p 204-205). The narrator of this testimony, as reproduced by Degregori and Lopez-Ricci, is a member of the lower urban middle classes and perceives himself as *criollo*, as opposed to the provincial Andean population amongst whom he serves his military time. However, nowhere does he refer to the women he abuses as Indian or indigenous, they are consistently *cholas*.

Whereas *mestizas* and *gringas* are less available because of their higher status in the racial hierarchy, the *india* seems untouchable because of her *low* status: indigenous women are dirty, ignorant, and contaminating. In addition, bodily features and cultural distance gave *Indias* a reputation of frigidity (De la Cadena 2000: 53), which placed them beyond possible desire. In a perverse turn of racialised sexuality, the conquered Indian woman who was still depicted as sexually exploitable in nineteenth and mid-twentieth century literature is now replaced by the availability of the 'modern' *chola*.^{xv} The indigenous woman is less available sexually, not because her sexuality is valued and thus protected, but because her status is now even lower than that of the *chola*. The interpretative link between racialised desire and the label *chola* might explain why soldiers tended to refer to the abuse of *cholas* and never used more insulting words referring specifically to women's indigenous roots, such as *chuta*^{xvi}, or

contested but widely used terms such as *India*, *indígena* or *campesina* (peasant). The labeling used in testimonies suggests that to perceive an Andean woman as sexually available, or to justify the rape of an Indian woman, she was called *chola*. It seems that for these soldiers, raping a *chola* is less harmful to their reputation – or perhaps more arousing – than raping an *India*.

The juice seller and the dentist

In his account of the rape of a juice seller and a dentist in Tingo Maria, Gitano never uses explicit ethnic labels. In addition, the ‘event’ only occupies three minutes in a seven hour interview. Nevertheless, the story exemplifies other stories about sexual violence against the local population, and, in these three minutes, tells us something about perceptions of class, gender, race, and sexual ‘availability’. First, the difference in treatment that the two women received was related to class and age and to levels of inclusion in the Peruvian state. The juice seller, ‘she was from around here, from the village’, says Gitano, was poor and young enough to be raped by all the soldiers. Gitano’s testimony is full of references to young girls who are raped and/or gang raped, and he often remembers how they looked, what they wore, and sometimes even their names. As Gitano observes, many of these girls did not have identification papers beyond their birth certificate, and their existence could easily be erased.^{xvii} As such, the juice seller was one of the many under-aged Indian girls who were gang raped by battalions. The dentist, in turn, not only had papers, but was an educated

professional. Although she was also from the region, she deserved ‘considerable respect’ because of her higher social class.

Second, the different treatment the two women received suggests that hierarchies of sexual violence, availability, and privilege are productive in establishing, maintaining, and reproducing military hierarchy through the bodies of women.^{xviii} The dentist stood, in the narrative of Gitano, slightly higher in the social hierarchy of military sexual violence, which meant that the captain had a ‘right’ to rape her first. Sexual violence played a role in the performance of military hierarchy and masculinity: Gitano refers several times to the ‘privileges’ of captains as they could choose who to rape and when, and they could keep young women in their rooms for weeks. ‘Privilege’ was often related to the characteristics of the woman in question, i.e. her hierarchised availability to be raped. Every time Gitano talks about the capture of either a good looking woman (often explicitly defined by colour and height as well as profession and identity papers), or an important woman (defined by profession and hierarchy in *Shining Path*) he suggests that the captain has a first go, followed by the *teniente* (lieutenant), and then the troops. On one occasion, Gitano recalls, a female member of *Shining Path* was captured; ‘she was pretty, tall, more or less 1.75’, but the captain was ‘very passive, he did not want to impose his privilege’, so the girl in question was given to Gitano.^{xix} In Gitano’s narrative, captains never participated in gang rape, they had the ‘privilege’ of relative privacy. It is also worth to note that a height of 1.75 is very tall for a Peruvian woman and, as Gitano often refers to captured ‘pretty’ women that tall, this suggests that this was a measure of social status rather than actual height.

Third, the narrative tells us something about the role of sexual violence as a war strategy. According to Gitano, the event takes place after having publicly tortured the men of the same village and killed its leader, and could be interpreted as the ultimate act of victory over the community by raping ‘its’ women who have become available through defeat.^{xx} Gitano, however, suggests that there was more to the capture of the dentist. When the interviewer asks for a second time why the women were taken in the first place Gitano replies that the juice seller was taken because *the soldiers demanded her* as booty^{xxi}, while the dentist was taken because she was a female professional, and thus a potential terrorist. When asked, Gitano does not remember any torture scenes with regard to the dentist, and believes she was released after the rape as he remembers she denounced the rape to authorities in a nearby town. However, the idea that the two women were taken for different reasons – one a suspected terrorist, the other war booty places the juice maker in a civilian category (albeit with few citizenship rights) of rapeable girls, quite apart from women who might provide information about terrorists and belong to a different category of ‘rape-ability’. The distinction made between the two women blurs the lines of rape as war strategy that serves to intimidate and humiliate an individual enemy (the potential female terrorist), and the rape as a result of the political economy of warfare whereby certain female civilians become commodities to which hardworking soldiers have a ‘right’ within the system of wartime masculinities (Enloe 1983, 1990, 1993, 2000).

Fourth, this narrative of two rapes suggests implicitly that sexual availability was linked to racialised class. In his differentiated description of the two women, Gitano emphasises that the juice seller was from the village and that

she was *indocumentada*, she did not have identity papers. Gitano further described the dentist, in an almost surprised tone of voice, as coming from the same region (*de la zona*, instead of ‘from the village’), and that she was *bajita*, short. In general, narratives of soldiers, victims, and witnesses link being tall to being white and short to being Indian. The dentist is more *mestiza* than the juice seller because of her profession and she deserves respect as she studied and learned a profession, even if she is ‘from the region’ and physically ‘short’. Although the dentist is a woman, and possibly a terrorist, she can only be raped by those considered equal – or higher - in racial and class terms, not by the ‘common soldier’. There are other women who stand ‘below’ the status of the common soldier, such as the juice seller, who can therefore be raped at will. Gitano does not find it necessary to describe the juice seller physically and her appearance is assumed to be obvious. As Gitano explained, ‘we controlled the roads, the rivers, and that is where the *cholitas* were. They knew it, the undocumented girls; they knew and asked for the captain, hoping that they would not have to be with the whole battalion.’^{xxii} In Gitano’s narrative, then, *cholitas* such as the juice seller were available to be raped.

The juice seller is not only associated with being *chola* because of Gitano’s reference to undocumented, available girls. Being an undocumented juice seller in Andean Peru suggests a rural Quechua-speaking background. Being in the public space pursuing commercial activities – a market, a square, we do not know - might make the juice seller *chola* instead of *india*. At the same time, if she has an indigenous background or not, the soldiers will perceive her as *chola* because of her sexual availability –and she is sexually available because she is perceived as *chola*.

Gitano never refers to the juice seller as *chola* (although he does refer to a more generic category of local, undocumented and rapeable girls as *cholitas*). Nevertheless, considering the discussed perceptions of intersecting inequalities, sexual domination, and hierarchies of rapeability, it is evident that the juice seller is perceived as *chola* and as sexually available, even if she was not only physically forced, but subjected to extreme violence. The ‘obvious’ hierarchy between victim and perpetrator, determined by race, class, and gender, normalizes the violence of these sexual encounters. Sexual violence has a productive role in the affirmation of these roles and hierarchies, as exemplified by these narratives. Although the war time narratives are immersed in extreme violence and are facilitated by a state of emergency and a war time political economy in which militarized masculinities dominate, the narratives about these rapes show strong familiarity with existing interpretations of the institutionalized productivity of race, gender and class in Peru (Boesten forthcoming). Through creating a hierarchy of racialised rapeability that was –at least narratively- strongly related to a system of privileges and differentiation among soldiers, sexual violence during war time served multiple purposes that were productive for war time domination, as well as for peace time affirmation of social divisions.

References

Boesten, J. 2007a. ‘Marrying the Man Who Raped You: Domesticating War Crimes in Ayacucho, Peru. *Gendered*

Peace: Women's Search for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation. D. Pankhurst. Routledge, London, in press.

Boesten, J. 2007b. 'Analysing Rape Regimes at the Interface of War and Peace in Peru'. Paper presented at: Latin American Studies Association, Montreal.

Boesten, J. 2008. 'Narrativas de sexo, violencia y disponibilidad: Raza, género y jerarquías de la violación en Perú' In: Peter Wade, Fernando Urrea Giraldo, and Mara Viveros Vigoya eds., *Raza, etnicidad y sexualidades: ciudadanía y multiculturalismo en América Latina*, Bogota: Universidad nacional de Colombia.

Boesten, J. forthcoming. *Intersecting Inequalities: Women and Social Policy in Peru*. Pennsylvania, Penn State University Press.

Clancy-Smith, J. A. and Frances Gouda 1998. *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*. Charlottesville, VA, University Press of Virginia.

Cockburn, C. 2001. The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence. *Victims, perpetrators or actors? : gender, armed conflict and political violence*. C. O. N. Moser and F. C. Clark. London, NY, Zed Books, 13-29.

Colvin, C. J. 2004. 'Ambivalent Narrations: Pursuing the Political through Traumatic Storytelling.' *PoLAR Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 27 (1) pp72-89.

Coxshall, W. 2004. 'Rebuilding disrupted Relations: Widhood, Narrative, and Silence in a Contemporary Community in Ayacucho, Peru.' Unpublish PhD Thesis, Dep of Social Anthropology University of Manchester.

Crabtree, J. ,2005. 'Supporting Institutions for Political Inclusion', In Department for International Development, *Alliances Against Poverty. DFID's Experience in Peru 2000 – 2005*, London: DFID, pp. 63-100.

Crisostomo, M., 2005. 'Las mujeres y la violencia sexual en el conflicto armado interno.' *Warmikuna yuyariniku*. ed. Ricardo Portocarrero. Lima: APRODEH/CVR.

Das, V., 1995. 'National Honor and Practical Kinship: Unwanted Women and Children', In Faye D. Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp eds., *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.

Das, V., 2007. *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

De la Cadena, M. (1991). "Las mujeres son mas Indias'. Etnicidad y género en una comunidad del Cusco.' *Revista Andina* 9 (1), pp7-29.

De la Cadena, M. 2000. *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Degregori, C. I., 1990. *Ayacucho 1969-1979: el surgimiento*

de sendero luminoso. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Degrerori, C. I., and J. Lopez Ricci, (1990). 'Los hijos de la guerra. Jóvenes andinos y criollos frente a la violencia política'. In: C. I. Degregori et. al *Tiempos de ira y amor. Nuevos actores para viejos problemas*. Lima, DESCO, pp183-220.

Douglass, A. and T. A. Vogler (2003). *Witness and Memory: The Discourse of Trauma*. New York, Routledge.

Enloe, C. H. 1983. *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives*. Boston, Mass., South End Press.

Enloe, C. H. 1990. *Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Enloe, C. H. 1993. *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Enloe, C. H. 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Flores Galindo, Alberto 1988. Pensando el horror. In *Tiempo de plagas*. Pp. 185-190. Lima: Ediciones Caballo Rojo.

Franco, J. 2006. 'Alien to Modernity': The Rationalization of Discrimination.' *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 15(2): 171-181.

Gonzalez (2000). 'Conscription and Violence in Peru.' *Latin American Perspectives* 112 (3): 88-102.

Hague, E. 1997. 'Rape, Power and Masculinity: The Construction of Gender and National Identities in the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina'. *Gender and Catastrophe*. Ed. R. Lentin. London, New York: Zed Books.

Harvey, P. (1989). *Género, autoridad y competencia lingüística. Participación política de la mujer en los pueblos Andinos*. Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Henríquez, N., and Julissa Mantilla, 2003. 'Contra viento y marea: cuestiones de género y poder en la memoria colectiva'. Lima: Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, Unpublished manuscript.

Henríquez, N. 2006. *Cuestiones de género y poder en el conflicto armado en el Perú*. Lima, CONCYTEC, Republica del Peru.

Jacobs, S. M., Jacobson, R., and Marchbank, J., 2000. *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence, and Resistance*. London, New York: Zed Books.

Larson, B. 2004. *Trials of Nation Making. Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lombardi, F. J., 1988. *La boca del lobo*. Feature film, produced by Cinevista, Lima.

Mamdani, M., 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.

Manrique, N. 2002. 'Violencia política y racismo en el Perú del tiempo de la guerra', In N.

Manrique, *El tiempo del miedo. La violencia política en el Perú*, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, pp321-348.

Mayer, E. 1991. 'Peru in Deep Trouble: Mario Vargas Llosa's 'Inquest in the Andes''

Cultural Anthropology, Vol. 6, No. 4, (Nov., 1991), pp. 466-504.

Mendez, J., 2004. *Dias de Santiago*. Feature film produced by Chullachaki Productions, Lima.

Moser, C. and F. C. Clark (2001). *Victims, perpetrators or actors? : gender, armed conflict and political violence*.

London; New York, Zed Books.

Morokvasic-Müller, M., 2004. 'From Pillars of Yugoslavism to Targets of Violence: Interethnic Marriages in the Former Yugoslavia and Thereafter', In Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman eds., *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.

Nelson, D. M. 1999. *A Finger in the Wound: Body Politics in Quincentennial Guatemala*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Nordstrom, C. 1994. 'Rape: Politics and Theory in War and Peace'. Working Paper Series: Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, Canberra.

Nowjoree, B., 2007. "'Your Justice is too Slow': Will the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda Fail Rwanda's Rape Victims?' In D. Pankhurst, ed., *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*. New York, Routledge, UNRISD pp 107-136.

Pankhurst, D., 2007. 'Gender Issues in Post-War Contexts: A Review of Analysis and Experience and Implications for Policies'. Peace Studies Working Paper 9, University of Bradford.

Pankhurst, D. and United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2007. *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-war Justice and Reconciliation*. New York, Routledge.

Paredes, M. (2007). 'Fluid Identities: Exploring Ethnicity in Peru', CRISE Working Paper 40, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford.

Phoenix, A., and Pamela Pattynama, (2006). 'Intersectionality.' *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 (3): 187-192.

Portocarrero, G., 2007. *Racismo y mestizaje y otros ensayos*. Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Lima.

Ross, F. C. (2003). *Bearing Witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*. London; Sterling, Va., Pluto Press.

Seifert, R., 1995. 'War and Rape: a Preliminary Analysis'. In: A. Stiglmayer ed. *Mass rape: The War Against Women in Bosni-Herzegovina*. Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press.

Sideris, T. 2001. 'Rape in War and Peace: Social Context, Gender, Power and Identity'. In S. Meintjes, A. Pillay, and M. Turshen *The Aftermath. Women in Post-conflict Transformation*. London, Zed Books, pp142-156.

Starn, Orin, 1991. 'Missing the Revolution: Anthropologists and the war in Peru.' *Cultural Anthropology*, 6 (1) pp 63-91.

Stephenson, M. 1999. *Gender and Modernity in Andean Bolivia*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Stepputat, F., 2004. 'Marching for Progress: Rituals of Citizenship, State and Belonging in a High Andes District.' *Bulletin of Latin American research* 23 (2): 244-259.

Stoler, A. L., 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, Duke University Press.

Stoler, A. L., 2002. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Theidon, K., 2000. 'How we Learned to Kill our Brother'? Memory, Morality and Reconciliation in Peru.' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français des Études Andines* 29(3): 539-554.

Theidon, K., 2003. 'Disarming the subject. Remembering war and imagining citizenship in Peru.' *Cultural Critique* 54, pp67-87.

Theidon, K., 2004. *Entre prójimos: el conflicto armado interno y la política de la reconciliación en el Perú*. Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Truth and Reconciliation Comisión [Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación]. 2003. *Informe final*. Lima: TRC. www.cverdad.org.pe

Truth and Reconciliation Comisión [Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación], 2005. *Violencia contra la mujer durante el conflicto armado interno: "warmikuna yuyariniku", lecciones para no repetir la historia: selección de textos del Informe final de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación*. ed. Ricardo Portocarrero. Lima: ASPEM, APRODEH.

Turshen, M., 2001. 'The Political economy of Rape: An analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa'. In C. O. Moser and F. Clark, *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed*

Conflict and Political Violence. London, Zed Books, pp 55-68.

Uceda, R., 2004. *Muerte en el Pentagonito: los cementerios secretos del Ejército Peruano*. Bogotá: Planeta.

Ugarteche, O., 1998. *La arqueología de la modernidad: El Perú entre la globalización y la exclusión*, Lima: Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo.

Vargas Llosa, M., 1983. 'Inquest in the Andes'. *New York Times Magazine*, July 31.

Weismantel, M. J., 2001. *Cholas and Pishtacos: Stories of Race and Sex in the Andes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Yezer, C. 2007. 'Anxious Citizenship: Insecurity, Apocalypse and War Memories in Peru's Andes'. Unpublish PhD Thesis, Dep Social Anthropology, Durham, Duke University.

Young, R. J. C., 1995. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London & New York, Routledge.

Zarkov, D., 2007. *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-up of Yugoslavia*. Durham, Duke University Press.

ⁱ This paper was first prepared for the British Academy UK-Latin America and the Caribbean Link Programme, Race and Sexuality in Latin America. Seminar 1: ‘Race, sexuality, citizenship and governance’, Manchester 9-10 December 2006, convened by Peter Wade. I thank all participants for their welcome suggestions. That paper was published in Wade, Urrea Giraldo, and Viveros Vigoya (2008). I also thank the participants at the Interdisciplinary Conference ‘Feminism and the Body’, Kings College, London, 25-27 Jan 2007, where the paper was presented a second time. In addition, Paulo Drinot and Yolanda De Echave have kindly provided me with thoughtful comments on earlier drafts, while two anonymous reviewers have provided very constructive comments, for which I am grateful. The usual caveats apply. All translations are mine.

ⁱⁱ Testimony 100168-05, Archives of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Defensoría del Pueblo, Lima. Henceforth Arch-TRC.

ⁱⁱⁱ Picha being a vulgar word for penis, and pichana meaning broom. Gitano explains to the interviewer how they would *pichanear* the ‘whole prison’, which also meant killing the subjected women afterwards. Testimony 100168-02, Arch-TRC. Also: TRC Final report, VI 1.5, p. 342.

^{iv} Testimony 100168-05, Arch-TRC.

^v I use the concept intersectionality as a term that indicates that people’s social position is not confined to one category, but that their different identities, and the different labels imposed on them, intersect in defining social positions. As Ann Phoenix and Pamela Pattynama argue (2006), ‘intersectionality is a useful catchall phrase that aims to make visible the multiple positioning that constitute everyday life and the power relations that are central to it.’ See also: Boesten, J. forthcoming. *Intersecting Inequalities: Women and Social Policy in Peru*. Pennsylvania, Penn State University Press

^{vi} See especially the powerful analysis of the use of media (‘use of media’ is vague) in constructing ethnicity as a motive for warfare in

the Yugoslavian wars by Dubravka Zarkov (2007), and Mamdani on Rwanda (2001).

^{vii} Indian= terrorist. As both men and women were involved in *Shining Paths*, this equation concerned both men and women. Equations such as these can be found in testimonies, in the few important films produced on the theme (Mendez 2004; Lombardi 1988), and in the investigative narrative written by Ricardo Uceda (2004).

^{viii} The discussion about the ‘savage’ Indian and his role in the violent nature of the war culminated in the discussion around the killing of eight journalists in the Andean community Uchurracay, see Vargas Llosa 1983, Starn 1991, Mayer 1991.

^{ix} For legal purposes, only penetrative sexual acts whereby the victim and perpetrator are known by name were included in the official statistic of sexual violence perpetrated during the conflict (TRC, vol VI chapt 1.5: 272-277).

^x Rape in wars has received increasing attention since the wars in former Yugoslavia, see, for example, Nortstrom 1994, Hague 1997, Nelson 1999, Jacobs, Jacobson, and Marchbank 2000, Sideris 2001, Turschen 2001, Henriquez and Mantilla 2003, Henriquez 2006, Bos 2006, Zarkov 2007, Franco 2007, Boesten 2007a, 2007b.

^{xi} Of course, what peace time is should be debated in a study of widespread violence against women. With regard to this case study see Boesten 2007a and 2007b. For an overview, see Pankhurst 2007.

^{xii} For discussions of truth commission testimonies as discourse, see, for example, Colvin 2004 on political use of narratives of truth in South Africa, as well as Fiona Ross (2003) on speech and silence in women’s testimonies. On the value and use of testimonies given to the Peruvian TRC, see: Yezer 2007 and Coxshall 2004. The articles in Douglass and Vogler (2003) provide a broader comparative view upon testimony, memory, and trauma.

^{xiii} Testimony 100168; 100039; 100167, Arch-TRC.

^{xiv} Individual investigations, *Violación Sexual en Huancavelica, Las bases de Manta y Vilca. Declaración testimonial*, Annex 49, Arch-TRC.

^{xv} In a previous version of this paper, published in Wade, Urrea Giraldo, and Viveros Vigoya (2008), I discuss how narratives of racialised sexual availability can be studied in Peru's literature.

^{xvi} The term *chutos* refers to Andean people as pre-modern savages (Stepputat 2004, Theidon 2003, Franco 2006, Paredes 2007).

^{xvii} The TRC also confirmed that the lack of formal recognition of citizenship beyond the birth certificate, held in the local village register (of which many were destroyed by Shining Path), facilitated the abuse and disappearance of Andean people (Yezer 2007, Crabtree 2005). Data shows that the lack of identity papers affects women more than men (Crabtree 2005).

^{xviii} Sexual violence against women as a feature of 'militarism' and male bonding among soldiers is one explanation for rape in war time, see for example Enloe (1983, 1990, 1993, 2000). That male bonding also involves creating and maintaining hierarchy among those same soldiers could be seen in the same framework of militarism.

^{xix} 100168-03, Arch-TRC.

^{xx} This explanation of rape in (and immediately after) war has also been observed in other cases, notably in Berlin in 1945 and Nanking in 1937 (Seifert 1999). The idea that women of the enemy camp are 'fair game' is central to this type of war booty rape (Pankhurst 2007). At the same time, rape of women fits a war strategy thesis where rape, especially public rape, serves to undermine the enemy (eg: Enloe 2000, Seifert 1995, Cockburn 2001, Turshen 2001).

^{xxi} 'la tropa reclamaba', Gitano, 100168-04, 100168-05, Arch-TRC.

^{xxii} 100168-04, Arch-TRC.