“Reclaiming Our Hands”: Feminist Participatory Action Research With Andean Women of Peru

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"RECLAIMING OUR HANDS": FEMINIST PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH WITH ANDEAN WOMEN OF PERU

Dissertation by

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Abstract

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During the last two decades of the 20th century the Peruvian internal armed conflict affected thousands of Quechua-speaking *campesinos* [peasants], including those in the community of Huancasancos. The pre-existing socioeconomic conditions strongly informed the conflict's origins and help us to understand how its legacies have unfolded. This feminist participatory action research (PAR) dissertation was conducted with Andean women knitters from Huancasancos. Through this process the participants and I explored how organizing through a women's knitting association could be one way to identify and face challenges in their community, including the social and emotional legacies of the armed conflict as well as ongoing structural gender and racial violence. Through participatory workshops we collectively analyzed topics related to the research focus, and the knowledge that we co-constructed was the primary dissertation data. These collective reflections were subsequently analyzed using a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2014) and were complemented by 16 individual interviews and field notes. The major findings of this dissertation reflect the urgency that Andean women feel about confronting material poverty. Also prevalent were Andean women's experiences of gender racialized violence, experiences that limit their capacity to face their material poverty and improve their living conditions. Finally, these findings also confirm that the concept of "organizing-as-women" has been introduced into rural Andean towns by outsiders. As ideas from outside of the community, they typically fail to incorporate ways of organizing that already exist in these communities. Similarly, transitional justice and its mechanisms are experienced as having been introduced from outside the community and as disconnected from Andean people's lived experiences of

the armed conflict and its wake. The findings of this study yield important implications for professionals interested in working in transitional justice settings, particularly those working in cultural contexts different from one's own. The study has additional implications for those who work with Andean and other indigenous women who have experienced the violence of armed conflict and continue to experience ongoing gender and racial marginalization.

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Introduction

As I reach the grey gates of a small bus terminal (that looks more like a depot) one sunny morning in the city of Ayacucho, I can see minivans, or as we call them in Peru, *combis,* parked behind them. These combis are small but piled high on their roofs are a variety of items that people from rural Andean town come to the city to purchase. Behind the combis are several women, men, and children tying up their bags and packages to pass them to the driver who is standing on the roof of the vehicle that will transport us to our rural destinations. As I get closer to my fellow passengers, they observe me with curiosity, paying particular attention to my carry-on luggage which still has the baggage tag from my flight earlier that morning. Some people offer me shy smiles when our eyes meet; others are more outgoing and in a friendly but direct manner ask, "Señorita, are you going to Huancasancos to work?" They seem accustomed to professionals coming into their town to work in a variety of private or state institutions and projects. The clock marks 11 a.m. and it is time to get on the road.

Huancasancos is the capital of the province with the same name and one of the 11 provinces that constitute the region (equivalent to a U.S state) of Ayacucho, located in the central-southern Andes of Peru. The town of Huancasancos is four hours from the city of Ayacucho when traveling by land. To reach Huancasancos one must climb and descend several mountains, cross plains, and skirt a river that lies at the bottom of a deep valley. The two-way road that leads to Huancasancos is narrow, and along the way one encounters several pickup trucks either belonging to private companies or state institutions who provide their workers with safer vehicles than the ones in which most Huancasanquinos travel. Although the conditions of this road have improved when compared to ten years ago when it was only dirt, accidents still occur, and many have lost their lives. Despite the risks, dozens of people daily climb into combis and travel the four hours to and from Huancasancos as this

is the only road that connects the town with the city of Ayacucho. Huancasancos is located almost 12,000 feet above sea level, which makes its climate very dry and sunny during the days and very cold at night. Andean *campesinos* [peasants] in this town are mostly dedicated to cattle rearing; several cows and sheep decorate the mountainous landscapes surrounding the town. They also practice subsistence agriculture. Due to the changing weather conditions brought by climate change (Baez, Jaramillo, Cuesta, & Donoso, 2016), however, many campesinos have stopped farming their small plots of land.

Despite its rurality and its distance from the nearest cities, several state institutions have offices in the town of Huancasancos, given its status as a provincial capital. The state officials in the town, together with other outside professionals working for extractive industries or infrastructure projects, have contributed to the increase of businesses, such as hotels, restaurants, or small convenience stores. The commercial dynamics created by these businesses now intermingle with traditional rural activities; one can see campesinos walking around the outskirts of the town with their cows and sheep and bringing in their agricultural products from their nearby plots. It is also very common to see campesina women knitting while seated outside their houses or under nearby shade. But a different scenario was found in Huancasancos a bit more than three decades ago when the armed conflict took root there. This town, as others in the area, was the site of bloody confrontations between the Shining Path and the Peruvian armed forces. Many townspeople lost their lives on the same streets where today outside professionals and campesinos walk as they carry out their activities.

This dissertation describes my partnership with a group of Andean women from Huancasancos through which we sought to analyze the complexities of daily life in the wake of the armed conflict as they strove to respond to their material needs and construct a better future for themselves and their families through a familiar activity: knitting. The title of this dissertation, “Reclaiming Our Hands,” seeks to capture these women’s decision to take action

through using their hands to build a better future. The emphasis on using or reclaiming their hands reflects these Andean women's response to their lived experiences of their hands not being their own. They described feeling as if they were forced to use their hands primarily if not exclusively in traditional female tasks or roles. To this end, a group of women who had recently formed a knitting association and I engaged in a feminist participatory action research process (PAR) with the goal of exploring how organizing-as-women could be one of the ways to face challenges and seize opportunities in these post-conflict times.

In this dissertation the term organizing-as-women refers to the process of organizing to improve one's life conditions in an economic reality fraught by poverty. Also, this process of organizing is carried out by women, and as such it carries the particularities of the female experience vis-à-vis the challenges that emerge within a patriarchal society. These challenges include, but are not limited to, the lower value attributed to women and their working capacities, the restrictions imposed on them by the reproductive and productive roles assigned to or imposed upon them, and several other forms of racialized gender violence they encounter.

Women's organizing is typically understood as organizing in social and political struggles for social changes in systems that negatively affect women or as processes that are part of broader women's movements. Despite these connotations, and acknowledging the interconnection of social and political issues with economic conditions, I have chosen the term organizing-as-women rather than development or women's development work to refer to processes by which these women work together for economic purposes, seeking to improve their quality of life. This dissertation narrates a process through which a group of Andean knitters decided to organize-as-women as they engaged in processes of reflection and action with me in this feminist participatory action research.

This dissertation is organized in four chapters, that follow this brief introduction. In the first section of the literature review I explore and analyze the socioeconomic conditions that have led to Andean women's marginalization. Afterwards, I explore the Peruvian armed conflict, establishing connections between the pre-existing socioeconomic conditions of the Andean region and the unfolding of the conflict and its legacies. I then explore the several ways Andean women have sought the resist the violence of the conflict as well as several additional forms of structural violence and ongoing poverty. I finalize this chapter with a review of the literature on transitional justice, focusing on its connection to socioeconomic issues and also on the development of transitional justice mechanisms in Peru. The second chapter is the methodology, where I start by exploring feminist PAR as an approach to knowledge construction. I then describe the particularities of this research vis-à-vis the participants and their context, as well as the participatory data collection and analysis conducted during my fieldwork and the subsequent analysis procedures using constructivist grounded theory. The third chapter describes the findings of this research. This section is divided in five main stories which emerged from participatory analysis as well as from my grounded theory analysis of the data.

The fourth and final chapter of this dissertation identifies and analyzes cross cutting issues that I have identified in the findings as I deepened my analysis of the complexities in women's lives in Huancasancos. I discuss some limitations of the current study and finalize the chapter by reflecting upon the challenges and opportunities of this feminist PAR, considering also what we can learn as professionals for other feminist PAR studies. Finally, I analyze the implications of this research for other professionals interested in working with Andean women and with communities affected by armed conflicts. I also analyze the implications for transitional justice and the mechanisms put forward by professionals

working in this field as they seek to contribute to the re-construction of those communities affected by the atrocities of violence and ongoing social injustice.

Literature Review

Many Andean women[1] live in ongoing poverty. This material reality is the result of the intersection of several forms of structural violence, including: gender, racial, and class violence. As I will argue, these forms of violence intertwine and reinforce each other in particular ways, shaping the marginalization that many Andean women face in their everyday lives. Material poverty is but one expression of this marginalization. Andean women also experience marginalization socially, both through their everyday interactions with other segments of society and as a result of broader social and historical processes in Peru. The Peruvian armed conflict between the 1980s and early 1990s was one example of such a process, a conflict whose effects linger for Andean women to this day.

The Peruvian armed conflict evidenced the hegemonic sectors of Peruvian society's indifference and devaluing of Andean campesinos. This violence was systemic and structural, expressed through the state's omission and neglect vis-à-vis Andean campesinos. It became active and direct (and thus undeniable) through the Peruvian armed forces' brutal counterinsurgent actions during the armed conflict. The latter impacted Andean women in particular ways reflecting dynamics of gender, racial, and class violence. The damage to Andean campesinos caused by the atrocities of the armed conflict intensified their profound sociohistoric wounds due to centuries of marginalization.

More than 25 years have passed since the conflict ended and its wounds are still present. Also present is the ongoing dire poverty in which many Andean women have lived

[1] I use the term "Andean women" to refer to Quechua speaking campesina women from rural areas of Peru. On occasion, the terms we use cannot capture the variety and complexity of lived experiences. I acknowledge that Andean women are not a homogeneous group but rather vary in class, educational level, occupation, and location, among other factors and identities. Consequently, not all live in conditions of poverty nor do they experience the same form of marginalization. Many Andean women have been able to overcome some of the effects of gender, racial, and class violence. However, a large number, if not the majority of Andean Quechua-speaking campesina women, remain deeply affected by violence and live in conditions of poverty and marginalization. For simplicity in this study I use the term "Andean women" to refer to those women affected by these complexities.

both before and during the conflict. However, Andean women are not passive victims of their circumstances. Not unlike the multiple ways though which they resisted the brutality of the armed conflict, they face current challenges post-conflict. While navigating the legacies of the war, they search for ways to address their pressing economic needs. One of the ways that they have identified is to organize income-generating activities.

This feminist participatory action research project accompanied a group of Andean women from the central-southern region of Ayacucho to explore how organizing in a women's knitting association might be one way to address some of the effects of the structural violence that contributes to their ongoing marginalization and impoverishment. We also analyzed and documented their organizing experiences as they navigated the legacies of the armed conflict. Through a review of relevant literature, I explore the conditions of marginalization of Andean campesinos, and of Andean women, in particular, seeking to understand how gender, racial, and class violence intertwine and are manifested in these women's lives. I discuss how the armed conflict was an expression of this structural violence, and how Andean campesinos' marginalization was deeply connected to the causes of the conflict and how it unfolded. I analyze how Andean women were and continue to be affected by the conflict and its wake. After exploring forms of structural violence and the violence of the armed conflict, I describe how Andean women face and resist violence and marginalization. I discuss how they have been coming together to face the legacies on the armed conflict as well as how they seek to face poverty through forming an association. To this end I explore several economic development projects that have taken place both with women in rural areas and with women in post-conflict settings. Additionally, I discuss some of the ways transitional justice mechanisms could address socioeconomic conditions of those affected by war. I conclude this literature review by exploring some of the multiple

transitional justice mechanisms deployed in Peru, discussing some of the social and emotional effects that they have had on affected communities.

Although to a great extent this literature review is constructed by contrasting Andean women's experiences of violence and their resistance, I do not seek to construct a reified or static vision of Andean women that places them either as victims or heroes. Although a significant part of the literature about this population builds such a polarizing vision of them, throughout this research I seek to capture the complex lived experiences of Andean women that go beyond images of passive victims or selfless martyrs.

Marginalization and Material Conditions of Andean Women

To better comprehend the marginalization of Andean women it is important to understand the roots of racial and class dynamics in Peru. The marginalization of Andean people is deeply threaded in Peru's social fabric. This marginalization of Andean peoples throughout Peruvian society reflects the racism that is rooted in colonial times, but persists today—in slightly different forms.

Andean women in the formation of gendered and racialized class hierarchies. Since colonial times, the inferiority of Andean people or "Indians", as the Spanish colonizers called them, has been constructed based on their phenotypic differences with the Spanish conquerors, which were argued to be grounded in biology (Wynter, 1995). The racial axis served to stratify the colonial society placing Indians at the bottom and consequently exploiting their campesino labor (Quijano, 2000). Although colonialism as a political system has ended, we can still see its effects on the racial division of labor in Peru. Most of those who live in rural areas and are dedicated to agricultural activities, earn very little for their work, and are Andean people; while those who hold most positions of economic, social, and political power, with some exceptions, are mestizo or white. It is important to clarify that when I say mestizo and white I am not referring to ethnic differences based solely on

phenotypic elements. As we will see further on, in Peru, ethnic identities and hierarchies can be quite fluid and are based on a combination of phenotype, class, and cultural markers (De la Cadena, 2001).

Colonial racial dynamics also left a legacy in Peru due to the involvement of Andean people in their own marginalization and domination. Stern (2005) describes how the Spanish colonizers took advantage of the class division already present in the pre-Hispanic society by recruiting noble Indians as their allies offering them economic benefits. Unfortunately, this involved profiting from their own people. The assimilation of Indian leaders into the hegemonic colonial powers led to Andean people's loss of confidence and to the fragmentation of internal systems of Andean unity (Stern, 2005). The assimilation of Indian leaders into colonial powers also gave place to an association between power, resource, and whiteness. Through their relationships with the Spanish colonizers and adoption of their cultural practices, Indian nobles became more white or mestizo and less Indian. The social mobility of Indian nobles (from lower to higher social positions) elucidates the establishment of an association between "race" and class in a social hierarchy in Peru; being upper class—understood as having money and power—became a proxy for being more white.

These associations between class and "race" persist in Andean communities today that remain very stratified. De la Cadena (1991) documented how those who hold economic and/or political power in Andean communities are seen as being more "mestizo" and closer to the urban world. These class differences in Andean communities have also created social divisiveness. Similar to what happened in colonial times, Heilman (2010) has documented how in Andean communities of Ayacucho, wealthy community members have assumed the role of abusive strongmen, creating tensions and conflict around class divides. Thus, we can see how the racial and classed dynamics between Andean people that started in colonial times have persisted through time and remain present today.

Racial and class dynamics go beyond Andean communities and can be observed in the Peruvian society at large. Racial dynamics are based on phenotypic elements but also function at a more abstract and symbolic level creating a social stratification in which elements and characteristics associated with whiteness and western culture are seen as superior, and those associated with the indigenous culture, salient in the Andean culture, are seen as inferior. Thus, concrete social and cultural markers are mapped onto these notions of race (De la Cadena, 2001; Mitchell, 2006). One of the most important social markers is money and the possession of resources. This deep interconnection between "race" and class is reflected in a racial stratification that is fluid but still very hierarchical (Mitchell, 2006; Thorpe & Paredes, 2010). Within this hierarchy, due to how "race", class, and gender intertwine, Andean women are usually positioned at the lowest level (De la Cadena, 1991).

In Andean communities women have a subordinated role to men. These communities tend to be patriarchal (Cardenas et al., 2005; Radcliffe, Laurie, & Andolina, 2003). Men hold power in the home and are considered the head of the nuclear and sometimes extended family, making important decisions within and between families in Andean communities. Due to the asymmetrical relationship between men and women, it is not uncommon for men to treat their spouses in patronizing and infantilizing ways, underestimating women's leadership and work capacities (De la Cadena, 1991). In some Andean communities men also exercise great economic control through having more rights to land and other material resources (Leon, 2011; Deere & Leon, 2001). These dynamics of patriarchal subordination extend to the collective functioning of Andean communities. Social and political power is concentrated in men who hold traditional community positions (e.g., president of campesino community, justice of peace) (Cardenas et al., 2005).

Because Andean men have more power in their communities, they also have more access to other circuits of power beyond the community, extending into urban areas. Due to

the interconnectedness of "race" with class as previously explained, Andean men's relationships with urban spheres contribute to their being perceived as "more mestizo or white" and consequently, in their relationships with Andean women, they feel ethnically superior to them (De la Cadena, 1991). Andean women's subordination has been further reinforced by their limited or non-existent formal education.

Andean women's current conditions of marginalization. In Peru, as in many other parts of the world, access to education contributes to an individual's social and economic progress. Andean people are aware of this and see education as an opportunity to improve their life conditions. In several studies, Andean people, especially monolingual Quechua-speakers, have described themselves as marginalized and as being seen as ignorant (Ames, 2002; Garcia, 2003; Quiroga and Paulizzi, 2011). Andean people believe they can put a stop to their marginalization through providing education for the next generations (Ames, 2002; Thorpe & Paredes, 2010).

Access to education in Peru has improved compared to previous decades (World Bank, 2007) during which people living in rural areas, especially women, had very little, in any, formal schooling. Due to this inequality, illiteracy remains higher for rural women as compared to rural men and for both as compared to urban men and women (Thorpe and Paredes, 2010; Montero, 2006). However, inequality in education persists despite there being no gender gap in primary school attendance. The gender gap appears, rather, in secondary school and increases as adolescents grow older. More rural women stop attending secondary school compared to rural men, and to both urban women and men. Consequently, women from rural regions have fewer years of schooling (Montero, 2006). The causes behind their school absences are multiple. Some studies have documented how Andean families stop sending their daughters to school because they fear they can be sexually abused (Garcia, 2003). Other studies document how pregnancy in rural Peru continues to contribute to

adolescents dropping out of school (World Bank, 2007). Another salient reason seems to be the expectation for adolescent girls to start taking on more domestic chores in the home. Connected to this expectation is a lower tolerance for adolescent female students' falling behind in their studies. Seeing their daughter's lagging school performance, some parents may decide to take them out of school so they can help at home (Montero, 2006).

Andean women in rural areas have less social, economic, and political power within their communities given patriarchal dynamics within the family and the community. The gender subordination they experience at the local level combined with the racial and class discrimination that Andean people experience in general, tend to further marginalize Andean women. As a result, they face greater challenges in reaching higher levels of schooling which disadvantage them compared to other groups in Peruvian society. These factors continue to inhibit many Andean women's ability to escape poverty.

Stark socioeconomic inequalities are present in Peru and run along racial lines affecting the livelihoods of many Andean people. The harsh material conditions in which most Andean people live are undeniable. Official statistics from 2016 show that the highest levels of poverty and extreme poverty in the country are found in the rural areas of the Andes. In this region, 47% of the population survives on less than $76 each month and 16% lives with less than $47 (INEI, 2017). These scarce conditions limit their capacity to buy food, which has a damaging effect on their health. Furthermore, conditions of poverty are also reflected in Andean people's housing conditions. Many homes in rural areas of the Andes are not connected to the sewer system nor are they made out of proper construction materials (Thorpe & Paredes, 2010).

Due to the interlocking forms of structural violence explained above, poverty can be even more detrimental for Andean women. The scarce material conditions in which they live have deep emotional implications and affect women's sense of control over their lives. For

many Andean women, their poverty and that of their families is a great source of preoccupation, one that can block them from thinking about other aspects of their lives (Radcliffe, Laurie & Andolina, 2003).

Marginalization's socioemotional effects on Andean women. Many studies within developmental psychology and mental health have addressed the deep emotional implications of poverty. However, most of these studies have been conducted in urban settings and very few have taken place in rural areas of Latin America. Acknowledging the differences between urban and rural poverty as well as the particular sociohistorical configurations that shape poverty in different areas of the globe, I summarize some emotional implications of poverty drawing from the U.S mental health literature in urban settings, as well as from studies conducted in Latin America both in urban and rural settings. I explore the similarities and also different nuances of the experience of poverty in these settings. I focus on qualitative studies that capture the narratives of those who live in poverty, seeking to explore more deeply the subjective elements of this experience.

Psychologists working in mostly urban areas of the U.S have found material deprivation can have emotional and interpersonal sequelae (Goodman, Pugach, Skolnik, & Smith, 2013). In terms of interpersonal relationships, social stigma, and exclusion are some of the most salient experiences. Smith (2010) describes how social stigma is one of the less tangible aspects of the experience of poverty. Despite its intangibility, social stigma can have pervasive and damaging emotional effects. The emotional sense of powerlessness is a key theme in studies conducted in the U.S. The feeling of not being able to exercise control over one's circumstances is expressed by numerous people. This powerlessness leads many to feel chaos in their lives (Smith, 2010).

In Latin America, studies represent similar experiences with important nuances. Enriquez-Rosas (2009) reports that women in the outskirts of Guadalajara, Mexico, felt a

constant sense of uncertainty due to the precariousness of their lives. In some cases this uncertainty led to social cohesion with neighbors and family members to overcome obstacles, but in others, it led to individualistic attitudes that damaged these relationships. Women's social interactions were also informed and shaped by feelings of inferiority that emerged from comparing themselves with others who were wealthier. They also expressed frustration and anger for not being able to provide for their children (Enriquez-Rosas, 2009). In studies conducted with Andean women in rural areas of Latin America, poverty was also found to be associated with feelings of inferiority (Ruiz Bravo, 2005; Quiroga & Paulizzi, 2011). Additionally, in Latin America, poverty is described in terms of suffering. In a study conducted with Andean campesinos in the highlands of Argentina, women expressed their subjective experience of poverty through suffering. This suffering was partly caused by the powerlessness they felt, which they described as being "stuck". However, their suffering was also physical. Women described a combination of emotional and physical suffering due to the harshness of their life and work conditions. Their poverty was associated both with the smoke they had to breathe because they cooked on wood stoves, and with the cold they felt in their poorly insulated homes. Finally, these Andean women experienced their poverty through bodily pains due to the intensity of their agricultural activities (Quiroga & Paulizzi, 2011).

As can be seen, the material reality of poverty can be quite different in urban and rural settings. In urban setting it seems to be more associated to the lack of control over life circumstances, while in rural areas it is more related to the harsh material conditions caused by agricultural work and lack of basic services and infrastructure. Despite these differences, similarities are found in terms of the psychological correlates of this experiences: the sense of powerlessness, social exclusion, and the feelings that derive from them. Positive elements were also found in all of the studies described above. Those living in poverty spoke of family and community ties and networks, and how these connections ground them and give them

support (Smith, 2010; Enriquez-Rosas, 2009). They also spoke of the value of work and how it was central to their identity and self-worth (Smtih, 2010; Quiroga & Paulizzi, 2011). Finally, many people living in poverty also spoke of having hope for the future despite their disheartening circumstances (Smith, 2010).

In the section above I described the intertwined forms of gender, racial, and class violence that operate at a structural level marginalizing Andean people in general and Andean women in particular. These forms of structural violence occur on a continuum in Andean women's lives. However, during the Peruvian armed conflict this structural violence became overt and was expressed in a more direct form against Andean people.

The Peruvian Armed Conflict

During the 1980s and 1990s Peruvians lived through an internal armed conflict. The areas most affected by the conflict were the central-southern Andes, especially the Department of Ayacucho where the highest number of fatalities were identified (Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission [CVR], 2003). It is precisely in Ayacucho where the terrorist group the Shining Path (hereafter referred to by SL for its Spanish name, *Sendero Luminoso*) launched its armed struggle by declaring war against the Peruvian government. The members of SL positioned themselves as the leaders of a communist revolution denouncing the profound inequalities that existed in Peru (Stern, 1998). Despite this seemingly socially just discourse, they displayed extremely violent actions against those who did not support their revolutionary project. The SL was found responsible for 54% of the 69,280 estimated deaths and disappearances that occurred during the armed conflict (CVR, 2003). As a response to the actions of SL, the Peruvian armed forces engaged in a repressive counterattack against the areas where this armed group had more presence, namely the highlands of Ayacucho. The Peruvian armed forces indiscriminately targeted towns and villages in Ayacucho, and their abusive tactics and treatment showed disdain for the lives of

Andean people. The Peruvian armed forces have also been found to be responsible for a substantial number of victims; more than 40% of the deaths and disappearances during the conflict (CVR, 2003).

Contextualizing the armed conflict in ongoing socioeconomic violence and inequalities. As discussed in the section above, Andean people are affected by great socioeconomic inequalities due to racial and class hierarchies. These inequalities and the social marginalization and exclusion were at the heart of the armed conflict's origin and informed how the conflict unfolded. The Peruvian Truth Commission underscored how conditions of dire poverty were one of the most important factors that gave rise to the armed conflict. However, the commission goes beyond these conditions of poverty and explains that the conflict was sparked by the great gap between the poorest in the country and the rich urban elites that concentrated not only socioeconomic power, but also symbolic and political power (CVR, 2003). People from Andean regions felt excluded from the modernization project of the state and felt a pressing need for social transformation (Laplante, 2008). SL leveraged these failures of the Peruvian State and put forward a discourse that resonated with the pressing needs felt by many marginalized groups in rural areas of the Andes (Stern, 1998).

The armed conflict worsened preexisting conditions of poverty, severely impacting local economies of Andean communities. Many Andean campesinos lost the few material possessions that they had. Testimonies narrate how SL burned down houses, crops, schools, and communal gathering spaces in addition to public infrastructure. Furthermore, both SL and the Peruvian armed forces plundered the population's goods, harvested food, and livestock. Homicides and disappearances further destroyed human capital and severely limited Andean communities' capacity to economically recover (CVR, 2003).

The Peruvian armed conflict also had a profound effect on the social life of Andean

communities. When analyzing the role that these communities had in the conflict, it is important to not adopt a simplistic or singular lens. Much of the existing research about the armed conflict positions Andean campesinos as passive. These studies explain their involvement by focusing exclusively on how SL capitalized on people's frustrations, internal conflicts, and resentments (Gonzalez, 2011). Similarly, the prevailing narrative of transitional justice programs focuses on communities as trapped "between two fires" (Theidon, 2013). These discourses tend to obscure the complex ways in which people of the Andes responded to and engaged with both sides of the conflict.

In some areas of Ayacucho, parts of the population initially supported and even joined the ranks of SL, only to later become aware that their practices were unjust and extremely violent (Caro, 2014). Unlike the northern area of Ayacucho, SL found most of its support in the central-southern area of this region. They began their political work in this area during the 1970s through local teachers who taught young students the importance of the revolution (Theidon, 2013). Also in this area, the wealth disparities in the form of land and cattle were more stark (Heilman, 2010). These disparities were present in Huancasancos, where a few wealthy community members owned a significant number of cattle and had important economic and political power (CVR, 2003). In central-southern Ayacucho these disparities created more internal tension and conflict, conditions that SL took advantage of once the war started. Under these circumstances it is challenging to clearly understand to what extent Andean people supported or rejected SL's actions. It is also difficult to clearly understand their diverse reasons for deciding whether or not to be involved with SL (e.g., genuine support, fear, convenience). Similarly, the population often exhibited an ambivalent relationship to the armed forces who arrived in communities controlled by SL. Some rejected the military due to their violent and repressive strategies, while others approved their intervention given the possibility of protection that armed forces represented (CVR, 2003).

Thus, community interactions with the armed forces were similarly complex.

The intricate configuration of relationships and alliances that took place during the conflict makes it difficult to clearly identify two sides or to distinguish between victims and perpetrators. However, what has been made clear by previous research with communities in the highlands of Ayacucho, is that in these Andean communities, violence escalated in ways that led campesinos to turn on each other (Gonzalez, 2011; Theidon, 2010). Some were directly involved in violent acts committed against other townspeople, while others were involved in a series of actions that lead to attacks against others (e.g., providing information to one of the armed groups). In some cases these actions may have responded to resentments and tensions from previous disputes over land and resources (Heilman, 2010). As a consequence of these lethal acts threaded into everyday life, the social tissue of these Andean communities has been severely impacted. The truth commission documented the pervasiveness of mistrust within Andean communities during and after the armed conflict (CVR, 2003). Andean campesinos were reported by the CVR to fear talking to each other and avoided sharing what they were going through, many times experiencing loneliness and isolation. Scholarly works about these Andean regions have documented how mistrust and tensions were present before the armed conflict due to disputes over power and resources (Heilman, 2010; Stern, 2005). Therefore, even though mistrust and disconnection may not have emerged exclusively as a result of the conflict, it seems clear that the conflict built on previous disputes and exacerbated certain forms of tensions and mistrust.

The spread of mistrust and the disruption of community life due to actions of both SL and the military weakened several forms of community organization. For example, SL seized control of community gathering spaces and imposed a new social order based on violent actions that were outside Andean communities' traditional laws and customs (Stern, 1998). On the other hand, the armed forces entered some communities to fight SL, establishing

military bases from which they policed and controlled the population. Furthermore, leaders were killed by SL or were forced to leave the area, and new leaders were imposed on the communities (CVR, 2003). The loss of a whole generation of local leaders brought challenges regarding the transmission of knowledge, traditions, and history necessary to sustain community organizations (Del Pino, 2013). This was further reinforced by the absence of most of the young men, who either died during the conflict or fled to the coastal cities. Although the armed conflict affected Andean communities in general, Andean women experienced the violence of the conflict and its wake in particular ways. Next I discuss the particular experiences of women during the armed conflict and beyond.

Violence toward Andean women during the armed conflict and its wake. As is the case in other conflicts, the Peruvian armed conflict impacted men and women differently. Most of those who died and disappeared were men (80%) between the ages 20 and 49 (CVR, 2003). However, although a great number of women survived the conflict, they were affected by its violence in particular ways. Researchers have documented women's experiences of several forms of gender violence (Boesten, 2014; Cardenas et al., 2005; Theidon, 2003). Rape was a systematic practice of war by both armed groups but especially exercised by the Peruvian army. Women were abused in their houses or in military bases, and many women gave birth to children of combatants from both sides (Cardenas et al., 2005). Furthermore, given that most of those killed by the armed conflict were men and that it was mostly men who fled to coastal cities, women were left as the heads of households. They had to find ways to face both the violence of war and the new challenges that emerged as they struggled to reconstruct their lives in the wake of the conflict and in conditions of dire poverty (Bernedo, 2011).

Most of the literature about women affected by armed conflicts has portrayed them almost exclusively as passive victims of violence, eschewing or obfuscating stories of

resistance and protagonism. Despite this, there are many examples of women in the Peruvian Andes who struggled and resisted violence and oppression. Many Andean women participated in self-defense committees, which were organized by townspeople to defend their communities against SL. Also, in confrontations with both SL and the military, Andean women displayed courageous and creative strategies to protect themselves and their daughters from sexual violence. Some women armed themselves with sticks and other objects to defend themselves and their daughters. Other women tried to trick their abusers by pretending to be pregnant or to be menstruating (Theidon, 2013). Some, recognizing that they could not prevent the sexual violence, leveraged it by bartering sex or access to their bodies with the armed forces in order to save other family members. Bueno-Hansen (2015) has documented how women in the town of Manta—an emblematic case of the truth commission where a military base was installed—saw this trade off as a sign of courage and family loyalty.

The violence that Andean women endured due to the armed conflict did not stop when the conflict ended. Rather, the consequences of the several forms of gender violence that took place during the conflict persisted in its wake through the way segments of the Peruvian society reacted towards the violence experienced by Andean women, and more indirectly, through the way transitional justice mechanisms were implemented. After the conflict ended, a truth and reconciliation commission (CVR, 2003) was formed to investigate the violence that had occurred over the previous two decades. Most of those who gave their testimonies to the commission were women. Not surprisingly, and similar to other truth and reconciliation commissions in other countries, rather than narrating their own grievances or direct violations, including sexual violence, most women spoke about the violence experienced by their family members (Aguirre, 2009). The silence around their personal or individual experiences of violence in their communities predate the armed conflict and are often

attributed to the strong patriarchal dynamics present in their communities (Boesten, 2014).

Peruvian women's silence around experiences of gender violence, particularly sexual violence, can be partly explained by the patriarchal conditions of Peruvian society that attach shame, blame, and stigma to these experiences. Peruvian institutions working in the field of transitional justice promoted women's truth telling about the violence they endured. The truth commission had a gender-sensitive approach and thus held special hearings for women in order to explore the effects the conflict had on them (Bueno-Hansen, 2015). Despite these efforts, it was still very challenging for Andean women to speak about their experiences of sexual violence. There were inadequate conditions to facilitate women's being heard or their voices interpreted in ways that did not judge or humiliate them, both in their communities and in the society at large. Through her work in South Africa, Ross (2010) has discussed how in patriarchal societies, where there are no social conditions to speak about sexual harm, speaking out can be dangerous. She notes that women who denounce sexual violence are also denouncing larger systems of power that enable these acts of violence (Ross, 2010). Crosby and Lykes (2011) similarly discuss how disclosure of acts of sexual violence by Mayan women in Guatemala could put their security at risk, especially because often the perpetrators lived in the same communities as the women.

Therefore, addressing individual acts of sexual violence, through truth telling mechanisms, for example, without also addressing the broader structures of gender oppression that allowed these acts to take place, can perpetuate further harm. This harm can occur through direct forms of retaliation, but also by the mere fact of creating spaces in which stories of sexual violence can be spoken but not truly heard, or at least not in a dignified way that recognizes women's full humanity in addition to their victimhood. In the Peruvian case the difficulty to bring structural issues of patriarchy to the forefront of the discussion made it more challenging for Andean women to speak out about their experiences of violence.

Morover, for Andean women challenging this patriarchal structure was not an easy task and doing so might have made them fear subsequent male retaliation. Furthermore, when some women did speak in the truth commission hearings, the experiences that were privileged were those of their suffering as victims rather than of their protagonism. These dynamics constructed a subject position from which women could only speak as "innocent victims". This was also reflected in the reduction of a gender-sensitive approach to an overemphasis on sexual violence, particularly on rape (Bueno-Hansen, 2015).

Limiting a gender perspective in transitional justice to an analysis of sexual violence in armed conflicts focuses almost exclusively on women—as they are the larger number of cases—and can both ignore sexual violence against men and conceal patriarchal structural issues present before, throughout, and beyond the conflict. Although the Peruvian truth commission used a gender-sensitive approach when researching how the armed conflict affected women differently, it focused almost exclusively on sexual violence (Bueno-Hansen, 2015; Theidon, 2007). In this way, the truth commission was unable to analyze the gender and racial oppression threaded through the multiple forms of socioeconomic rights violations and structural injustices experienced by Andean women. It failed to recognize Andean women's narratives about experiences of suffering other than sexual violence—such as the destruction of their homes and communities or their mistreatment in police departments after they had walked for days to report violations of their rights—as human rights violations. These experiences to which they testified were another expression of the gendered dimensions of the war and reflected racial and patriarchal dynamics that were at the root of their experiences (Theidon, 2007).

As can be seen, the Peruvian armed conflict impacted Andean women in particular ways. The violence they experienced during the war added to forms of ongoing structural violence. However, Andean women have not passively accepted the damaging effects of the

conflict nor have they been inactive facing or responding to impoverishing structural violence. Rather they have resisted and continue to fight back against this violence in times of conflict and peace. In the following section I discuss strategies Andean women have and continue to put forward as they face the legacies of the war. Furthermore, I explore Andean women's engagement in projects that seek to address their socioeconomic conditions more broadly.

Andean Women's Ongoing Resistance to Violence

Resisting in the wake of the war. Since the beginning of the armed conflict it was Andean women from the regions most affected who began to organize to denounce abuses that were taking place against their families and communities (Henriquez, 2006). The absence of men, the growing economic needs, and the will to assert their rights created important shifts in gender dynamics in the Andean region and led women to speak up and organize (Venturoli, 2009). Women's organizations in the Andean region struggled to defend the rights of their tortured and executed family members and also to find the whereabouts of the disappeared. They returned repeatedly to police departments and military bases looking for their loved ones. Through their women's organizations they also advocated for those who had survived the conflict so that their needs could be addressed in an increasingly precarious and destructive context.

One of the most well-known organizations of the affected regions is ANFASEP (National Association of Families of the Kidnapped, Detained, and Disappeared of Peru), which was formed in 1983 by Angelica Mendoza, a Quechua-speaking woman of Ayacucho whose son was kidnapped by the military. Angelica, as many other Quechua-speaking Andean women, faced several challenges when going to state authorities, who treated her in contemptuous and even repressive ways (Jave, 2014; Rodriguez Carreón, 2013). ANFASEP, as well as other victims' organizations from Ayacucho and other parts of the country, grew

with the support of the Catholic and Evangelical Churches and human rights organizations (Venturoli, 2009). ANFASEP in Ayacucho gained important public presence and Angelica, or *Mamá Angelica* as she was called in Ayacucho, became the symbol of mothers from Ayacucho looking for their family members. Unfortunately, she died in September 2017 without having found her son. However, she continues to be an inspiration for many Andean women who seek their loved ones and struggle for justice.

Andean women also publicly denounced the violation of their rights both during the conflict and after it. Two years ago 14 Andean women from the town of Manta Huancavelica, which constituted an emblematic case within the truth commission's final report, have accused 11 soldiers from the military base installed in their town between 1984 and 1996 of sexual violence. The legal case accuses soldiers of perpetrating sexual violence against Andean women in a systematic way within and beyond the military base (DEMUS - *Estudio para la Defensa de los Derechos de la Mujer*, 2016). The judicial process began in July of 2016, and to date, 15 hearings have taken place as part of the trial. So far DEMUS, one of the feminist human rights organizations representing the women, has a positive perception about the way the trial is evolving (Demus, December 8th, 2016). Another important legal struggle for Andean women focuses on the forced sterilizations they were subjected to between 1995 and 2000 as part of the family planning policy under the government of Alberto Fujimori. More than 250,000 women were sterilized without fully understanding that they were giving so-called informed consent, many of them pressured by health workers who had to fill quotas. Most of these women lived in rural Andean areas of Peru. This year, 77 women—most of whom are Andean campesinas—presented a legal claim against members of the Fujimori government to protest their forced sterilization. While the case had been slowly moving forward, it was unfortunately declined on December 8th, 2016 by the district attorney who did not find sufficient evidence to bring the case to trial. However, on December 11th of that

same year, victims appealed and are hoping that the case will be reopened (LaMula, 2016).

In the wake of the conflict, Andean women also sought to confront the harsh socioeconomic conditions in their contexts. To do so, they formed a women's organization called *Clubs de Madres* (Mothers Clubs). Clubs de Madres are a form of grassroots organizing that has a long history in Peru and was initially tied to union organizing of the early 1950's (Blondet, 1995). In the department of Ayacucho they started in the late 1970's and early 1980's partly motivated by the economic crises. In the late 1970's there were 17 Clubs de Madres in Ayacucho, by 1988 there were 270 clubs in Huamanga, Ayacucho's capital, all of which were organized under a provincial federation. By 1995, 1,400 Clubs de Madres existed and were organized under the Departmental Federation of Mothers Clubs of Ayacucho (Venturoli, 2009). Clubs de Madres had an important role in resisting and denouncing the violence of SL through peace marches. As a response, SL sought to intimidate and disperse this growing movement, but the women resisted (Bueno-Hansen, 2015). The Clubs de Madres also sought to respond to the post-conflict economic needs of women and their families. They organized activities to provide for the livelihoods of mothers and their children, such as communal kitchens and fundraising activities. They have been an important network of economic and social support for many women in Ayacucho.

As can be seen above, Andean women in Peru have been coming together, not only to fight against the direct violation of their civil and political rights, but also to overcome the consequences of structural violence that has led to their economic marginalization. To this end many Andean women took advantage of the opportunities that were appearing in their local contexts and engaged in several development projects initiated by national and international NGOs.

Andean women and development projects. To better understand local Andean women's experiences with economic development, in the following section I explore the field

of women and development more generally and how this understanding has evolved in recent decades. I also explore how development projects have been organized with women to respond to poverty in both rural and post-conflict settings, acknowledging that many times these two settings can overlap. Socioeconomic issues in post-conflict settings could also be addressed through transitional justice mechanism. I will address these mechanisms in the next section. In this section I focus on economic development projects.

The ways women have been perceived within the field of development has evolved throughout recent decades. According to scholars of development, including many working through the United Nations, most work with women in the early 1970's was grounded in a model or perspective referred to as Women in Development (WID). This perspective recognized that development strategies of that period—mostly centered on industrialization—had not benefited women in the same ways as men. Thus, these projects sought to better integrate women into the economic system. However, the WID perspective did not critique the existing social structures underlying these economic systems and their operations (Rathgeber, 1990). Trying to address the limitations of this perspective the Women and Development (WAD) perspective interrogates the relationship between women and development. WAD assumes that women's position within society will improve when social structures become more equitable. However, this perspective falls short of recognizing the influence of patriarchal ideologies on women's conditions (Conelly, Murray Li, MacDonald, & Parpart, 2000). The Gender and Development (GAD) perspective, on the other hand, sees women's oppression as the result of the social construction of production and reproduction. GAD is not concerned with women per se but rather with the social construction of gender and how it has ascribed both women and men to certain roles in societies. Furthermore, this perspective recognizes that patriarchal ideologies operate within and across racial and class lines, and that women need to organize to achieve more political efficacy (Rathgeber, 1990).

Therefore, as can be seen, in the last decade of the 20th century there has been a move in the field of development towards analyzing both patriarchal ideologies and the unequal social structures that they sustain.

Acknowledging the socioeconomic impact that armed conflicts can have on development, many national and international agencies have sought to carry out projects in these affected contexts. Many of these projects have focused on working with women (Bouta, Frerks, & Bannon, 2005). Most of the post-conflict development projects have focused on promoting and/or enhancing women's economic development at the microlevel. This goal has been pursued through income-generation projects that have trained women in several skills (see Walsh, 2000 in Bosnia-Herzegovina; Kalungu-Banda, 2004 in Kosovo) or have provided them with specific forms of literacy—such as women's rights or business-related knowledge—that could potentially advance their insertion within local economies. Other projects (e.g., Walsh, 2000, Greenberg, 2001) have pursued income-generation by putting in place mechanisms, such as micro-credit projects, that could redress structural barriers for women's economic development. Unfortunately, most of these economic development projects have had challenges and limitations that jeopardized their success and sustainability. They did not address the unequal gender dynamics present in the societies in which they worked—which ended up undermining women's accomplishments. They fell short when analyzing the economic conditions of the particular context that constrained women's economic activities. Most importantly, some of these projects did not include women's participation in all stages of the project design and implementation. The role of development agencies should not be to guide the project, but rather to recognize and facilitate women's ideas and initiatives (Kalungu-Banda, 2004). As a result, most of these post-conflict development projects were not sustainable once the external organization left the area.

Another significant portion of development projects working with women have taken

place in rural areas of countries "in development", also focusing on economic aspects and income-generation. Many of these projects are focused on the agricultural sector and they provide trainings to women working on small parcels of lands or taking care of cattle. Usually these trainings are in productive and even entrepreneurial skills (see Collete and Gale, 2009 in India and Ghana). They also focus on leadership development and self-esteem (see De Nys, Hidrogo, Lajaunie, & Chinarro, 2013 in Peru). Other projects working with women in rural areas have centered on addressing gender inequalities present in communities that limit women's power over agricultural resources. In some projects they have focused on women's land ownership (Wiig, 2013; Eguren, 2002), while in others they have looked at women's involvement in decision making vis-à-vis water distribution (De Nys, Hidrogo, Lajaunie, & Chinarro, 2013). In most of these projects focused on unequal gender conditions, the way to address these inequalities has been through a limited number of trainings and workshops with both men and women, but mostly with women.

Similar to development projects working with women in post-conflict settings, one of the biggest limitations of rural development projects such as those described here has been that they have not actually tackled more structural issues that constrain campesina women's development (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006). It is very unlikely that unequal gender distribution of power in rural communities will change significantly after only several months of workshops. It is also unlikely for campesina women to thrive economically if they are not analyzing and questioning broader socioeconomic conditions that led to their marginalization. In this regard, some feminist development scholars have pointed out the limitations of development projects that focus exclusively on income generation and do not include processes of consciousness raising. These latter processes have the potential of changing how women see and perceive their reality so they can become aware of the inequalities that affect them and develop the capacity to critically challenge these injustices (Cornwall, 2010).

Additionally, other critiques in the field of gender and development have critically examined the underlying assumptions about women in some of these projects, such as the assumptions around empowerment. Cornwall (2007) discussed two strongly held "myths" around women's empowerment: female solidarity and female autonomy. She suggested that female solidarity assumes that women are co-operative and selfless; thus, if brought together they will work well. Female autonomy affirms that if women had their own economic resources, they would have the capacity to break from patriarchal relationships. Cornwall (2007) critiques these "myths," arguing that they may prevent us from hearing other stories and seeing other realities about women's relationships with each other and with men. Ultimately, these assumptions reinforce essentialized notions about women and men.

A more radical, but very relevant critique of the field of development comes from the school of post-development. This school of thought called into question the objective of development and the development paradigm as whole (Escobar, 1995). Proponents describe development as an ideology of the west that promises material affluence to those from previously colonized countries, now called countries "in development" (Rahnema, 1997). It is seen as a Eurocentric construct that defines non-western social realities as non-modern and therefore, inferior to the west and in need of development (Esteva, 1985; Mohanty, 1991). Furthermore, the development paradigm is critiqued because it privileges a capitalistic logic centered on earning money and it devalues all other forms of being in the world (Esteva, 1985).

Having in mind some of the critiques made by post-development scholars, it is important to incorporate Andean women's knowledge and understandings about development and about how they want to live more generally. Studies conducted with women in different parts of the Andes suggest some connecting threads between their ideas about development and about what "living well" means to them. Reflecting the influence of feminist discourses

on gender equality, Andean women recognized how unequal gender relationships were an obstacle for their development (Radcliffe, 2015; Ruiz Bravo, 2005). Another important aspect that Anden women saw tied to development was work. For these women, work was seen as tied to campesina activities and to their being more productive (e.g., having more sheep, having better crops and grass) (Quiroga & Paulizzi, 2011). For others, work also meant being able to generate their own income; they recognized having the capacity and will to do so (Radcliffe, Laurie, & Andolina, 2003; Reynaga, 2008). It is interesting to note how, to a certain extent, Andean women see their development contingent upon being incorporated into the capitalist system. They feel that if they remain at the margins of this system, they will not be able to live well and develop. However, their ideas about development also incorporate elements of their more "traditional" rural way of life, which is connected to their identities as campesinas. They do not seem to be willing to abandon this way of life and rather seem to be looking for ways to incorporate income generating activities with campesino subsistence practices (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006).

Other practices very tied to Andean women's identities as campesinas include those related to textile production, such as weaving and knitting. Recognizing how important and ubiquitous these practices are for Andean women, many development projects in the Andes have incorporated them. In the following section I briefly discuss the history of textile production techniques in the Andes and then explore how these activities have been incorporated into development projects that are designed with and for Andean women.

Andean women's textile production techniques and development projects. Practices of cloth or textile production have a long history in the Andes. Since ancient pre-Columbian times people of the Andes have used a variety of sophisticated cloth-production techniques (Brezine, 2012). Previously they had obtained the primary material from *Auquenidos* (a group of camelids from South America). But as these animals were an

endangered species, Andean people started using wool from sheep. This wool is spun into yarn using a single needle called a *puchka*, which means thread in Quechua (World Spinning Techniques, 2006).

While textile production was widespread and highly developed in the Andes during pre-Columbian times, needle knitting was unknown. The practice of knitting was imported to South America through colonization, and Andean people began to knit in early colonial times (Brezine, 2012). Despite this fact, pre-Columbian weaving techniques still are found in many communities of the Peruvian Andes. They now coexist alongside the practice of knitting, which has become widespread.

In Andean communities, weaving can contain several levels of meaning and also serves several social and spiritual functions (Conrad, 1999). It has been a way for Andean people to connect with their ancestors and pay tribute to them, as well as to elements of their natural and spiritual world (which they see as interconnected) including the *Pachamama* or Mother Earth. Furthermore, weaving is a process through which they relate to other species and to the natural world. It is also a process through which they connect with future generations, passing on these practices through oral exchange, imitation, and actions (Conrad, 1999).

The importance of weaving in Andean communities is intimately connected to the textiles and clothes that are produced and what they represent. Different Andean regions and communities have their own traditional dress, which distinguish them from neighboring communities. These distinct dresses have served to reinforce regional and cultural identities and traditions (Schevill, Berlo and Dwyer, 1991). Furthermore, in the Andean world clothes are seen as closely connected with people and with their spirits. This is evidenced in several Andean rituals. For example, clothes may replace a person and be used in forms of witchcraft or *daño*. Clothes are also very tied to death rituals. When a person dies, their clothes are

placed on top of the coffin to represent the deceased's body (Ackerman, 1991). Also, after a certain number of days, family members of the deceased need to wash all the deceased's clothes (except very old ones) in the river to help them pass over to the world of the dead (Curi, 2014). Nonetheless, these rituals are not similarly practiced across the Andes; they can vary significantly from region to region.

Despite the importance given to traditional weaving, since colonial times this practice has been decreasing and knitting has made inroads among Andean people. This is partly because weaving is very labor intensive and the material costs are so high that weavers barely recuperate their investment at market prices (Zorn, 2004). On the other hand, knitting has become a well-established practice in the contemporary Andes. Many Andean people have become expert knitters who can beautifully execute a variety of garments with lively colors and designs (Brezine, 2012).

In terms of the gender distribution of textile-production activities, one cannot say with certainty that it has been a practice exclusive to either men or women. It is known that during the Inca empire most weavers were women. However, when the Spaniards arrived they introduced the treadle loom and forced Andean men to work in oppressive and crowded working conditions (Schevill, Berlo & Dwyer, 1996). Currently the distribution of knitting and weaving practices by gender varies among different regions in the Peruvian Andes. However, at least after the Spanish colonization, textile production became a practice more associated with females in the Andean region (Graubart, 2000).

The production of knitted garments, and of crafts in general, has become increasingly profitable since the 1960's and thus, has gained importance in the rural economy (Mithchell, 2006; Sastre, Negrillo, & Hernandez-Castello, 2013). As a result, these craft activities have been incorporated into the development arena, usually targeting indigenous women from rural areas (Fostner, 2013). Crafts are seen as income-generating activities that fit in with

household activities without obstructing them. Women can work on their crafts from their homes, flexibly adapting their schedules to integrate their ongoing domestic and child-care duties (Szala-Meneok & McIntosh, 1996). The activities of development projects based on crafts do not differ significantly from other development projects previously explained. They provide women particular technical and behavioral skills and train them as entrepreneurs (Sastre, Negrillo, & Hernandez-Castello, 2013). Furthermore, projects engaging women in crafts have found that, beyond an increase of income, though probably related to it, these craft-based projects also have an effect on women's self-esteem and self-worth (Fostner, 2013). Women also expressed other personal contributions that their craft activities brought to them. Andean women in Argentina, spoke of how they "found themselves" when working quietly on their crafts (Quiroga & Paulizzi, 2011, p. 107), while Native American women in Canada described their craft work as something that relaxed them (Szala-Meneok & McIntosh, 1996).

This section has analyzed how development projects have sought to address socioeconomic issues and needs through working with women in both rural areas and in post-conflict settings. Socioeconomic issues in post-conflict settings could also potentially be addressed through transitional justice processes. In the following section I explore the challenges and opportunities that these process offer for tackling structural inequalities entrenched in post-conflict societies.

Transitional Justice and Socioeconomic Inequality

Transitional justice refers to a set of judicial and non-judicial measures taken by societies emerging from periods of armed conflict and/or state repression. These measures seek to address large scale or systematic human rights violations that cannot be addressed adequately through normal justice systems due to their scale and severity. The general aim of transitional justice is to recognize the dignity of individuals, redress and acknowledge

violations, and prevent them from happening again (International Center for Transitional Justice, 2017).

Currently there is an ongoing debate about if, and, if so, in what ways transitional justice mechanisms and institutions should address socioeconomic issues, in particular socioeconomic inequalities. These debates are associated with critiques of transitional justice's focus on the symptoms of conflicts rather than its underlying causes (Gready & Robins, 2014). Others have pointed out that transitional justice in its current state has multiple additional challenges if it is to address socioeconomic rights and their violation. These limitations stem from transitional justice's conceptual and philosophical underpinnings being closely tied to the field of human rights and its liberal framing with a focus on civil and political rights to the exclusion of cultural, economic, and social rights. In this way transitional justice has adopted both the benefits and limitations of dominant human rights discourse (Miller, 2008) or what are typically referred to as first generation rights.

Since its inception, transitional justice has been conceptualized as a project that seeks justice by enforcing the norms of a new liberal state (Miller, 2008). Consequently, transitional justice institutions see as their main objective creating mechanisms through which the violation of civil and political rights can be evidenced, investigated, and redressed, namely through truth telling, criminal justice trials, and reparations. Within this goal, transitional justice mechanisms frame violations with a narrow lens that focuses on individual acts of violence. Through these mechanisms, transitional justice seeks to establish a liberal peace, a form of peace that is also associated with market driven, neoliberal economics (Paris, 2004). However, the liberal rights discourse has been strongly criticized for not disrupting old power relations and for proposing a superficial form of peace that does not address the needs of most citizens. A liberal regime's peace is seen as imposed from above as a global prescription that further reinforces asymmetrical relationships of power (Gready &

Robins, 2014).

Transitional justice has been criticized for prioritizing one set of crimes and violations over others. Even when it seemingly puts forward a neutral discourse, by working through mechanisms that uphold certain rights over others, transitional justice institutions and actors are putting forward a discourse about which rights are seen as more important, which violations deserve national and international outcry, and which can be tolerated. The focus on the violation of civil and political rights of individuals obscures the stories of ongoing socioeconomic inequality and structural violence present in societies emerging from armed conflict. It tells the citizenry that socioeconomic inequality and poverty is a matter of time and development, and it denies its links to the entrenched ideologies of the elite (Miller, 2008). Thus, this liberal ideology informs and sustains this focus on civil and political rights, limiting the way in which transitional justice mechanisms address violations of socioeconomic rights.

Socioeconomic issues are central to understanding the origins of conflicts, how violence takes place in the process, and the multiple legacies of conflicts in the everyday lives of survivors. Furthermore, because of the transitions and changes that transitional justice entails, it opens up a possibility for recognizing social and economic injustices of the past and confronting them. However, this has not been the case in many redress processes and transitional justice has often occluded the relationship between socioeconomic structures of dispossession and armed conflicts. Both the research literature as well as the institutions and mechanisms of operationalizing transitional justice have neglected analyzing and/or responding to how social and economic rights are violated during conflicts as well as how the pre-existing violations of these rights and conditions of structural violence underpin conflicts (Shaw & Waldorf, 2010). Instead, transitional justice mechanisms have dealt with socioeconomic issues as background conditions, that is, the contexts in which killings,

tortures, and disappearances occurred (Miller, 2008). They have failed to adequately address socioeconomic inequality and economic redistribution in order to better understand the conflict, often seeing the redress of these injustices as beyond their mandate.

Some scholars and activists may see issues of structural violence and socioeconomic inequality as matters pertaining to social justice/injustice more broadly and not necessarily as issues within the scope of transitional justice. This stance may be reasonable to some extent, considering how transitional justice in its current state (as previously mentioned) may not be suited to address structural issues. However, it is still paramount for transitional justice to be attentive to the histories of socioeconomic inequality present in each local context where conflict has emerged for several reasons. In many cases socioeconomic issues and economic redistribution are the priority for those affected populations (Robins, 2013), many of whom live in ongoing conditions of poverty and exclusion. Also, by focusing on socioeconomic issues, transitional justice could better understand and potentially address the root causes of the conflict and challenge unequal structures of power (Gready & Robins, 2014). By doing so transitional justice would be more able to provide guarantees of non-repetition—one of the initial guiding principles of the field of transitional justice (Laplante, 2008). Finally, others have argued that addressing socioeconomic issues, especially because these issues tend to be priorities of affected populations, puts transitional justice in a path towards achieving transformative justice (Gready & Robins, 2014). Transformative justice refers to a transformative change that is driven from the bottom-up through an analysis of the lives and priorities of the populations directly affected by the conflict and ongoing forms of structural violence. Therefore, through a transformative justice approach, forms of participation that engage with and transform victimhood can take place. In this way transformative justice seeks to challenge unequal systems of power both at the local and global level (Gready & Robins, 2014).

Transitional Justice in Peru

A discussion and interrogation of how transitional justice processes have taken place in Peru facilitates an exploration of the extent to which they have been able to tackle the socioeconomic issues discussed above. In the following section I discuss processes of truth telling, particularly the truth commission, criminal justice, and reparations processes conducted in Peru in the post-war context, underscoring the accomplishments and challenges faced by these processes. Furthermore, I discuss the interest in memory making processes, another theme that dominates transitional justice processes, that has emerged in Peru in the last decade.

The majority of the Peruvian transitional justice processes are informed by a neoliberal framework and have focused on civil and political rights. In 2000, after the resignation of former president Alberto Fujimori, the transitional government established a truth commission with the mandate of analyzing the political, social, and economic conditions that contributed to the emergence of the conflict. It was also in charge of investigating human rights abuses committed by both the terrorist groups and state forces, locating the whereabouts of victims and their remains, and determining individual and institutional responsibility (CRV, 2003). Internationally, the Peruvian truth commission is considered successful due to the depth and breadth of its investigation (Milton, 2014). The truth commission analyzed how entrenched socioeconomic inequalities of the Peruvian society partially caused the conflict, and how SL leveraged the discontent of marginalized populations to its political ends. However, the truth commission fell short as it failed to link the established economic order to the conflict (Laplante, 2008). Based partly on the analysis of the Peruvian case, Laplante (2008) argues for the expansion of truth commission mandates in order to incorporate an analysis of the violations of social, economic, and cultural rights.

The Peruvian truth commission has also been strongly criticized for forging a

constrained and narrow victim identity. Similar to prior truth commissions, the Peruvian commissioners sought to be victim-centered, and therefore, to emphasize empathic listening to the victims' testimonies. This process revolved around victims' stories of suffering and violation wherein a subject position of "innocent victim" was constituted (Laplante & Theidon, 2010). This process seems to have reinforced the survivor's position as victim, a position from which stories of resistance are less likely to emerge. In order to address this dynamic, present in many truth commissions, Gready and Robins (2014) proposed documenting stories of resistance within truth commissions as a way to break with the prioritization of victimhood. Also, in line with their idea of transitional justice as a transformative project, they suggest that truth commissions should be spaces for discussing and reframing social and economic issues within transitional justice.

Criminal justice proceedings against high government officials and high-ranking military officers have also taken place in Peru. In September of 2016, four military officials were sentenced to 25 years in prison for the massacre of 61 campesinos of the Andean town Accomarca in Ayacucho (La Republica, 2016). However, the most notorious conviction was that of ex-president Alberto Fujimori who, in 2009, was sentenced to 25 years for human rights abuses, which include being the mastermind of the assassination of 25 people through death squads (La Republica, 2009). Despite this conviction and sentencing, during the night of December 24th of 2017 Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, who was president at the time, granted Alberto Fujimori a pardon on humanitarian grounds. This measure created great outrage in segments of the population who took the streets in several protests during the following weeks. Also in response to this pardon, the family members of the victims of Alberto Fujimori's regime presented their case against his pardon to the Interamerican Court of Human Rights. At the this this research was being completed, this case was still in process.

Even when a significant part of the population support the conviction of Alberto

Fujimori and see it as necessary for achieving justice in the country, others support him and see the political party he founded (that is maintained by his children) as a viable option. In the 2016 presidential election, Fujimori's daughter Keiko Fujimori ran for president, and in the final round of voting she received the majority of her support from those areas most affected by the conflict. The support of the Fujimori Party has its origins in the populist policies that Alberto Fujimori implemented in the 1990's (Levitsky, 2013). However, beyond the effect of these populist policies, the sustained support that Fujimori's party receives in areas affected by the conflict seems to reveal the disconnect between perceptions of justice achieved by criminal trials and the expectations of justice of those populations affected by the conflict. As Gready and Robins (2014) have noted, criminal trials are events that in many transitional contexts fail to engage substantially with those most affected by violations.

In terms of reparations, even though some progress has been made in the Peruvian context, the process has had important setbacks given the lack of political will shown by some government administrations over the past several years (Macher, 2014). Reparations are understood as a set of measures taken by a state that seeks to recognize and address the harms suffered by victims of systemic human rights violations. These measures can take different forms such as financial compensation to individuals or groups, social services (e.g., healthcare and education), and symbolic measures such as formal apologies and public commemorations or memorials (International Center of Transitional Justice, 2017).

Some have argued about the importance of differentiating between reparation*s* and reparation. As noted, reparations are a set of measures taken by the state associated with an attempt to make amends. Reparation on the other hand, refers to the psychological process of working through the traumatic experience (Hamber, 2006). Reparations can contribute to concretizing the traumatic events, aid individuals to come to terms with it, and help to label responsibility. All these elements can aid recovery. However, all forms of reparation—either

acknowledgement, apologies, or substantial material assistance—are always symbolic since the psychological needs of survivors can never be wholly met, that is, they can never be returned to the state of their lives prior to these gross violations of their rights. The distress, anger, and pain caused by human rights violations are immeasurable and thus, can never be fully ameliorated (Hamber, 2000). However, this does not mean that reparations should be detached conceptually from the process of emotional reparation and the intent of repair. Transitional justice must sensitively analyze the extent to which reparations can psychologically satisfy the victims. Even when complete psychological repair might not be possible, the reparative nature of reparations can be maximized (Hamber, 2006). In terms of the reparative nature of particular forms of reparations, some have pointed out particular limitations of collective reparations. Through collective reparations everyone in a particular area or community can be affected. Even though this measure might be more inclusive, it could compromise individual victims' right to remedy in addition to benefiting those who were not victimized (Moffett, 2016). This could potentially dilute the sense of acknowledgement of harm that reparations might bring and consequently diminish their reparative capacity.

Reparations are seen as the transitional justice mechanism with the greatest potential for addressing social and economic issues. After the Peruvian truth commission's final report came out and revealed the magnitude of the conflict, the truth commission, as part of its recommendations, urged the state to provide reparations to the victims and their families. A Reparation Council was formed, and, in order to fulfill this mandate, it created the Registry of Victims. Between 2007 and 2017 the council has delivered collective reparations to more than 2,636 affected communities through a variety of productive projects (CMAN, 2018). They have also given economic reparations to 77,339 individuals and have implemented educational, housing, and health projects targeted specifically at the affected populations

(CMAN, 2017). However, despite the progress made in providing reparations, the work of the Reparation Council has not been without challenges, and it has received several critiques. These critiques are in line with general questions that focus on reparations as part of a liberal paradigm that defines victimhood, and redresses it, in individual terms while ignoring the broader social and economic structures that gave rise to grievances. Also problematic is the way that reparations were framed in Peru, making it seem that the state was trying to solve structural economic factors (Magarell, 2003). Educational and health programs were created as reparations and targeted towards the group defined as victims. But these services should reach the entire population and not be focused on one particular sub-group (Correa, 2013). By operating in this way, giving a singular solution to broader and complex economic issues, reparations can lead to obscuring the same issues they seek to address.

The Peruvian reparations program also received critiques regarding the delivery of reparations that prioritized certain types of violations over others. This created a tense and mistrustful atmosphere within local communities (Ulfe & Malaga, 2015). However, tensions around reparations have increased even more due to the way victims and perpetrators were defined.

Peru's transitional justice processes defined victims and perpetrators in a narrow and binary way. These identities are quite complex, and this complexity is made more evident with issues around reparations, given that money changes the symbolic nature about worth and deservingness of victims (Moffet, 2016). In Peru, the truth commission recognized that those who were subject to the violence of subversive groups or that of the armed forces were victims. However, following the truth commission's report when the reparations process started, those who had been members of subversive groups, as well as their family members were excluded from the category of victims, and consequently they could not receive reparations (Registro Unico de Victimas, 2018). This measure was based on the argument

that members of subversive groups took up arms against the state and were thus subjected to legitimate violence. Members of the armed forces on the other hand, were considered beneficiaries of the reparations programs despite the fact that they committed severe violations of human rights (Root, 2012). This differentiation between who is formally considered a victim and receives reparations, in a way, served to legitimize the state's violence against its people (Moffett, 2016).

Another problem with this narrow category of victim in the Peruvian armed conflict, as well as in other protracted conflicts, is that the lines between victims and perpetrators are not always clear; some people fall into both groups. By only providing reparations to a narrowly defined category of victims, reparations are selectively recognizing the suffering of certain groups while disregarding the suffering of others, namely those who had a relationship to an armed group. Furthermore, by trying to create discrete categories of victims, in order to provide them reparation, the reparations program has contributed to conflict and resentment within the affected populations. Given the complexity with which the conflict unfolded, it is possible that reparations program excluded people who were wrongly convicted as being part of an illegal armed group. It is also possible that the reparations program allowed those who were never so-identified but had been part of those groups, to receive reparations (Moffet, 2016). If reparations programs are not carefully thought through, they can end up working against the goals of social restoration and of re-membering the society that they seek (Miller, 2008).

Although not an explicit component of transitional justice processes, all three pillars of transitional justice presume that remembering or memory making is central to transitional justice. Thus, it is important to note that in the past 5 to 10 years the topic of memory has received considerable attention in Peru. This interest is not exclusive to Peru as David Rieff pointed out in an article in the Guardian (2016, March 2) wherein he argues that collective

memory has become a *sine qua non* for transitional justice, and that most societies see remembering as a moral obligation. This stance is also reflected in the message put forward by several truth commissions following a tradition established post-Holocaust about the importance of memory in order to not repeat dreadful acts from the past. The REMHI report of the Catholic Church Human Rights' Office in Guatemala (ODHGA, 2008) and the Final Report of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR, 2003) both underscore this importance. It is also evidenced through the many different memorialization sites found throughout different countries affected by war.

The importance given to memory and truth telling in transitional justice is based partly on the prominent role given to language and the cathartic qualities attributed to it (Ross, 2010). However, this way of understanding language, with its origins in western religious and psychological thought, is not universal, and thus, it is possible that it might not meet the needs of specific localities affected by wars (Shaw & Waldorf, 2010). Furthermore, memory, as a continuation of speaking the truth and not allowing violations to be forgotten, can lead to re-inscribing a victim position in those affected by the conflict. If this victim position is too rigid, it may not allow for those affected by the conflict to explore alternative ways of making memory, ways that can perhaps allow them to establish a different relationship with the past instead of exclusively retelling a story of pain and anger.

Memory making also poses great challenges in deeply fractured contexts where *internal* armed conflicts have created profound social and emotional damages at the heart of communities. As previously described, extensive fieldwork conducted in Peru has documented how in small Andean towns and villages, campesinos were involved in events that led to each other's killings (Gonzalez, 2011; Theidon, 2012). In many of these Andean towns one can still find people who, to a certain extent, were involved with SL. Because of this, many people are still afraid to speak about what they remember (Gonzalez, 2011).

Silencing selected memories becomes a strategy to avoid conflicts in present times and also to avoid potential retaliation. In this regard, Theidon (2012) describes how language can become a performative act given that words become actions and thus can establish conditions for the re-emergence of violence. Similarly, Gonzalez (2011, p. 74) describes how, in the Andean community where she worked, some stories are kept unsaid in what seems to be an "unbreakable pact of silence."

Another reason why people in Andean communities find memory making challenging and wish to forget, is sadness. Many of those who witnessed the violence unleashed during the conflict spoke of how terrible it is when those memories come back (CVR, 2003). Those who have lost a loved one (which include many people in this context) describe an ambivalence towards remembering. They speak of how they do not want to forget their loved ones, but at the same time they wish they could forget the horrible conditions in which they died (Theidon, 2003). As we can see, in these divided communities that have lived through unbearable acts of violence, many times at the hands of close neighbors, silence emerges as a strategy to protect oneself from present conflicts and harm as well as an attempt to move on from a painful past.

I have reviewed some of the major critiques and limitations of transitional justice processes in Peru. A common thread in these limitations seems to be the asymmetrical power relationships between the actors involved in these processes. Not surprisingly, in Peru, human rights activists from Lima tended to have more influence on how transitional justice processes unfolded. The experience with transitional justice processes of those Andean communities most affected by the armed conflict have not been explored in sufficient depth. Consequently, these experiences have not informed transitional justices processes and mechanisms, or at least they have not informed them with the same strength as the opinions and actions of more powerful actors (Shaw & Waldorf, 2010). For example, even though

memory is an area of transitional justice that currently receives significant attention in Peru, discussions about the opportunities and challenges of memory projects do not incorporate the voices of Andean communities.

If Andean communities' experiences have been neglected, then the experiences of Andean women have been more so. The lack of consideration of Andean women's experiences in the design and implementation of transitional justice processes is yet another reflection of their marginalization in the Peruvian society. Transitional justice is a definitional project, one in which a "new" post-conflict state seeks to be crafted through the measures put in place. The disregard for Andean women who were deeply affected by the conflict reveals how transitional justice is reproducing the dynamics by which these women are, once again, being excluded from the project of the (re)construction of the state, a state in which their citizenship is still ignored. If Peruvian transitional justice wants to address the marginalization of Andean communities instead of further inscribing it, its processes need to be locally driven and informed by the needs of those affected Andean communities, especially by the needs of those groups most marginalized within these communities, one of which is Andean women. In this way Peruvian transitional justice might have a chance of achieving transformational change (Gready & Robins, 2014).

To recapitulate, I have analyzed how structural manifestations of "race," class, and gender violence intertwine leading to the continuing marginalization of many Andean women. I have further explored how this structural violence was deeply connected to the Peruvian armed conflict, focusing in the particular ways Andean women were affected by that conflict. I then explored the several forms of resistance Andean women displayed and continue to display in times of conflict and peace, seeking to face forms of direct violence as well as ongoing socioeconomic conditions that lead to their impoverishment. In this context, I have analyzed the format of economic development projects that take place in rural as well as

post-conflict settings. I have then explored how transitional justice deals with socioeconomic issues and the limitations it faces in doing so. Finally, I have focused on the challenges and limitations of Peru's transitional justice processes. In this point I have sought to underscore how the disconnect between transitional justice institutions and those who were affected by the Peruvian armed conflict has led to the neglect of their voices, namely the voices of Andean communities, and, in particular, of Andean women who continue to live in ongoing conditions of poverty.

This research took one step towards trying to understand some of the ways in which Andean women currently face, and wish to face, these post-conflict times. In this regard, this research sought to understand with a group of Andean women how their responses to conflict's legacies interacted with their strategies for dealing with structural racial, class, and gender violence, and entrenched poverty. To this end, I accompanied a group of women from an Andean town in the central-southern region of Ayacucho. Together we explored and documented how they engaged with each other and took actions towards reconstructing and bettering their lives in an Andean community that was affected by the armed conflict and where poverty is an ongoing reality. When I entered the community of Huancasancos, these women had recently formed a women's knitting organization, which was the site for much of this participatory research process.

The research focus of my dissertation was to explore and document how a collective process and/or a newly founded local women's organization could be a means through which several processes might unfold. First, I sought to explore how it could be a site through which participants could talk about and engage with ruptured social relations that resulted from the armed conflict. Second, I sought to analyze how it could be a means to confront violence, including racism, heteropatriarchy, and economic violence—all forces that marginalize and contribute to Andean women's impoverishment before, during, and after the conflict. Finally,

I sought to explore and document how a collective process and/or a women's organization could be a context through which participants could engage in the discussion of the psychosocial effects of the armed conflict, including maintaining and breaking silences, in ways that contributed to their constructing a better future for themselves and their families. This last point was particularly relevant given that in the past, many transitional justice processes have not incorporated affected communities' voices, much less the voices of women.

Methodology

Feminist Participatory Action Research (PAR)

This feminist PAR process was developed with a group of Andean women from the town of Huancasancos in the department of Ayacucho, Peru. Feminist PAR is both a conceptual and a methodological framework that brings together participatory action research with critical feminist theories (Maguire, 1987; Reid, Tom & Frisby, 2006). Participation, as is reflected in the name of this research methodology, is a key aspect of PAR. The full participation of the research participants taking part in PAR aspires to dramatically shift power in the research process (Fals Borda, 2001). In PAR, the research process entails shared decision-making in identifying the research question(s), methods, data collection processes, and analysis and interpretation of the findings. Both "insider" researchers, that is, those from the community with whom the process is developed and "outsider" researchers, that is, those typically from outside the community and often university-based, contribute to this process. This is in contrast to many other approaches to research in which the researcher identifies the research question (often drawn from theory and/or previous research), choice of methods (frequently grounded in positivist social scientific knowledge construction), data collection, analysis, and interpretation. This difference between approaches has important consequences for both the research process and for the role of participants. PAR initiated by someone from outside the participants' community invites them to be co-researchers who draw on their local knowledge and expertise; other approaches refer to participants as research subjects or objects of study.

The participatory nature of PAR is grounded in the collective character of the process. In PAR, local participants and outsider researcher(s) come together and collectively construct knowledge in a dialogic process. For this process to take place and for participants and researchers to reflect as a group, they must "learn to listen and listen to learn" (McIntyre,

2007, p. 8). Participants in a PAR process have different opinions, and they can come from different groups in a community, even when sharing similar experiences of oppression. PAR provides a space for these different voices to be exposed and discussed with the hopes of coming together toward a shared final goal. Although PAR seeks social, not individual, transformation (M. Montero, 2006) most participants also note personal changes through these processes.

Thus, PAR research questions and/or foci are locally defined and driven by participants' priorities and perspectives. PAR participants are also those who generate the analysis and who represent, own, and act on the information gathered and analyzed. PAR can use methods drawn from hypothetico-deductive research (e.g., survey) but these are adapted for use by local participants (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). In PAR, the role of the outsider researcher is to collaborate with the participants, facilitating spaces in which these processes of reflection and knowledge construction—instead of data collection by an outsider—can take place in context (M. Montero, 2006). In the following section I will focus on PAR as a research methodology seeking to highlight its important epistemological contributions as well as its potential for fostering social change.

Specialized forms of knowledge have increasingly become an important basis for power and control in societies. The production of these specialized knowledge(s) has become monopolized and typically excludes ordinary people from producing knowledge based on their own experiences (Maguire, 1987). PAR challenges these specialized forms of knowledge production given that it understands that people are knowledgeable subjects who possess essential information about their lives and their social reality. Different from traditional research approaches in which ordinary people are seen as objects of study, in PAR they become subjects, drawing on their knowledge and agency (M. Montero, 2006). However, PAR also acknowledges that neither participants nor outsider researchers "know it

all"; each one brings to the research process different sets of knowledge(s), skills, and experiences (Maguire, 1987). Through PAR, collective processes will take place through which outsider researchers and participants will collaboratively learn and teach each other (McIntyre, 2007).

PAR participants are seen as subjects, as conscious beings who are able to exercise a critical process of reflection about the world in which they live. Through processes of *conscientization*, PAR seeks to mobilize participants' critical consciousness in order for them to become aware of their and their ancestors experiences of historical oppression that have taken place in their social reality and continue to affect them. In this way participants can analyze an unsatisfactory reality and envision a more desirable possibility (Freire, 1970). Therefore, conscientization cannot be detached from action; rather it must lead to it. Conscientization in PAR takes place through iterative processes of reflection-action-reflection. The knowledge that is constructed through processes of collective reflection contributes to the participants being able to take steps to modify their situation and, by doing so, also transform themselves (M. Montero, 2006; McTaggart, 1997). Therefore, PAR has practical implications; it is not only for the sake of understanding, rather it is knowledge for action and social transformation (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). For this reason, the process of the research itself is important in PAR, not only the outcomes. *Process* is where collective learning and change can take place. Thus, the methods are not a means to an end; methods are ends in and of themselves.

Despite this socially just approach, some PAR projects have reiterated and reinforced oppression, particularly the oppression of women. Due to patriarchal dynamics that exist in the contexts where PAR projects often take place, women's concerns are made invisible by narratives hypothesized to come from "the people" or "the community" as a whole (Maguire, 1987). These PAR projects fail to acknowledge how patriarchy limits possibilities for women

participating in their local contexts and, consequently, in the PAR projects themselves. Furthermore, many PAR projects also exclude gender issues from the research agenda, which, much of the time, is determined primarily by men (Maguire, 1987). As a result, women's concerns, knowledge(s), and lived experiences are excluded from knowledge constructed about them and their social realities. Seeking to address these challenges, feminist PAR incorporates a critical feminist approach to achieve women's liberation by challenging knowledge constructed from a white heteropatriarchal perspective (Reid, Tom & Frisby, 2006).

Feminism recognizes that women universally face some form of oppression; feminism also commits to understand and dismantle what sustains this oppression (Maguire, 1987). Through feminist PAR this process of understanding and working against women's oppression and toward women's liberation can take place. Through feminist PAR, women can collectively construct knowledge and take on emancipatory actions that can bring change to their lives. Several feminist PAR-researchers have used this conceptual and methodological framework to work with women who, due to broader social and political structures, are marginalized and oppressed (e.g., Lykes, & Coquillon, 2007; Hershberg & Lykes, 2012; Maguire, 2001).

Indigenous women's knowledge(s) are more so marginalized and ignored. Legacies and continuities of colonialism place indigenous women in a particular marginalized and devalued position within society (Mohanty, 1988). Thus, it is important to engage PAR from a feminist perspective that is intersectional, that is, that acknowledges how vectors of racial, gender, and class oppression intersect to exploit and marginalize women in particular ways. Indigenous women bring particular cultural and spiritual beliefs and practices that frequently differ from those of the dominant white European culture and inform their knowledge(s) and practices. An intersectional feminist PAR process offers spaces through which indigenous

women's knowledge(s) can be incorporated and brought to the forefront.

In this research project, local Andean knowledge(s) were explored and discussed with women participants through participatory methodologies that work from the ground-up. I analyze how they informed these women's understandings of the armed conflict and its legacies, and their socioeconomic needs and interests in a post-conflict society. This feminist PAR process allowed me to collaborate with Andean women and document processes in which they reflected about how organizing—particularly around a common practice such as knitting—could be a means for re-threading community life and overcoming difficulties in their relationships and also how it could be a site for overcoming gender racialized oppression. Collaboration and process were crucial to these analyses.

Participants-in-Context

The participants in this feminist PAR process were a group of Andean women from the town of Huancasancos. This town was deeply affected by the armed conflict. According to the truth commission (CVR, 2003), it was a stronghold for SL, who had a significant influence on the community during a certain period of the armed conflict.

Huancasancos' history of the armed conflict. According to community members interviewed by the truth commission, SL took control over Huancasancos around October or November of 1982. SL's cadres confiscated most of the material goods in the town, including that year's harvest and livestock. They distributed these goods among community members, but mostly among SL's leaders. SL also assassinated many community authorities and other members of the town who were opposed to their cruel way of ruling. During 1983 and 1984 several confrontations took place between SL, townspeople, and the armed forces. After these years, SL progressively lost control of the area as the armed forces gained it. The armed forces first arrived in the town during February of 1983, and later that year, in May, they installed a military base. The armed forces committed a significant number of crimes during

their time in the town as they sought to control the population, including, for example, arbitrary arrests, torture, and sexual violence (CVR, 2003). The military base remained active until 1994.

Many townspeople from Huancasancos were victims of violence during the years of the conflict. According to the Registry of Victims, there are 483 victims in this town, including 306 direct victims and 177 who reported that their family members had been victimized. Torture is the most reported type of affectation with 135 victims, followed by death, with 46 victims. In terms of the gender distribution of the victims, 253 were men and 230 were women. Only 12 cases of sexual violence were registered in this town (Registry of Victims, personal communication, January 13, 2018). However, it is important to remember that sexual violence is a crime that tends to be underreported.

Initial contact with participants and invitation to feminist PAR. All adult women (18 years old and above) living in the town who expressed interest in this feminist PAR process were welcome to participate. However, my initial contact with women there was through a pilot research process that was initiated collaboratively with the leader of a recently formed women's knitting association who expressed interest in being part of the proposed process. Thus, as I started the fieldwork I continued working with women from this association, while at the same time inviting all townswomen to come to the workshops. During the first two months of my fieldwork I used the local radio station to invite women to participate and I visited several trainings (e.g., trainings in gender and empowerment) facilitated by a local woman councilor and invited the townswomen who were present there. During these initial months women from outside the association came to the workshops. However, I stopped going on the radio after the first two months and instead asked the women who were participating to contact other women by word of mouth. I did this to try to get women participants more involved in the invitation process. I also invited women by

going to the local market and other public areas of the town and inviting the women I saw in these sites and their accompanying friends. Despite these efforts it was challenging to recruit women who were not part of the association. After I stopped announcing the workshops on the radio, women who were not part of the association stopped coming. It is possible that this happened because women from the town saw the workshops as an activity that was closely linked to the association. Consequently, if a woman did not want to join the association, for whatever reason, then she may not have wanted to come to the workshops either.

Demographic characteristics of participants. Members' ages vary broadly and currently range from early 20s through early 60s. Most are campesinas who own small parcels of land and some cattle for subsistence farming. They share campesino responsibilities with their husband and their children. Some of the women own and/or work in small businesses in the town, such as convenience stores or stands in the market where they sell yarn and prepared food. In terms of their political engagement, two of the members of the association (including the president) have held leadership positions within the community, while the others report having little political involvement. Despite this they do describe attendance at local community assemblies and participation in workshops organized by either the local schools or the municipality. It could be argued that the women who participate in this association are not among those with the fewest resources in the community. However, considering the high poverty level in rural areas of the region of Ayacucho, they are women who belong to households of low incomes compared to the rest of the Peruvian society.

As reported in the literature review, the armed conflict had multiple effects in this community, leaving many townspeople with disappeared family members, legacies of rape and murder, as well as years living in fear. Women from the knitting association describe many different ways in which they were affected. Some women were very young children

when the conflict occurred and report having no memory of it. Others were born after the conflict had ended and have only heard about it from family or community members. However, several members were older children, adolescents, or young adults and report memories of violent actions in the community. Several women remember the conflict vividly, describing having seen bloody confrontations between the military and SL, bearing witness to the destruction and death caused by both groups. Some of these women reported close interactions with SL and/or the military, and being treated abusively by them. Other women have close family members who lost someone to the violence, such as a husband who lost his brother, and still others have family members who were directly affected by the violence, such as a mother struck by a stray bullet. Several women from the knitting association sought and had been granted formal victim status by the state. One of these women had lost her husband in an ambush that she described as having been set up by SL for people traveling from the town. The second woman with formal victim status did not share details about her experiences with me or with the group. She was not interested in being interviewed, and I only learned about her formal victim status by finding her name in the victim registry, which is open to the public.

Women's knitting association. The women's knitting association was formed through the initiative of a woman leader in Huancasancos who has held several leadership positions, including in the local government as a councilor and in Clubs de Madres, a regional women's association that organized women at the local level to support their livelihoods. She is currently the president of the knitting association and exercises strong leadership therein. The knitting association formalized their group's status as a civil association in late 2016 by registering with the Peruvian public registry. It is an open association, meaning that other women in the town interested in knitting are welcome to join. At this time there were thirty-eight women registered, seven of whom are board members.

Throughout my fieldwork year many of the association's members were inactive and others expressed interest in dropping out. Also, new women expressed interest in joining the association, which they did. These new members also participated in the workshops that I facilitated and in other association activities.

In terms of the characteristics of the women's knitting association, it describes its primary goal as economic, that is, a vehicle through which women organize around a financially productive activity (selling knitted clothing) with the purpose of generating an income both for the collective and for its individual members. Many of its members acknowledge the possible social impact of the association through creating additional income for participating women, for example, and facilitating women's voices being listened to and heard at the family and community level. However, the economic rather than the social impact was their main goal.

A Peruvian mining company[2] that has been working in the areas surrounding the town has supported the women's knitting group since its inception. The support has come mainly from one staff member who is in charge of the company's community relations. Complex dynamics between this company and the district municipality in which the association exists contextualized the feminist PAR project. Despite these complexities, the association's status afforded the knitters a certain degree of autonomy. However, their association would probably not have existed without significant support from both the district municipality and the mining company. Thus, I include a brief summary of the relationship between these three entities as context in which this feminist PAR process took place.

Women, community/municipality, and capital. As part of its community development projects in the area, in 2016 the mining company responded to a request from

[2] Aceros Arequipa, a Peruvian company founded in the city of Arequipa, is primarily dedicated to mining iron ore and producing steel. They have been a major employer in the area since October, 2013. However, their extraction project in this area has been shut down since February, 2015, creating significant unemployment yet yielding resources for community projects such as the knitting association.

women in Huancasancos to provide trainings in knitting. The women who participated are among those who later formed the association. Later in 2016 the company also provided logistical and bureaucratic supports that enabled the women from the training workshops to establish and formally register their association. The district municipality supported the knitter's association financially, covering some of their expenses for public registration. The municipality also administered a space that housed a knitting project that had been given to the *comunidad campesina* [peasant community] of Huancasancos (a traditional form of government in Andean regions that is parallel to the state government) by the national government; this was a collective reparation for the armed conflict awarded through the reparations process. After an initial period in which a small group of local weavers and knitters used the space, it was abandoned. The reason for its abandonment is unclear. However, in early 2017 the municipal leaders agreed to loan the space, free of charge, to the new knitter's association as a site for their work.

The conditions in which this previous group of knitters and weavers left the workshop space led to some complexities in the knitting association's relationship with the municipality. This previous group had left behind unused materials (po., old yarn, woven cloths) that were deteriorated by the time the women's association started using the space. Despite their poor condition, these materials were still under the inventory of items the municipality had given to the women. The women assessed that the material could not be used for commercial purposes, however, they were interested in salvaging it. They asked the municipality to take the materials off the inventory, but the municipality did not respond immediately to this demand. This led to increased tensions and wariness between the women and the municipality. Fortunately, after some months the municipality responded to the association's petition and took the materials off the inventory. This incident seemed to reflect the difficulty both sides had to take responsibility for goods that were damaged. It also seems

to reflect the women's fear of being blamed for damage caused or a project that went wrong.

In 2017, the women's knitting association, with support of both the municipal government and the mining company, applied for and won one of the competitive grants offered by the regional government to fund work in local communities. The mining company was involved in many of the logistic and bureaucratic processes involved in this application. The knitting association also asked for the support of the municipality. Together both of these institutions funded transportation and meals for the members of the association to participate in the grant award ceremony. They also paid for the consultant who wrote the association's work plan for this grant. Funds from the grant were expected to total approximately US$35,000. These funds were not be disbursed directly to the association. Rather, the association had to put in purchase orders for what they needed to carry out their project through the regional government, who was in charge of managing the project budget. Also, the grant process required that the association contribute a matching payment equivalent to 10% of the grant. The women were planning on getting a loan to cover this payment. The results of the grant award had been announced in June 2017, however, when I left in December 2017, although the association had requested the purchase of knitting materials and equipment, the regional government had not yet purchased these items and given them to the association nor had the association concretized its 10% contribution to the overall budget.

The relationships the association of knitters established with the district municipality and the mining company might have prevented those women who had negative images of either or both of these two actors from approaching the association. As a result, it is possible that my decision to associate the feminist PAR process with the knitters' association limited its accessibility to some of the women in the community. These were some of the issues that I encountered in my pilot work within the community and that I weighed when I decided to initiate this feminist PAR process with the association. When we approach close-knit

communities as researchers, our initial contacts who give us entry and with whom we establish initial relationships can have a strong influence on how we access other actors in the community (Reinharz, 1997). My closeness to the knitting association, who at the same time was supported by these two institutions, informed and limited the way I was able to interact with other members and groups in this town. Those limitations, in turn, both facilitated and constrained the knowledge(s) constructed through this feminist PAR process.

Cultural-linguistic characteristics. Most of the women participants are bilingual Quechua and Spanish speakers. For many of them, Quechua is the language they learned and continue to speak in their homes and with their families. Spanish is usually introduced to Andean women when they start school, although some of them also learn it at home. One participant showed greater limitations to express herself in Spanish, although she did understand it. Others, despite being able to communicate fluently in Spanish, depending on the topic or the context of the interaction, preferred to speak in Quechua. For this reason, I decided to work with a female Quechua interpreter who was present during the individual interviews I conducted and in the participatory workshops to translate, if needed. She also assisted me with the logistics of the workshops. The interpreter was a bilingual Quechua and Spanish speaking woman in her early 20s. She was from a northern area of the region of Ayacucho. In addition to having an interpreter, I took Quechua lessons throughout the fieldwork year which facilitated my increasing understanding of Quechua and my use of their preferred language to communicate with the women participants. I will expand on how the women participants and I communicated in Quechua in the findings chapter.

The participants live in a town that is steeped in what could be called the Andean culture, a culture that has been present in the area since pre-Columbian times and that encompasses practices, beliefs, and traditions drawn from several pre-Incan groups that lived in the area centuries ago (Gade, 1999). The Andean culture is deeply grounded in agricultural

and livestock activities. Therefore, their social and religious practices, traditions, and beliefs place them in deep connection with the natural elements around them. Andean people see as deities the enormous mountains that surround them, called *Apus* in Quechua, and the earth, called *Pachamama.* They pay tribute to these deities in several celebrations throughout the agricultural year in which they thank them for yielding fertile land for their crops and grass for their animals (Sillar, 2009). Another important cultural characteristic of this town is that it is socially organized in *ayllus*. Ayllus is a Quechua word that can be translated as extended family and clans. It is a form of organizing that dates back to Incan times. There are four ayllus in Huancasancos, and every community member belongs to one of these ayllus (Quispe, 1969). It is also important to note that the Andean culture has also incorporated many cultural elements from Europe due both to the years of colonization and to the dynamic and ever-changing nature of culture. These elements can be seen, for example, in Andean music, in which the harp and violin are principal instruments. It can also be observed in Andean people's religious beliefs, in which Christianity is combined with the local practices and beliefs previously mentioned (Brosseder, 2017).

Data Collection and Analysis in Feminist PAR: Processes of Collective Knowledge Construction

Working *with* the participants and responding to *their* questions and interests is a key aspect of feminist PAR. For this reason, the research question was strongly informed through preliminary fieldwork, and the data collection and analyses were conducted in an iterative and participatory process with the women participants.

Preliminary fieldwork. I conducted preliminary fieldwork (a pilot study) in the town of Huancasancos during the months of July and August of 2016, a period in which I spent two 10-day periods in the town. This preliminary work allowed me to confirm Huancasancos as a research site. The goal of this preliminary work was to establish initial contact with

potential participants and to begin exploring their particular needs and interests vis-à-vis the proposed feminist PAR project, which would inform the focus of the research. The data collected in this phase included field notes, three individual interviews, and one group interview with townswomen.

Findings from this preliminary phase showed that women in the town were interested in organizing themselves as knitters. Knitting is a practice that, despite significant changes in the past decades (in terms of the techniques and primary materials used), was still very present in their lives. Women in the town saw knitting as a way to economically support themselves and their families. However, interviewees saw several challenges when it came to organizing. Some of these challenges were associated with what they understood to be women's intrapersonal qualities, including being fearful, conformist, and individualistic. They identified several contextual challenges as additional obstacles. These included that women in the town experience violence at the hands of their husbands and that gender oppression was a significant problem and would be a barrier to organizing as women. They also spoke of the mistrust that exists among them and how this is something that hinders their capacity to organize. In relation to the topic of the armed conflict, although women had different opinions regarding the importance of memory making, they all agreed that the violent past was impossible to forget and that difficult and painful memories always found their way into their present lives. This preliminary information provided the initial data that allowed me to clarify the research questions and to plan the subsequent fieldwork and collaborative process in Huancasancos.

Data collection and fieldwork. Fieldwork and data collection was carried out during a nine-month period between April and December of 2017. Before conducting this fieldwork (and also before the preliminary fieldwork) ethical approval was granted by Boston College's institutional review board. During this fieldwork I made periodic trips to Lima and

Huamanga (capital of the region of Ayacucho) for consultation with other professionals and to review literature sources. Spending nine-months in the field was important for my familiarization with the community's social dynamics. This time period also allowed me to progressively strengthen my relationships with the women and develop what Maguire (2001) calls "just enough trust" for us to work collaboratively in the feminist PAR process.

During this time I facilitated monthly workshops with the women participants; these constituted the primary sites for data collection and for the first level of what was an iterative data analytic process (see Appendix A and B for outline of workshops). In addition, I interviewed 12 women who were part of the knitting association and had participated in the workshops and had expressed interested in speaking to me about their experiences during the armed conflict and in their local community today (see Appendix C and D for women participants' interview guide). I also interviewed four key informants described in more detail below (see Appendix E and F for key informants' interview guide). I also participated in a wide range of community activities, including the *Herranza,* the cattle festival which takes place in the community ranch located in the higher grasslands. Additionally, I participated in the *Yarqa Aspiy,* a festivity during which the campesinos pay tribute to their water sources and clean their canals in preparation for sowing the fields. Community members also invited me to participate in two religious festivities while I was in the community, *Corpus Christi* and *Novena.* Both of these festivities are grounded in the Catholic faith, although in this town people also incorporated Andean elements, such as traditional dances and parades. I kept extensive field notes during and after all of these festivities and these data informed the analyses and interpretations presented in the findings and discussion.

These workshops generated the core data of the feminist PAR and the findings reported in this research. As a way to open the fieldwork during our first month, we had a meeting in which I explained the work I proposed we undertake together through the

workshops. This meeting also covered the more formal aspects of this work, such as schedules and issues related to informed consent. This informational meeting sought to address any questions and to (re)introduce myself to the participants. The feminist PAR workshops began the following month, and continued until December. All monthly workshops were scheduled for two afternoons in a row. We agreed on this schedule after a long discussion and negotiation among the women participants. We chose to work Friday and Saturday afternoons because the women felt that this schedule adapted best to their responsibilities within and outside the home. On the second day of each workshop we confirmed the dates for the workshops for the following month.

During the first official workshop in the month of May, I identified a series of topics with the women participants. These were topics that they saw connected with the research focus of organizing as a group of Andean women knitters in a post-conflict community fraught with obstacles. We did this through several creative activities including brainstorming, collective drawing, and storytelling. The participants mainly identified the challenges women face when working in groups, as well as the strengths they possess and need to develop. They focused on women's intrapersonal characteristics as well as on the quality of the relationships developed among them. We did not define all the workshop topics at the outset but rather identified them iteratively, drawing on what the women had expressed in the first workshop and enriching it with topics they expressed interest in during the preliminary fieldwork (e.g., patriarchal dynamics, knitting). We also discussed topics that I found relevant to explore vis-à-vis the research focus that I had introduced to them. The topics we explored and discussed in the workshops can be broadly categorized in six areas: intragroup elements, knitting, patriarchy, town life, ethnic identity, racism and discrimination, and armed conflict and reparations.

The workshops followed a general structure that started with an icebreaker and/or

warming up exercise, followed by two main activities that incorporated creative techniques and ending with a shared meal. The initial activities were chosen and designed to facilitate the development of trust among the women, and also to allow them to enjoy themselves together through an activity they could find relaxing and fun, like playing a childhood game or dancing. These activities sought to help participants start the workshops feeling more open toward (and comfortable with) each other and with their own participation.

The main workshop activities allowed us to discuss and explore topics of interest. As described briefly above, we drew on creative arts and embodied practices. Some creative art practices were done individually, others collectively. The individual creative art activities included drawing, sculpting clay, and creating yarn collages. Activities using yarn sought to facilitate women's self-expression through a material that was familiar to them. Projects using knitting and sewing cloths into *arpilleras* [brightly-colored patchwork pictures] have served in the past both as a platform for Peruvian women to express painful past experiences and also as tools to narrate their hopes and dreams for the future (see. Peru: Chalina de la Esperanza, 2010; Bernedo, 2011, Creando el Paraíso: Arpilleras de las mujeres de Pamplona Alta, 2009, for detailed description of these projects).

Creative techniques, such as creative arts and embodied practices have contributed importantly to feminist PAR processes. Creative arts are alternative paths through which one can express emotional experiences for which words fall short, and embodied practices can allow one to tap into and process experiences that are carried in the body. Previously, these techniques have been used with Mayan women affected by the Guatemalan armed conflict (Lykes & Crosby, 2015a). For these women, creative techniques allowed them to express their fears and anxieties and collectively find ways to face them. They also allowed them to share their experiences, to discover they are not alone, and to develop trust with each other. Finally, Mayan women recognized that these techniques serve to facilitate communication

when language was a barrier (Lykes & Crosby, 2015b). It is also important to consider that the creative possibility these techniques offer can facilitate processes of conscientization where one can move from an unsatisfactory reality to imagining a desirable possibility (Freire, 1970).

Participants expressed their preference for collective activities from the beginning of our work; working individually elicited multiple insecurities about their performance. Therefore, after the first few months, I stopped introducing individual activities and drew more on activities where participants worked in groups. The creative art activities we did in groups included collective drawings—using markers and pencils—and collages with pieces of newspapers and magazines. Previous researchers have used these creative techniques in feminist PAR to elicit group discussions (see Lykes & Crosby, 2015b). Another form of verbal creative art we used was creative storytelling based on the work of Gianni Rodari (1996). These techniques combine play and words in ways that escape logic. Therefore, they have a liberating character (Goudvis, 1991). As forms of embodied practices, we used techniques drawn from theater. In this Andean region of Peru artistic expressions, such as song, dance, and theater, are constitutive elements of traditional festivities. They allow Andean people to express and process stories relevant to their community—related to but beyond the borders of the armed conflict, and also to connect and pass on these stories to future generations (Milton, 2014). We used role playing activities in which participants had to create a plot and perform it. This plot was inspired by an element that emerged in the previous workshop (such as a story or a phrase). Thus, the role play activities allowed participants to elaborate on their previous ideas and further develop them. Additionally, we conducted exercises using frozen images (Boal, 2013). In this technique participants sculpted their own bodies into still images to express abstract concepts or realistic situations (Boal, 2013). Activities involving more common verbal techniques, such as group discussions,

were also presented in the workshop. We also used a form with incomplete sentences that participants had to fill out individually and anonymously, and these completed sentences were then shared with the group (see Appendix G and H for incomplete sentence form).

In the current feminist PAR process, creative techniques allowed participants to interactively share memories of their past and current lives within the town, co-constructing new understandings and knowledge collaboratively. It also allowed them to express their anxieties and anger toward social situations they found to be unfair. Having represented some of the obstacles and challenges in their community and within their evolving organization, these creative techniques facilitated their imagining an alternative or better future, one they hoped to construct together. Through these creative techniques participants explored ways of being and conducting themselves that were different from the ways of their everyday lives.

After using these creative and verbal techniques to explore the topics mentioned above, the group of women engaged in a first-level analysis of the knowledge(s) generated through their practice. Women formed groups of four or five, and in these groups they used creative methodologies such as those listed above (e.g., theater, collages). When one group presented their work, the others served as an audience. Immediately after the "product" of the creative technique (e.g., drawings, body sculptures, stories, dramatizations) was presented or performed by the presenting group, the audience participants described what they saw in the product or performance, that is, their interpretation of the "data." Afterwards, the presenting group who had used the creative technique shared with the audience what they had wanted or hoped to express through the performance. The information provided from both perspectives was documented through audio recordings, hand-written notes, and photos. It was then organized, synthesized, and presented back to the women the next day or the following month to continue the analysis. Similar forms of creative technique analyses have been used by other feminist PARers working with indigenous women (e.g., Lykes & Crosby, 2015b).

To complement the results of this feminist PAR process I also documented my thoughts and impressions during my fieldwork in the town through field notes and a journal. Furthermore, as described briefly above, I conducted individual semi-structured interviews with 12 of the participants to explore their ideas around the research focus and any additional experiences they elected to share. These interviewees were selected from the larger group using convenience sampling. To allow for a greater variety of perspectives on the issues of focus in this project I intentionally selected women who varied in age, occupation, and level of participation in the knitting organization. I also interviewed four key informants. Two were community leaders from the town. The first was the president of the town's victims' association, and the second, the high school principal. The third key informant worked in the high level multi-sector committee, the state institution in charge of delivering and implementing all reparations in the wake of the armed conflict and truth commission. The fourth interviewee was a human rights nongovernmental organization member who worked accompanying the reparations process in this area. These four key informants were selected given that they belonged to the community, the civil society, and the state. Their points of view were seen as different although complementary to the women's and therefore important for contributing to the interpretations of the findings.

Data analysis procedure. The workshop discussions elicited by the creative and verbal techniques were the main data of this research and constituted a first level of data interpretation, guiding the subsequent data analytic process. I transcribed the workshop audio recordings that included the participants' iterative analyses of the representations generated through the creative techniques with help from my interpreter, who transcribed half of this data. I revised parts of her workshop transcripts together with the audio recordings to check for accuracy. All two-day workshops from May to December were recorded except for the first day of the May workshop, which was not recorded due to a technical glitch; for this

workshop we have hand notes. Thus, in total there were 15 workshop transcripts.

The workshop discussion transcripts were analyzed using a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2014). I chose constructivist grounded theory given that it uses an inductive line-by-line analysis that allows the researcher to stay close to the data from the initial stages, and thus to be more attentive to the participants' experiences. Conducting line-by-line coding (that is attaching labels to pieces of the data) renders a significant number of initial or first-level codes. These codes are the base on which higher level codes are constructed. After creating initial codes, the researcher must sort these codes into higher levels of meaning to create higher-level or axial codes. There can be several levels of codes between the initial codes and the axial codes, depending on what best fits the data. Toward the final stages of the analysis, these axial codes are pieced together in an explanatory manner to reach a final model or mini-theory. Throughout, the process codes must be sorted and pieced together in a way that progressively synthesizes information without making big leaps from the data to theory. By taking these progressive steps researchers have a better grasp on the path they took to reach the abstract understanding that represents the knowledge(s) constructed with participants. In this feminist PAR process the local participants collaborated in the first levels of this iterative process allowing me to more easily sustain a connection to their language and meaning making. The final goal of constructivist grounded theory is, as its name suggests, to develop an abstract understanding of a series of constructs that are grounded in or emergent from peoples' experiences (Charmaz, 2014). Some researchers use the term *mini-theory* to name this abstract understanding, while other use *conceptual model*. I chose the latter given that the term "theory" elicits the idea of being able to generalize, a process that often decontextualizes and/or makes abstract local meaning-making from its context. To avoid this possible misinterpretation, I prefer the term *conceptual model* or *model,* a term I will use going forward.

Constructivist grounded theory is based on a social constructivist paradigm, and, as such, it acknowledges that the subjectivity of the researcher is involved in the data collection and analysis processes (Charmaz, 2014). In this way, the findings are understood as a co-construction between the participants and the researcher. In this feminist PAR the findings are a co-construction of the participants' analysis in the workshops and my own researcher subjectivity, which is expressed in the analytical choices and interpretations I made throughout the analysis process. To better understand how the researcher's subjectivity plays a role in the analysis process, constructivist grounded theory uses memo writing. The researcher uses memos to document emergent ideas about the data and the codes throughout the coding process (Charmaz, 2014). By writing memos throughout the coding process of this feminist PAR process, I was able to think about possible ways to group first level codes into axial codes. The memos helped me reflect about how the axial codes could connect to each other and yield a conceptual explanation.

It is important to note that the analysis process in constructivist grounded theory is not linear but iterative, with several moves back and forth between the data and the codes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). After coding a part of the data, and organizing the initial codes into axial codes, the researcher must go back to the data and see if this organization fits the rest of the data. Looking at other pieces of the data next to the codes allows the researcher to re-organize and refine the codes.

For this research I used a qualitative data analysis program called NVivo to conduct the constructivist grounded theory analysis of the workshop discussions. This program allows researchers to code different forms of data, to organize codes, and to conduct several types of analysis with those codes. In my data analysis, I went through several steps. First, I divided all the data, that is, the transcripts from the participatory workshops, into what I call "deductive topics." These are broad topics that I brought to, and sought to address in, the

workshops. As mentioned before, these topics are: intragroup elements, knitting, patriarchy, town life and ethnic identity, racism and discrimination, and armed conflict and reparations. Afterwards, I went into the data for each deductive topic and started to conduct line-by-line coding. Coding in this way allowed me to see what inductive codes emerged in each deductively grouped topic, or put in other terms, what the women participants were talking about when I proposed they discuss a particular topic. After coding the data in each deductive topic, I paused to start sorting the newly-created first-level codes into axial codes. As I moved through the deductive topics I started creating new axial codes, and in some cases I would merge an axial code into another broader axial code that would encompass the new emerging data. As I went through the process of sifting through codes, I wrote memos of my reflections. Below I describe this iterative process in detail for those readers interested in exploring the process in more detail toward envisioning how the model presented in the findings was co-constructed.

Exploring the details of iterative grounded theory coding. During the coding, I noted that some initial codes were based on what the women *said,* while others were based on what the women *did*, or more accurately, on what I saw the women doing. I decided to call these content codes and process codes, respectively. An example of a content code would be "leaving men things unresolved," where a participant said a phrase represented by this code. An example of a process code would be "praising each other," where I assigned this code after reading in the transcript that a woman was making a favorable judgment of another woman's work.

After coding the 15 workshop transcripts, I created 1781 initial content codes, which were grouped in 23 axial codes. The axial codes are: community life, ethnic identity, cultural practices and beliefs, home dynamics, idea of women, idea of men, knitting, the women's knitting association, experience of the workshop, among each other, intrapersonal processes,

material conditions and resources, tensions & conflicts, motivation to progress, values, the Peruvian State, reparations, development, social programs, educational processes, racialized and classed patriarchy, resistances, and emotional wake of the armed conflict. Inside each of these axial codes there are initial codes. The number of initial codes within each axial code varies widely, ranging from nine codes in educational processes to 199 codes in reparations.

The coding also rendered process codes that were grouped into eight axial process codes. Six of these axial process codes represent particular ways of communicating or acting in the workshops that stood out in the group dynamic. These codes include making jokes, speaking in Quechua, speaking in sayings, making announcements, talking about food preparation, and keeping silent. They are stand-alone codes, which means they have no initial codes grouped within them. These codes are relevant due to how frequently they appeared in the workshops. The other last two axial process codes represent relationships the women were establishing in the workshops. These codes are among each other and toward Gaby and the workshop. Within these two codes we do find initial codes that describe how women were relating to each other, and how they were relating to me and to the workshop activities respectively. Additionally, the initial codes within these final two axial codes were grouped into different intermediate level codes. The code among each other was divided into confronting each other, encouraging each other, feeling self-doubt, and sharing information with each other. Additionally, within the axial code "among each other" is also a code called "communicating with each other." I created this code to mark every time the women participants directly addressed each other in a workshop discussion without going through me. This code was coded for frequency. It appeared 460 times in the workshops. The axial code "toward Gaby and the workshop" was divided into showing confidence, showing self-doubt, relating in an asymmetrical and confrontational manner, and relating in a symmetrical and close manner.

Toward a conceptual model. After generating all the process and content codes, the next step was to piece together the content codes in a way that could yield a conceptual model. As mentioned previously, content codes represent what women *said* and how they made meaning of certain issues partly by establishing connections among the issues they were discussing. Therefore, it made sense to organize the content codes in a conceptual manner. On the other hand, process codes represent what women *did,* not what they said. Thus, establishing a conceptual relationship between process codes would not have been useful to reflect the data generated and interpreted in the workshops. To connect the axial content codes with each other I conducted a within-axial code analysis. This means I read all the codes inside each axial code to better understand what these axial codes were about, including how they were connected to each other. I noticed that some initial codes were addressing and connecting two different axial codes, elucidating the axial codes' relationship with each other. In my memos, I called these codes "bridge codes" given that they allowed me to better understand how to connect and build bridges among the axial codes in my model.

After conducting a within axial code analysis of all the axial content codes I came up with a first draft of my conceptual model. This first model allowed me to explain some elements that were present in the workshops discussions and the relationships among them; however, it did not provide me with a cohesive explanation of several important processes that I saw taking place in the workshops. Thus, I decided to analyze the individual interviews in order to draw from them information that would allow me to thicken my model and make it more explanatory.

I conducted a simple thematic analysis of the interviews focusing on the themes that had already emerged in the analysis of the workshop discussions. After reading half of my interviews I was able to draw enough information to return to the model and find a way to

reorganize it that was more cohesive and that better fit the data. For this purpose, I created and inserted a new element in the model that was not an axial code per se: external agents and influences. This element represents an idea that was not exclusively present in the codes. However, this idea implicitly cuts across many of the codes. This element added coherence to the emergent model. To corroborate this model, I reviewed the initial codes within each axial code a second time. I saw that the model now reflected both the content of the axial codes as well as the connections among them. Additionally, with this new model in mind, I went back to the remaining individual interviews. I was able to see that this new conceptual model had the capacity to explain what was occurring in the data in the individual interviews as well. It is important to mention that as I was analyzing the codes and assembling this model, I was in constant consultation with my dissertation advisor. Therefore, her thoughts on the issues that emerged in this data have also informed my analysis. I also analyzed the codes across time and across deductive topics. These analyses can be found in Appendix I.

Although analysis of visual and performative arts can provide significant and insightful information, the primary goal of this feminist PAR process was to generate a collaborative and iterative analysis process through the creative techniques—one that would contribute to the group taking actions based on their new understandings. Thus, it was not designed to generate products or "objects" that would then be analyzed separately and independently by an outsider researcher. However, these creative productions have been incorporated into the interpretation of the findings presented herein to communicate the creative production of knowledge underlying the discursive presentations and to illustrate and complement the written word. Similarly, the individual interviews and field notes complement the group-based interpretations, allowing me to broaden my understanding of the findings developing through the workshop analyses.

Critical reflexivity. In line with a socio-constructivist paradigm that understands knowledge as a co-construction occurring through dialectical or dialogical social interactions, I engaged in a process of reflection seeking to understand how my subject position had influenced the participatory co-construction of the data in the workshops as well as my subsequent grounded theory analysis of this data. Individual identities are never constructed in a vacuum; they are always constructed in relation to others and to a broader social context. Thus, I situate myself within the broader Peruvian context and in the set of relationships established therein. I identify myself as a mestiza woman. My family mostly traces their roots back to areas of the northern coast of Peru—an area predominantly mestizo with people from both Spanish and indigenous descent—to areas of the southern coast (also predominantly mestizo), to the southern Andes, and to Spain. Beyond this ethnic mixture, I have always been embedded in an urban mestizo culture in Lima, where both of my parents were born. I consider my family to be upper-middle class, which grants us a set of privileges in terms of socioeconomic resources and possibilities for professional development. I acknowledge my privilege in how I have never felt discriminated against in my hometown of Lima or in other parts of my country due to my ethnic or class origin.

During my teenage years, I had very formative experiences vis-à-vis the social and political processes that were occurring in my country. In this period, I experienced the transition back into democracy after the Fujimori dictatorship and the release of the Peruvian truth commission report, in which the magnitude of the armed conflict's damage was revealed. My parents had a central role in my life during these years, explaining the importance of democratic values and of justice and solidarity. Toward the end of my undergraduate training as a clinical psychologist I was introduced to community psychology in a course where we also analyzed the truth commission's report, focusing on the impact it had on Quechua speaking campesinos from the central-southern Andes. As a result of all

these processes, by the end of my undergraduate studies I had developed a strong interest in working with Andean groups affected by the armed conflict, particularly with women. Since then I have had a strong personal commitment to working with them to address the unequal structures of society that marginalize them.

My identity is constructed in a social context. Thus, in my encounter with the group of Andean women from this feminist PAR, both the aspects of my identity and theirs informed our particular interactions. I presented myself to the women participants as a community psychologist, a termed that seemed new to them and that they most likely associated to traditional notions of psychology mainly related to mental health. This was reflected in their occasional requests for me to share my opinion or professional advice on some related "psychological" topic (e.g., family relationships, romantic-relationships). I also presented myself as a researcher, but as one that would facilitate a participatory project in which we would do activities to think together. My initial introduction to them possibly seemed confusing and unclear. However, overall they seemed to perceive me as a professional coming into their community offering a set of skills and knowledge(s). They also saw me as a professional and a researcher interested in learning something about and from them and, thus, they seemed to recognize this envisioned process as a reciprocal relationship in which we both had something to offer.

My relationship with the women was marked by an interplay of differences and similarities. In terms of our differences this was, from the start, marked by the distances created by my professional position, which led them to sometimes place me in a position of authority. I always was addressed with the formal second person pronoun *usted*, I was always called *Señorita Gaby* [Miss Gaby], and sometimes even *professora* [teacher]. Only one women called me Gaby and used the familiar second person pronoun *tu.* The women also pointed out our differences in class and background by pointing to specific elements of our

experience that made us different. Some women paid particular attention to how I took airplanes, instead of buses, to come to Ayacucho. They emphasized their lack of familiarity with this experience and how they were even scared of getting on planes. Other women were focused on how I had learned English and on how I was able to study in the United States; they were aware of my status as a PhD student in the U.S. However, women also found elements that made us similar and tried to build bridges with me based in these elements. The most salient aspect of our identities that connected us was gender; we were all women. Participants reflected this connection by making jokes in relation to gender roles and sexuality. They also evidenced this point of connection by asking about personal aspects of what they perceived as my experience as a woman. They asked about my romantic life, about whether I had a partner, wanted to have children, among other things; they also gave me advice in these areas. I interpreted these questions and comments not as intrusions but as their interest to get to know me more as a person and as a woman. Thus, I shared personal information to the extent that I felt comfortable. Many women also shared personal information with me in individual conversations. Another important point of encounter was knitting, which was also an activity that mapped onto our gender roles. They were surprised to learn that I knew how to knit and that I had learned it in Lima. Knitting also offered us a means through which to share knowledge(s) and experiences.

The encounter between me and the women participants straddled our differences and similarities. However, I believe that underlying these encounters was an open attitude toward knowing each other and bridging differences. They shared with me many aspects of their daily lives, and I shared with them many aspects of mine. I strove to see beyond stereotypes that place Andean women exclusively in positions of suffering and scarcity, and I think they tried to see beyond images of *Limeñas* [women from Lima] as self-centered and arrogant. Thus, I hope both our efforts led to a relationship in which we recognized each other as

subjects in our differences.

Elements contributing to findings from this feminist PAR process. The co-constructed workshops' analyses, the subsequent grounded theory analysis of the data, and my researcher subject position are the three elements that, intertwined, yielded the findings of this feminist PAR project (see Figure 1).

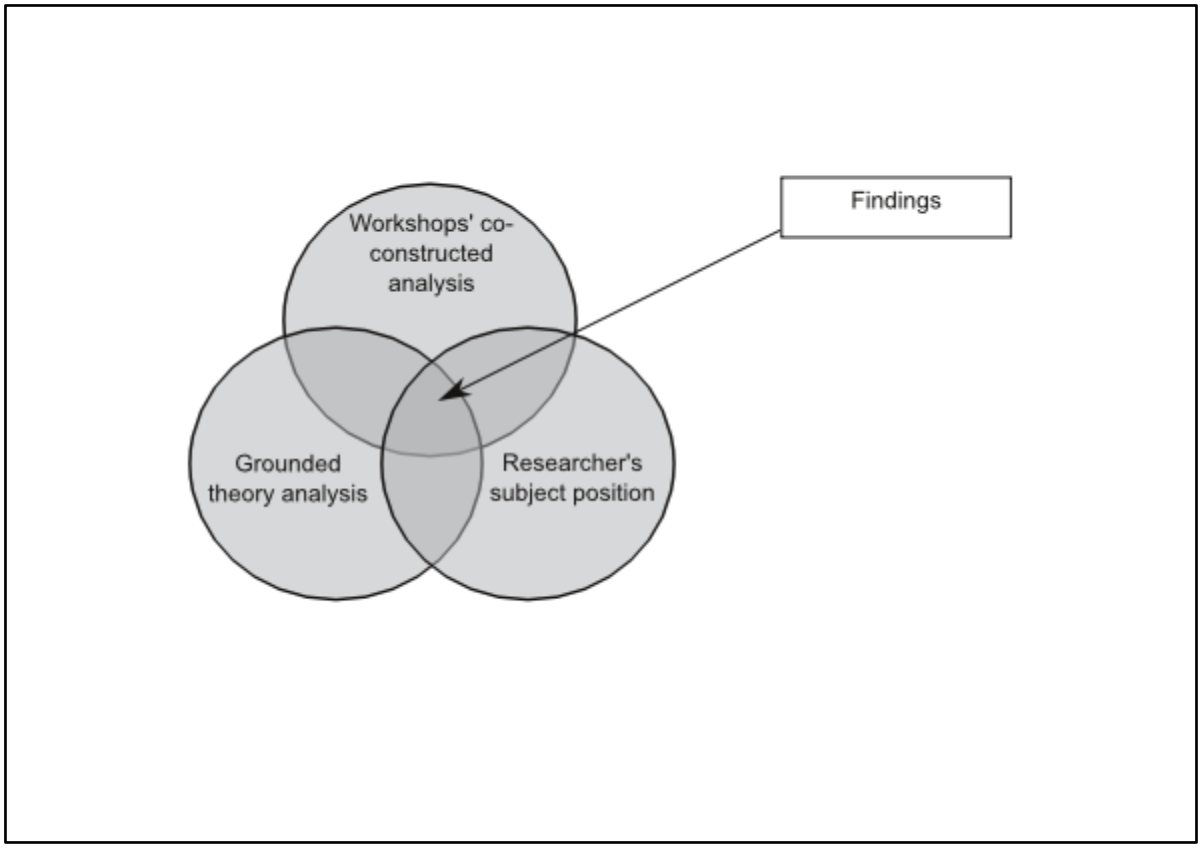

Figure 1. Elements contributing to findings from this feminist PAR process

As explained previously, the workshops were the context of iterative analysis processes in which the women explored and discussed among each other topics they saw as relevant as they connected to the research focus of women's organizing in post-conflict situations. In the workshops, dialectic relationships were established among the women, and between them and me, as I pointed out certain elements about the topics discussed seeking to deepen their critical reflections about them. By adding to the workshops' co-constructed

analyses, the grounded theory analysis of that data as well as my analysis of complementary data, I sought to organize and elaborate on the information crafted by the women to generate an abstract understanding of the main processes regarding the research focus. The third element, my subject position as a researcher, evidences the subjective location from which I interpreted the data in order to organize the findings. This is also the position from which I facilitated the workshops, thus enabling me to both listen closely to their meaning making but also reposition myself when there were opportunities to deepen and/or to think differently about the knowledge(s) being constructed. Based on a socio-constructivist paradigm, I am aware of how the different layers of my identity have informed the research process as a whole and the findings rendered herein. I am also aware of the multiple ways in which my knowledge about Andean women in post-conflict Peru shifted through these ongoing processes of encounter and in moments in which I experienced stresses and strains in our work. The findings that I present in the following chapter are a co-construction at the intersection of these three elements.

Findings

This feminist PAR process was designed to accompany a group of Andean women and document if and how working together through organizing a knitting association could be one way to face the challenges of a post-conflict period. The latter included dealing with the legacies of both the armed conflict and with the ongoing gendered and racialized economic violence all too characteristic of life for women in their rural Andean community. Having situated this project at the intersection of relevant literature and reviewed how the data were collected and analyzed, I present our co-construction, that is, one model for thinking about and making meaning of these Andean women's lived experiences of survival, response, and resistance. To do so, I present and explain the conceptual model that encompasses all elements and constructs that were identified through the iterative coding processes described in detail in the Methodology chapter, each of which offer some explanatory power vis-à-vis the research focus, as well as the multiple relationships among them.

This conceptual model represents the most important connections among the realities experienced and narrated by the women participants in this feminist PAR process. However, this model should not be read as an objective description of the participants' social context. Rather, it is a representation of the most relevant emotional and social processes as they were experienced by the participants during the year we spent together as they reflected upon and engaged with previous and ongoing experiences of life in Huancasancos and some of their hopes for and thoughts about their futures. I have focused on those connections and relationships that, taken together, contribute to the research focus underlying and informing our feminist PAR process. As in most qualitative research, the data in this study can be represented in multiple ways, and consequently it can tell many stories. As a qualitative and feminist PAR researcher, I have prioritized their stories in this telling, stories that respond to a research focus that is informed by previous understandings of life in such contexts post-

conflict and that was rearticulated dialogically with the participants both prior to undertaking the feminist PAR process and in ongoing engagement with the women participants in the multiple encounters we shared over the months we spent together (see Figure 2).

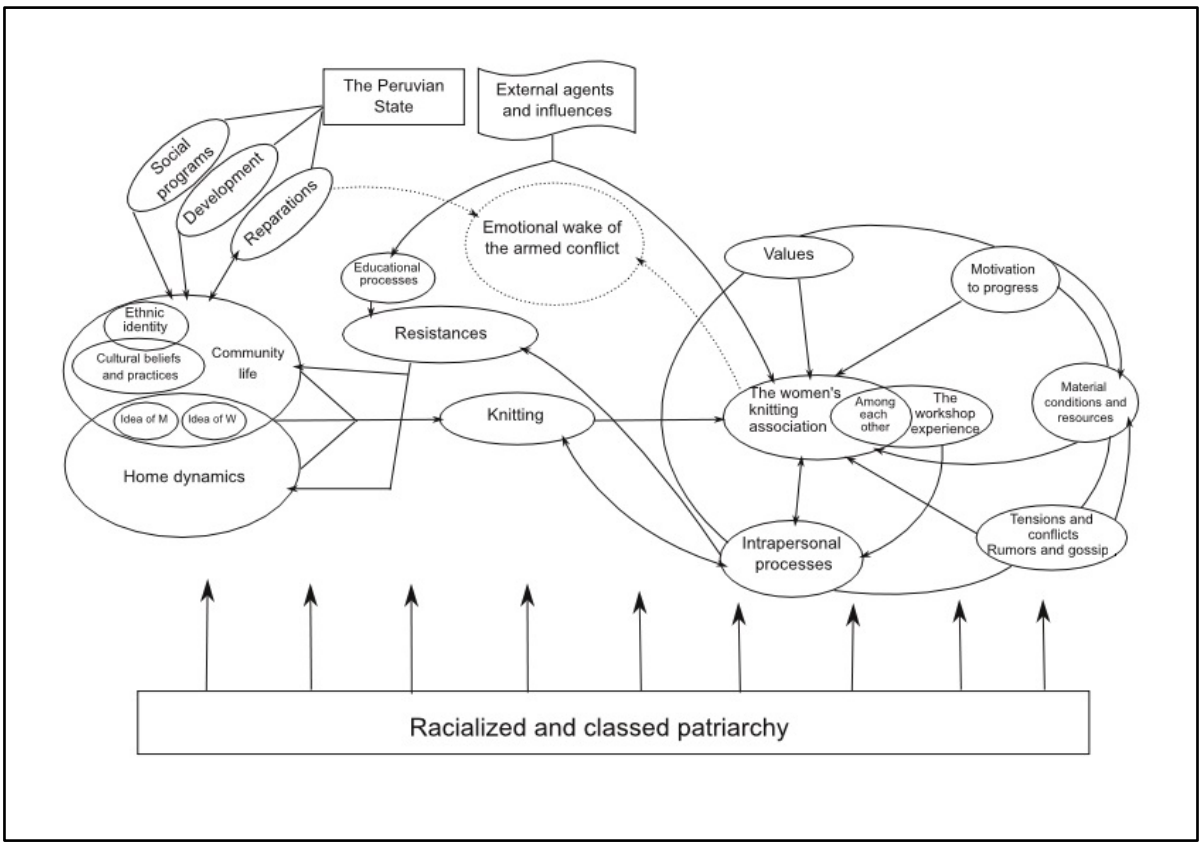

Figure 2. Andean women's lived experiences of survival, response and resistance.

This brief overview of the elements in the model (*italicized* as they are named) as well as the connections among them will be further explained in detail in the subsequent sections of this chapter. As can be observed in Figure 2, the elements related to Andean women's context, that is, their everyday—*community life* and *home dynamics* (on the left side of the model)—are perceived as separate from *the women's knitting association* (on the right side of the model). The *women's knitting association* reflects one of a number of strategies through which these Andean women seek to break with or create alternatives to a particular set of gendered socio-cultural dynamics that constrain their daily lives. However, they take the practice of *knitting* (in the center of the model), one that is embedded in their everyday lives,

out of that context into a newly developed cooperative venture. The latter, that is, *the women's knitting association,* emerges or is crafted in the midst of several factors that will influence how it unfolds. These factors include women's *values*, their *motivation to progress*, as well as other *intrapersonal processes* within each woman. Also influencing and driving the association's development are women's *material conditions and resources*. Finally, relational patterns including *tensions and conflicts*, which are expressed through *rumors and gossip*, also have ongoing effects on their association. *The workshop experience* represents one among many other experiences this association will have, and it is an experience that has strengthened their relationships *among each other.* Distant from the context and the association are (at the top of the model) the *state* and other *external agents and influences*. The *Peruvian State* reaches and has an effect on *community life* through particular mechanisms—*social programs*, *development (projects)*, and *reparations*—while *external agents* also affect the association through introducing the idea of "organizing-as-women." They also facilitate *educational processes* which generate *resistances* to the established social norms of *community life* and *home dynamics.* At the center of all these processes, although seemingly disconnected from them, is the *emotional wake of the armed conflict.* These emotions are ever present; however, they remain untouched by everything occurring around them as if they were suspended in time. Finally, *racialized and classed patriarchy* (in the bottom area of model) is at the base of the dynamics explained above. The violence expressed by this *racialized classed patriarchy* is structural and thus ubiquitous, permeating all the elements and relationships within the model.

Five main stories are illuminated through the conceptual model presented here; together they constitute the macro narrative that I have chosen to prioritize in this research report. In the following sections of the findings I explain the five stories and their constitutive elements through presenting the model with the highlighted elements and connections that are

part of the stories I am discussing in order to visually represent it. Additionally, I have incorporated selected visual representations generated in the workshops activities—such as drawings from the creative arts activities and texts from the storytelling activities—to support and elucidate some of these ideas. I conclude this chapter presenting findings about the relational processes that developed among the women participants, and between the women participants and me throughout the workshops. These reflect our developing relationships and include the ways in which we co-constructed a path as we worked and played together as well as the resistances we experienced vis-à-vis some of the emerging themes in the workshops and in our time together. As discussed in the previous chapter, the interpretations of these shared performances reflected in the models are thickened through thematic analyses of some of the individual interviews I conducted with many of the workshop participants and with additional key informants as well as by my ethnographic observations while living in their community.

First Story: The Context in Which Women Started Their Association

Contextualizing the women's association (see Figure 3): The *women's knitting association* is perceived as separate from the women's context, but framed or deeply informed by their *community life* and their *home dynamics.* The community in which the women live is shaped by a sense of *ethnic identity* among its members, who also hold multiple *beliefs and practices* that are indigenous to their culture. *Ideas about how men and women* (presented in the model as *Idea of M* and *Idea of W*, respectively) "should be" are also present in the community, and these ideas are also constitutive of the *home dynamics*. Creating a women's association ruptures certain ideas and dynamics held in what might be described as a more traditional woman's "way of being" in the home and community. This idea of organizing-as-women was introduced to Huancasancos by *external agents and influences*. However, the *women's knitting association* is not completely disconnected from

their context. Women have chosen to organize around *knitting*, a practice present in the *community life* and in the *home dynamics*.

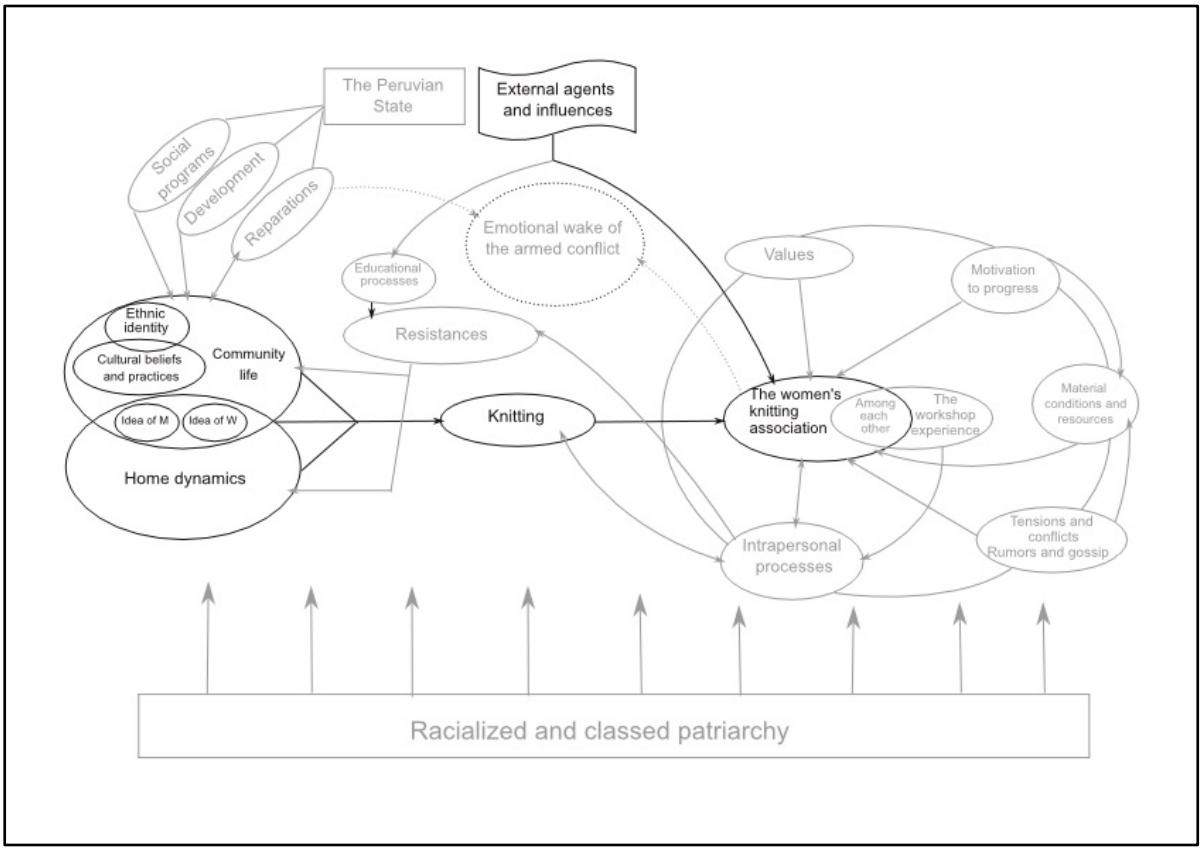

Figure 3. Contextualizing the women's Association

The community's organizing dynamics. Organizing as a collective has always been part of Andean rural communities where campesinos have historically and presently come together for multiple goals. For many years in Huancasancos, campesinos have organized economic and productive initiatives to respond to their subsistence needs. Participants commented about the persistence of reciprocal work activities in the town. In one such activity, called minka, *comuneros* [community members] collectively work on a task that is of common benefit for the community (Mayer, 2002). Women shared examples of how neighbors come together to help families who are building their homes complete the roof and then celebrate in a tradition called *safacasa* [Roof-building ceremony]. These economic activities also serve social purposes, tightening bonds among community members. These

bonds are further strengthened through several other cultural and social practices around which people organize. Traditional parties and celebrations take place in the community throughout the year and there are clearly outlined forms of organizing to plan and coordinate these celebrations. Each year one or two families are the coordinators, that is, the *Cargu-yuq*, a Quechua term that means "to hold a position." These families are the main organizers and funders of that year's parties. To be the Cargu-yuq is a great honor and responsibility for families in the Andean world (Mitchell, 2006).

The ayllus constitutes one of the primary forms of social organizing of this town. As defined briefly above, ayllu is a word in Quechua that goes back to Incan times and that is equivalent to an extended family or clan. Although this social order remains important in Huancasancos, it no longer exists in most Andean communities (Quispe, 1969). There are four ayllus in Huancasancos and all the families belong to one of them. The women PAR participants acknowledged that, although people can no longer trace a common ancestor, they recognize that they are probably related by blood to the members of their ayllu. Ayllu membership is passed down through the father in this patrilineal system. When women marry they leave the ayllu of their father and join that of their husband. Studies have shown that ayllus originated as a way of organizing families to share water sources for irrigation (Quispe, 1969). People now come together in their ayllus to celebrate traditional Andean and Catholic festivities throughout the year; for example, at Corpus Christi and at Christmas. They organize ayllu rituals and dances through which they compete with other ayllus. Participants described the ayllu as a source of pride and identity for most people in Huancasancos.

As can be seen, this town has had several forms of organizing since its founding. Although both both men and women participate, women typically have a subordinate role. Participants noted that organizing as women or coming together in women-only spaces was

foreign to the town. Participants spoke of how women only gather unless in the forms of organization previously described. They were mostly dedicated to their household chores—such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of the children—and to their daily campesina activities. The latter can be very isolating given that they involve agricultural related activities and cattle rearing, activities that take place in the highland plains or what they call the *puna*. These life routines impeded women from gathering or organizing as women. One participant noted that formerly women were: "On their own, each one in their parcel, with their animals." Another said: "[Before] it was worse, we barely spoke to each other." Some participants acknowledged that there have been many changes in the town.

One major event that generated significant changes in Huancasancos was the 1984 naming of the town as provincial capital by the then president, Fernando Belaunde. Multiple offices housing state institutions moved to Huancasancos including the municipality, the district attorney's office, a health center, and the local education management unit, among others. More "outside" professionals moved to the town as a result. The construction of more paved roads also brought increased businesses and more paid jobs in restaurants, hostels, shops, etc. The participants' collective drawing (see Image 1) exemplifies the changes that they noted in the town. They discussed seeing professionals arriving for work by car and staying in a hotel. Despite a host of changes that have connected this town to an increasingly globalized world, it preserves much of its campesina life. Ideas about women's organizing were among the new ideas that participants noted, situating them in conversation with or contestation of the more traditional elements of women's work, family, and community lives.

Image 1. Professionals arrive to work in the town

Organizing-as-women: Historical roots and current realities. The workshop activities and conversations suggested that participants understood organizing-as-women as having been introduced from those outside the town. They noted that NGOs had explained the benefits of organizing-as-women as had state officials working in different areas of the local, regional, and national government. They reported that these professionals and officials had given "talks" on topics related to gender violence and trainings on economic and productive activities for and with women. The idea of women organizing-as-women was also re-introduced by community members who had been either working or studying outside the

town. Women participants mentioned how new generations of young townswomen are studying in the cities. Some of them have come back to the town and occupy leadership positions in the municipality, in the schools or in the regional government, and from these positions they promote women's organizing. One of the leaders of the knitting association previously held public office as a councilor in the town and had a position in a regional grassroots organization, Clubs de Madres. It is likely that in these positions she had been influenced by broader social and/or feminist movements, and that she introduced some of these ideas.

When speaking about what the women needed to consolidate the knitting association, most women participants mentioned more trainings and talks. They expressed the need for trainings to strengthen their capacities, self-esteem, and self-confidence. They also mentioned that organizations had previously only been started with the support of outside institutions, and that most local organizations fell apart when they left. These perceptions and/or past experiences contributed to participants' need for outsider support. Participants also mentioned that, as an association, they could collectively advocate for and receive more support either from government institutions or NGOs.

Despite organizing-as-women being perceived to have been brought to Huancasancos from outsider influence, participants chose to organize-as-women around an activity that was very familiar to them: knitting. Being campesinas was clearly perceived to be part of their identity as Andean women, and knitting, a practice that was easily incorporated into their daily routines. Women participants narrated how knitting was present inside their homes and in the community and flexibly adapted to these spaces. Women spoke about knitting at home when they had some free time, or knitting when they go to see their animals to the puna. One woman said: "Walking like this, you are knitting. Then you arrive to the puna to do your

things, and you are knitting. Then you sit for a while, and you are knitting. You come back knitting too."

Campesina women increasingly possess knitting knowledge and skills. They mentioned that they had learned how to knit from previous generations of townswomen. Because knitting in Huancasancos is primarily a female activity, women are frequently seen knitting publicly whereas men are not. It is a gendered activity, and, as will be discussed below, to the ideas women participants hold about women and men (Fostner, 2013).

As can be seen, women in this town organized around an activity about which they felt they possessed knowledge and skills, and that was consonant with their daily routines. However, despite this ease in incorporating knitting into their lives, women participants reported that organizing in a knitting association was challenging in that it took time away from their other daily activities. For example, some of the participants mentioned how difficult it was for them to make time to attend the association's meetings given other family-related responsibilities that were key to their family's subsistence (e.g., working at their small businesses or taking care of their animals). Thus, it is important to critically interrogate the extent to which this idea or model of women's organizing adequately responds to Andean women's needs and lived experiences. Furthermore, it is important to explore the extent to which it might not be compatible with their forms of life as campesinas, or might fail to draw from the strengths, qualities, beliefs, and practices in that life.

Second Story: Forming a Women's Knitting Association in the Midst of Needs, Hopes and Fears

Social, emotional, and economic factors in the formation of the women's association (see Figure 4): The women reported that the formation of the *women's knitting association* was influenced by multiple factors. Members' specific *values* as well their *motivation to progress* guide the association's ideas about how it should or should not be organized.

Additionally, *intrapersonal processes* taking place within each woman informed how the association unfolded. The relationship—between each member's intrapersonal processes and the association—is bidirectional. Thus, the association's dynamics also had an effect on its members' subjectivities. Members' internal changes are also reflected in their *knitting* practices and how they feel about them. Women's *material conditions and resources* are at the heart of the association. The need to face these conditions pushed women to organize as did their *motivation to progress.* However, on some occasions, women's scarce material resources also contributed to *tensions and conflicts*. These tensions and conflicts are a form of relationality very entrenched in this *community's life,* and are reflected through the *rumors and gossip* spread by its members about each other. The women's association risks being affected by these tensions and conflict. Finally, *the workshop experience* women had as part of this feminist PAR process is one of the association's many experiences that evolves over time. These workshops have had on impact on members' *intrapersonal processes* and on the association as a whole, allowing women to develop deeper relationships *among each other.*

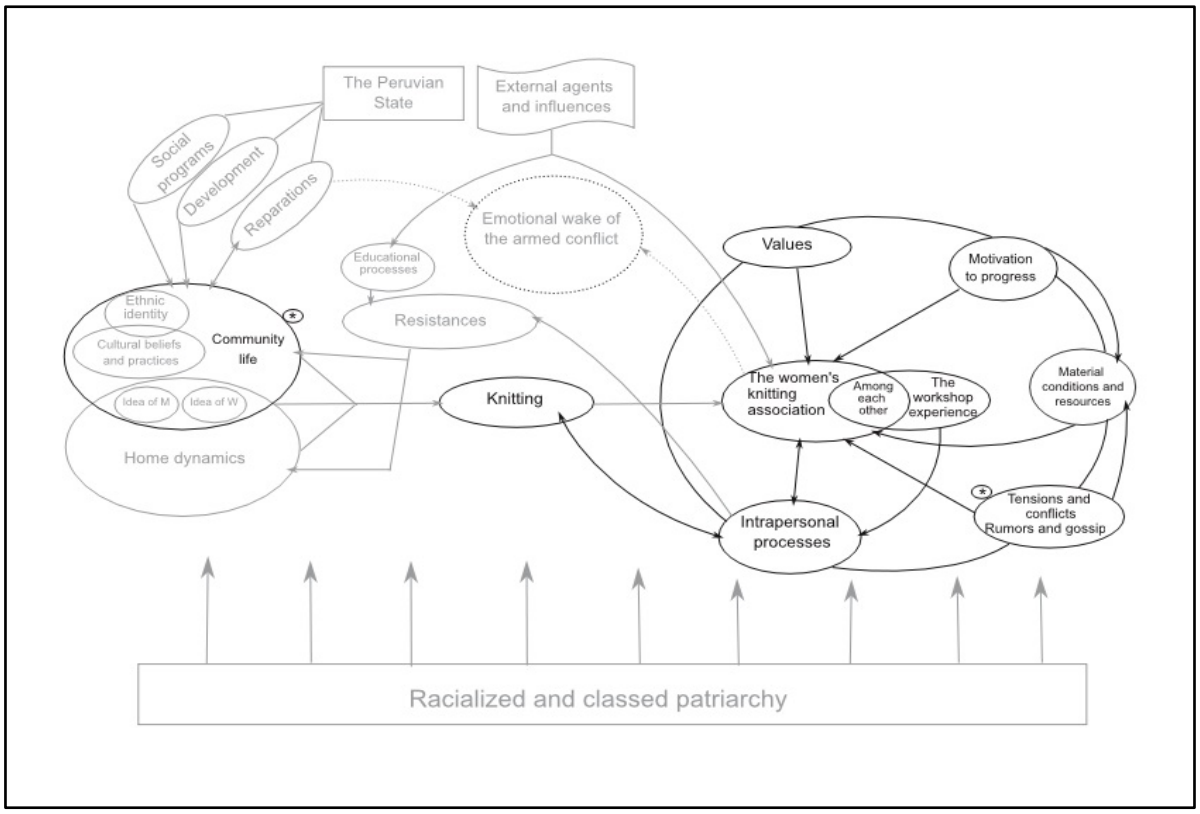

Figure 4: Social, emotional, and economic factors in the formation of the women's association.

Several years ago, following the initiative of a woman town leader, a group of women in Huancasancos decided to form a women's knitting association. These women (who later decided to participate in this PAR process) made this choice knowing that the association would have to move forward in a context of challenges as well as opportunities. The PAR participants identified contextual elements as well as personal characteristics of themselves and other participants as potentially influencing their association's formation.

The women developed an idea of how their association should and should not function. This idea was partly influenced by external agents, but also by their own values, their pressing material needs, and by their aspirations and motivations. The idea guided their thoughts about how they should act in the association (both individually and toward each other), as well as their perceptions about the potential difficulties in dyadic relationships Speaking individually, some participants noted that confidence was important for women

who participated in the association. Forming the women's association implied breaking with a particular social order. Thus, to do so, women needed initiative and determination. They saw these as qualities that other townswomen would need to have in order to be permitted entry. These were identified as selection criteria or prerequisites for becoming part of the association. Thus, making the decision that one wants to join the association was insufficient. Women in the association had to be responsible and hardworking if they wanted it to successfully move forward. Some of the participants suggested that being hardworking was a necessary and essential characteristic for all members of the association. When we spoke individually, many participants narrated stories in which they overcame great difficulties through hard work and great sacrifice. These women believe that great things can be achieved through great personal effort.

The picture below (see Image 2) is a collective drawing from one of the creative workshops which the women drew to represent optimism, a characteristic they described in a small group discussion when asked to identify something important for the association's success. The participants noted that the wall of the family's house in the drawing was falling. They discussed how the wife and the daughter were cheering on the father, knowing that they must stay strong and continue working despite the adversities. This emphasis on personal strength, optimism, and determination suggests that a focus on individual attributes might help Andean women move forward. However it might also prevent them from seeing the structural barriers and injustices present in their lives (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015)?

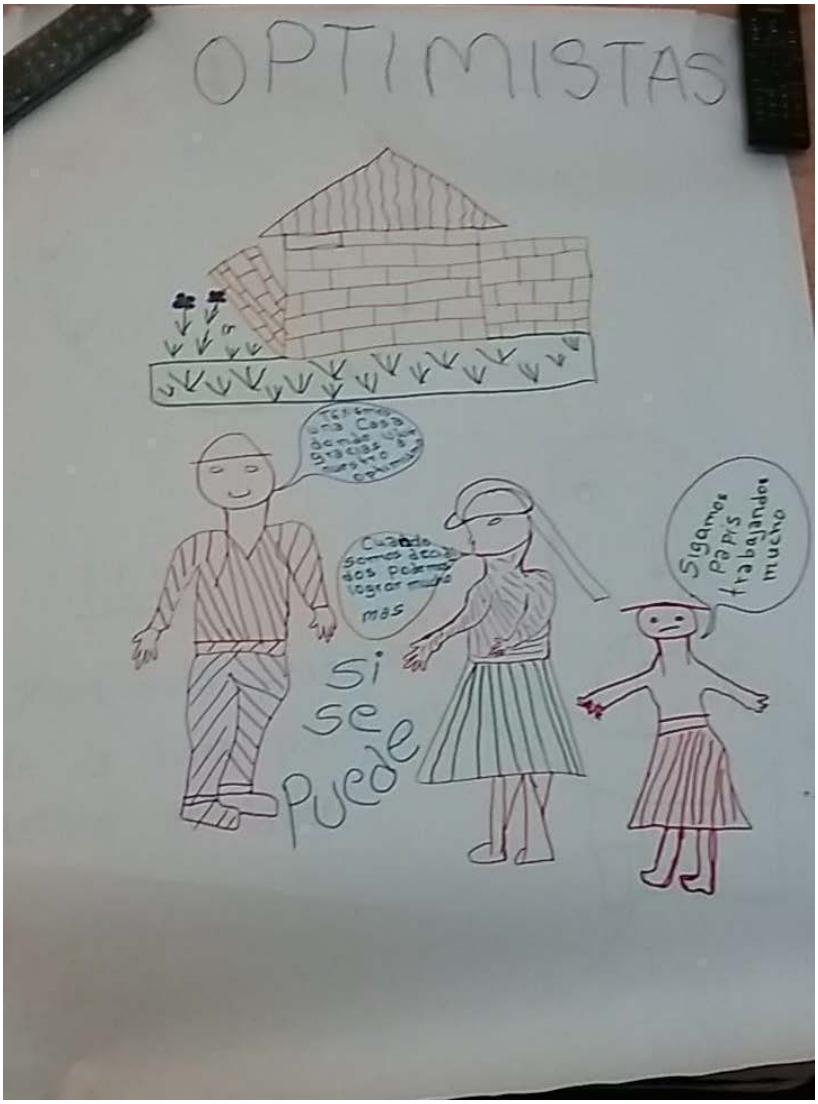

Image 2. Participants' collective drawing of optimism

Women identified communication as important for the association's success. They noted that women had to be honest and also learn how to communicate better. They mentioned needing to find ways to "smooth things out" among themselves. This idea may be related to previous tensions among the women, tensions that might have emerged not only from the armed conflict but also from conflicts that predated it (Heilman, 2010). The participants also mentioned that women in the association must be supportive and understanding of each other. They noted that they will not be able to attend all the association's meetings, because they have other responsibilities, and they hoped that others could understand this. Women participants also mentioned the need to acknowledge how

each of them are different and bring their different personal characteristics to the group. They spoke of how some women were outgoing, while others were shy and insecure. These women have had difficulties expressing themselves in public and constantly feel embarrassed and afraid. Their insecurities were also expressed in their knitting practices, evident in fears that others in the group or beyond its borders would not like what they had knitted and would reject it. Nevertheless, the women also recognized that in the same way that women bring who they are to the association, the association also has an impact on those in it, especially regarding their intrapersonal characteristics. Participants expressed how they felt the association can help women overcome their insecurities, and to be less submissive and inhibited.

When speaking of why they wanted to organize a knitting association, participants noted that their main reason to do so was to generate an income. They mentioned how money was needed in order to initiate work on one's own. Most participants came together in this association because alone they lacked resources. Through the association, they could advocate for support (through monetary funds and other resources) from external organizations. However, they recognized that they also had to contribute with something, either with the few individual resources they had or with their work. Thus, the association emerged as a way for women in the town to confront scarce material conditions and needs (Westergaard, 2012). Consolidating their individual resources was seen as one possible way to improve these conditions. They mentioned how, on some occasions, they needed to "chip in" with what they had to start something new. This occurred if, for example, they were doing a fundraising activity for the association in which they would sell food.

In addition to the importance of economic scarcity as a reason for organizing-as-women, women noted connections they were making with each other, that is, they recognized the more social aspects of knitting and its contributions to their lives. One leader in the group

noted that women's lack of income made them dependent on their husbands, giving men control over women: "Men say: I have you [because] I feed you, I dress you." This leader expressed how knitting in an income generating organization would allow women to contest such statements, asserting themselves vis-à-vis the men in their families. She made connections among one's economic situation, one's personal characteristics, and one's interpersonal and familial relationships. Generating an income means being able to experience your independence, and care for your own well-being and for that of your family. It also means that your work and actions are seen as valuable in your community and also in society at large. These are among the reasons that "outsiders" are perceived as contributing to or facilitating such organizational initiatives and contributing positively to developments that some in the town perceive as rupturing traditional patriarchal values.

When speaking about their motivation to progress through organizing, women participants also underscored other psychosocial aspects. They spoke about organizing as a way to move beyond current situations and become more than they were. The participants were also able to see other benefits beyond the economic that the women's association could bring them. They mentioned engaging with each other in a process of learning and teaching within the association. Several women commented on how they shared what they knew about knitting by teaching those with fewer experiences and also learning from the more experienced members. Additionally, they mentioned giving each other advice and sharing life experiences on different topics ranging from daily chores to personal relationships. The association also provided a space to share information and news about community life. This was especially important for those women who spent many days in the puna with their animals. They also perceived the association as having multiple effects on how they felt. Some found encouragement and strength in it while others valued meeting with other women, noting that they could relax and forget about their troubles, at least briefly, while together.

The workshops in this feminist PAR process were another shared opportunity for the women. They described them as spaces that contributed to their association's development. They also recognized positive aspects in the PAR workshops, describing that they had gotten to know each other better through the participatory activities and that they now know each other's personal characteristics and how to establish better relationships among themselves. This enhanced closeness with each other has had an impact on their relationships beyond the time in the workshops. They mentioned that they talk to each other more when they meet in the streets, and in general they are more open toward each other. Participants mentioned that the workshop also brought them other individual benefits. They noted that this was mostly accomplished through participating in the workshop activities. Although they mentioned initially feeling lost, they spoke about progressively becoming less fearful of doing activities and/or speaking in front of others. Additionally, they mentioned how the workshops allowed them to learn new things and become aware of their reality. They spoke about sharing what they learned outside the workshops with their friends and also bringing their learnings into their homes. It is important to note as well that much of the experience of the workshop was deeply tied to the relationship with me. Although the women spoke about learning from each other, they also spoke about how I "brought them together" and facilitated that space. They also felt I taught them things. Despite this recognition that the PAR workshops and participants' relationship with me seemed to have a positive and beneficial impact on them, it is important to think about the sustainability of PAR projects and the dependence they might be creating on external agents, such as a PAR researcher. It is worth critically interrogating the extent to which PAR researchers who facilitate these processes and thereby have a significant role in structuring how they unfold might be replicating the same hierarchical and/or outsider-controlled dynamics we are trying to dismantle.

Despite the positive contributions reported by participants in the women's knitting association, they also spoke extensively of the problems and difficulties they envisioned encountering when working together. One included conflicts they envisioned by some members taking advantage of others. They spoke about past associations (of both women and men) that had failed because some member acted in deceitful ways. They knew several stories of people deceiving each other to keep most of the earned profits, or using associations' instruments for their own benefits. Money and material resources were always the source of the conflicts they narrated. They noted that these bad experiences of the past made it difficult—even for those who were already in the association—to trust one another. However, some participants spoke about giving the association a chance and knowing that not everyone was deceitful. Although in the group spaces participants discussed these problems of deceit and mistrust as something that happens to associations in general, in individual conversations a couple of participants expressed their own concerns and mistrust regarding how certain things were being managed in the association. In these comments, they were not specific about who they distrusted or what had happened, making it difficult to draw conclusions. However, these comments reveal that mistrust was felt by some members of the association.

For another woman, mistrust was described as a good thing given that it might lead people to be more involved and attentive to what is happening in an association. Mistrust also could lead its members to keep systems of accountability that necessitated transparent explanations about how things were being done and how the money was being spent. For this member, mistrust underlies all of these procedures. However, except for this particular participant, members perceived mistrust as something negative and many women did not want to join the association due to extensive mistrust in the community (regarding money and resources). Other reasons mentioned to explain why some women hesitated to join included

perceptions that women in the town are conformist, that is, they are happy with what they have and do not want to change. Additionally, participants spoke about how other women who have not joined are pessimistic and think that the association will not accomplish anything.

In terms of other challenges the association could face, participants mentioned selfishness and arrogance of participants. They described these women as "know-it-alls", as women who think they know how to knit better than the rest and therefore want to knit alone. Consequently, these women have not wanted to join the knitting association. They said these women do not want to teach others because they are selfish and fear that if they teach others, those they teach will be more successful. Women participants also spoke about envy among women, those who do not want others to progress and who put obstacles along their way to see them fail. They spoke about this envy in very general terms, saying that "some women" are envious and not specifying who these women were or if they were part of the association.

Some suggested that leaders of associations, and of groups in general, should not be bossy. An ideal leader should be strong and know how to guide others without bossing or abusing others. Leaders must also be understanding. Connected to this idea of bossy leaders are women participants' descriptions of women from SL. Although they did not discuss this in the workshops, in individual conversations the women participants recalled how women in SL were aggressive and bossy, and sometimes even worse than men given that they were more authoritarian and ruthless. These experiences during the armed conflict, particularly vis-à-vis SL leaders, may have had an influence on some of these women's ideas about leadership in the town today. Other members of the town with whom I spoke also mentioned how there are fewer people now who want to step up and assume leadership positions in the town compared to before the armed conflict. They believe many people prefer to not show leadership because they fear being accused of having been part of SL. This fear has been

identified by other researchers working in Andean communities after the war (CVR, 2003, Gonzalez, 2011; Theidon, 2012).

The previous example about leadership suggests one of the ways that previous conflictive town dynamics have had an effect on the formation of the women's knitting association. A similar dynamic took place vis-à-vis rumors and gossip. Women participants mentioned how associations are sites in which people talk poorly about each other behind each other's backs. Some have seen people in associations spreading rumors about each other and then splitting up, and they fear it will happen in their association as well. When they spoke about rumors and gossip, they were very unspecific about who they were referring to and spoke about "some people" being gossips. However, they did not seem to be critical toward themselves or the association regarding this issue. These comments around rumors and gossip echo the idea that many participants hold about women more generally. During several of the participatory exercises, individual interviews, and informal conversations, participants reported that most women are gossips, especially those who are not working. They described how women sitting in the street are gossiping and spreading rumors about others' lives. This idea is further reinforced by men in the community who accuse women of being gossips. These two examples of beliefs or generalizations—about leaders and gossips—reveal how the tense and conflictive relational dynamics that are part of the community's ways of being have permeated the development of some of the anxieties surrounding the women's knitting association.

Third Story: The Post-Conflict Relationship of the Community With a Distant Peruvian State

Interfacing with the Peruvian State (see Figure 5): *the Peruvian State* establishes a relationship, and makes and sustains a presence in the *community's life* mainly through three different mechanisms: *social programs*, *development* projects, and *reparations* processes.

However, the unfolding of and experiences through these three mechanisms through which the state tries to make itself present are quite different.

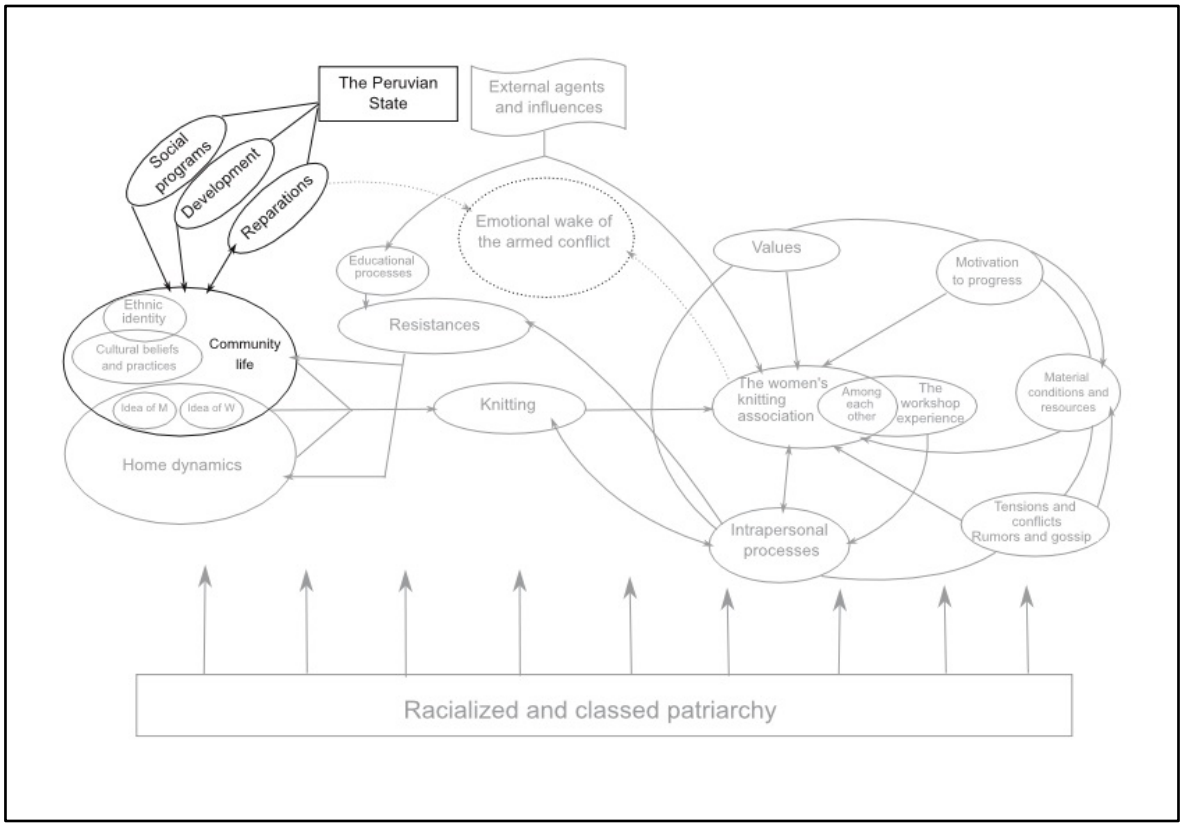

Figure 5. Interfacing with the Peruvian State

Participants expressed several different understandings of development and the state's role the state therein. They described projects involving the construction of local infrastructure, to improve water and electricity provision. They also emphasized the importance of newly paved roads that connected them with neighboring urban centers, which they could now access faster than when the roads were dirt. The importance given to "being connected" suggests that Andean women, and Andean communities in general, feel distant and disconnected from more distant or powerful sectors of Peruvian society. Participants also noted that infrastructure projects bring development because they hire more townspeople in paid jobs and because workers from beyond the community consume local goods in their town. Development is related to both commerce and business. Participants described the town's shops, the local market, and the weekly fair (or farmers' market, in western countries)

as another dimension of development. Improvements to campesino activities, including enhanced processes for cattle rearing and field cultivation were also included in their conceptions of development. Implicit in the women's discourse is the underlying assumption that development is brought from outside of their community, mostly by the state. Despite that, these women recognized that not all such projects will actually contribute to the community's development. They noted, for example the state's collusion with companies that promise development but actually take their natural resources (e.g., water) and direct or sell them to consumers beyond the community.

Women participants identify the Peruvian State's presence in municipal development projects. They described the municipality's management of some projects, such as the local fair. They also noted more contact between local government authorities and the town's members than between the state and the local community. They saw the latter as evidence of local authorities' efforts to respond to the community's needs. On the other hand, there were development projects in which the women did not feel a close presence of the state. These are mostly larger infrastructure or construction projects that involved temporary workers coming into the area. It is important to mention that the projects that women participants described—those involving roads or other infrastructure—typically directed and managed by the central Peruvian government, through the ministry of transportation and/or the ministry of housing, both of which have very limited presence in these rural areas, even in provincial capitals such as Huancasancos.

The participants also saw the Peruvian State establishing a relationship with the community through social service programs, including, for example, welfare programs. In some of these programs, goods, such as money and food, are distributed to those who fall below the poverty line (MIDIS, 2017). In others, child care is provided to facilitate parents' work outside their homes. The state also provides assistance to "vulnerable populations"—

namely women and children—through the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable populations. One of the offices of this ministry provides social services to assist cases of family violence through Women Emergency Centers or CEMs (the acronym comes from Centros de Emergencia Mujer, the name of the centers in Spanish). Although CEM is a service managed centrally from Lima by the Ministry of Women, it has local offices all over the country, such as the one in Huancasancos. Additionally, these local municipalities have local offices that coordinate the protection of children's and adolescents' rights (i.e., DEMUNA). These two services (DEMUNA and CEM) were not identified by the participants as social programs possibly because they focus on problems about which the women were hesitant to speak or identify as their own (i.e., sexual violence, child abuse) rather than the proactive or preventative provision of tangible, material resources. I will return to these social services in more depth in the fourth story; here I focus exclusively on the welfare-related social programs described above.

The participants were not very satisfied with how the delivery of these social programs in the community. Some felt that the state was giving money or goods to women, children and the elderly without requiring anything from them, a process they felt contributed to recipients becoming lazy and/or dependent on the state. Given the collective nature of most of the data, it is difficult to differentiate whether or not the women who put forward these ideas were among those in the workshop that directly benefited from them. One of the latter women expressed that other women in the town criticized her for receiving money from a social program, saying that she should not receive it because she has a job. Another woman shared that she was a beneficiary in my individual interview with her. However, beyond these two women, the other participants never clearly described themselves as recipients of these social programs. Despite this lack of clarity, what is evident is that some women in the group felt that bringing an economic or social resource into their community that was available to

only some of its members has the potential of creating conflicts given the poverty experienced by so many people in this town. This was particularly relevant given that the state did not have a close supervisory presence of the programs. The previously mentioned valuing of hard work by participants may also explain these harsh criticisms of social programs perceived by some to be handouts from the state.

Women participants expressed that they did not feel a close presence of the state through the social programs it implemented locally. Rather, these programs seemed to reinforce their perceived distance between their community and the state. Both the PAR participants and the key informants spoke of the state's funding of these local programs and of its failure to provide adequate oversight. They described these programs as handouts from the state and noted that the people who benefited from these programs were those with greatest material need.

Reparations is the third vehicle through which the women noted the Peruvian State's relationship to their local community. The Peruvian State, through the High Level Multisectorial Commission, or CMAN, is responsible for delivering reparations to all the individuals and communities who qualify as victims of the armed conflict. However, since 2007, the CMAN, in its attempt to promote decentralization, has been transferring the management of collective reparation projects, including the management of funds, to local governments. The CMAN continues to provide some technical guidelines to local governments and to consult locally about the conduct of projects. However, the CMAN is understaffed in most regions of the country and therefore cannot thoroughly oversee the collective reparations projects' implementation. There is some evidence that this transfer of collective reparations projects has contributed to some local governments using these funds for their own political purposes (Correa, 2013).

In Huancasancos, the local government's implementation of collective reparation projects is coordinated with the comunidad campesina, a local organism that includes all community members and has a board that oversees its operations. The PAR participants reported that this institution has had a voice in deciding what types of projects were to be developed within the collective reparations initiatives. Furthermore, PAR participants saw the entire community as having had some input into the collective reparations processes through the campesino community's open assemblies in at least one of which collective reparations were discussed.

Women participants perceive collective reparations as closely connected to work. For them, collective reparations should provide a means through which people can engage in some form of productive, that is, income generating activity. They mentioned a variety of work-related activities, such as making toys, making dresses, baking cakes, sowing in the field, among others. It is possible that this tie between reparations and productive labor is grounded in the significance of work for Andean campesinos. For Andean people, work gives them value in their social world; being hardworking is a virtue. Through work, Andean people can contribute to their community and fulfil their responsibility as members (Zoomers, 2006). In their reflections on reparations, PAR participants noted differences between collective reparations and development projects, with the former having been given to the community due to the violence they had endured. Although this difference seemed conceptually clear, some women in the community found it difficult to differentiate particular local reparation projects from local development projects given their apparent similarities. Below (see Image 3) I present a collage completed by PAR participants in response to a request that they represent reparations.

Image 3. Collage representing reparations

Despite not having access locally to magazines or newspapers that reflect Andean life as described herein and being forced to use resources from the dominant media that homogenize all Peruvians as white and upper middle class, these Andean participants developed a collage that alongside the group discussion that followed its presentation elucidates the confusion between collective reparations and development mentioned above. Participants represented reparations through a variety of work related activities, including

activities that involve producing goods to sell to a broader market. Their discussion confirmed their understanding and experiences that progress and development are grounded in a capitalist economy and consumerism and they extended this analysis to include post-conflict repair. This suggests a blurring of distinctions between development and reparation projects, a blurring that casts doubt on how the state's purposes for collective reparation are actualized, and on what local community members actually seek to repair.

As mentioned above, in this town, the comunidad campesina seemed to have had freedom to decide what projects they would implement with funds and who would benefit from the projects initiated as collective reparations. The community may experience this freedom as distant from, or in the absence of, the state. When speaking about reparations in the workshops, some PAR participants barely mentioned the state. The state was mentioned and described as distant in my individual interviews with both women and community-based key informants. They spoke about how a state official from the CMAN came to the inauguration of the first reparation project. However, after that event the state's involvement with the collective reparation processes was limited to sending the funds to the local government. Participants also associated the state's absence in the collective reparations process with the failure of many of these processes. Some participants noted the freedom their own and neighboring communities experienced,in the use of these funds. They suggested that this meant that some communities implemented projects in areas about which they had little knowledge or previous experience. For participants, this further exacerbated their sense of an "absent state" that provided little to no guidance and thus contributed to the failure of multiple local collective reparation projects.

Participants also identified a distant relationship with the state vis-à-vis individual reparation processes. Their understanding of the process confirmed this distance. They noted that documents for a victim's application were sent to Lima where a decision was made as to

the victim's qualifications as a victim. The central government would then "send the money from Lima" to those who qualified as victims.

Participants' references to the state focused on the central, not the local, government. This way of referring to the state suggests that participants distinguish between the local government or municipality and the central government vis-à-vis their understand of the state. This reflects the persistent centralization of the Peruvian State in Lima, a spatial reality which sustains a weak connection between the central and local governments. The perception of the closeness or distance of the state depends neither on its governance over projects (either reparation or development) nor on the project's content. It depends, rather, on the state's capacity for sustaining a constant dialogue and involvement with the community as these projects unfolded. It is notable that Alberto Fujimori was one of the only past presidents many women participants seemed to remember as being "more present". Although the participants' opinions of him varied significantly, many of them described remembering his physical presence in the community during a visit.

The armed conflict and the transitional justice processes that took place in this town in the post-conflict period were difficult topics to address with the workshop participants. It is likely that their discomfort reflected the divisiveness that still exists around these topics in the community (Gonzalez, 2011). Participants did speak more freely in individual interviews about their feelings vis-à-vis transitional justice processes, including the truth commission and reparations processes, and most expressed distress, anger, and disappointment. Although the Peruvian reparation law states that any person who has been part of an armed insurgent group cannot also be considered a victim of the armed conflict (Registry of Victims, n.d.), many of the women participants spoke of knowing townspeople who had spoken to the truth commission despite being members of SL or their close family members (i.e., sons, daughters, spouses). The women narrated how other members of the community did not

come forward to declare to the TC because they feared the potential retaliation by members of SL who, at that time, were still present in the town. They explained that, because of this, the TC has collected an incomplete and even incorrect story of what happened in their town. Similarly, because townspeople saw the TC as representing the state, they feared giving declarations about events that had involved members of the armed forces. They were worried that if the state were to publish that information the former armed forces member would retaliate.

The women participants explained that a similar dynamic of fear was generated by the victim registration and individual reparations processes. Participants recalled how several town members chose to not register as victims because they were still afraid, and that among many of those who had registered there were people who were with SL. However, this position is contested by some who stated that none of the members of SL were registered as victims. Given the silence and secrecy around stories of the conflict in Andean communities, it is difficult to determine whether or not former members of SL went to speak to the TC or if they registered as victims to receive reparations. However, the participants perceptions of what has happened reveal the controversy and divisiveness that the truth commission and reparations process generated and/or fostered in this community. This divisiveness has been observed in other affected Andean communities as well (Gonzalez, 2011).

Women spoke of additional reasons why people did not register as victims and consequently did not receive reparations. They mentioned how some victims lacked information about the process, and how others did not possess the resources, documents, or time that the victim registration process required. Some women also mentioned that those who were able to register more easily were able to do so because they knew a local authority. All these stories strongly contrast with the information put forward by state officials who explained the many simplified processes that had been put into place to facilitate the victim

registry and reparations processes. These two dissonant experiences provide additional evidence of the distance between the information the state had developed and what the people on the ground actually knew about these transitional justice processes, perhaps reflecting the state's ignorance or lack of knowledge about its rural and Andean citizens and how they communicate and/or understand such processes.

Collective reparation projects have also created a difference of opinion in the community regarding who should benefit from them. There are groups of people who have moved to Huancasancos from neighboring communities since the conflict ended. Thus, some town members who had been in Huancasancos during the conflict believe these newcomers should not benefit from collective reparations, if possible. Others, on the other hand, believe they do deserve to benefit, regardless of whether or not they were present during the conflict. Here, the issue of who should receive reparations, and why, is once again at the center of community disagreements or conflicts (Moffett, 2016).

Finally, another great source of disappointment for participants was the amount of money granted in the reparations process both for individual and collective reparations. Several participants expressed that the amount for the individual reparations (approximately US $3,000) was too low and that it was offensive. One participant even mentioned that they knew that much more money was granted to family members of victims of emblematic cases, such as Barrios Altos and La Cantuta.[3] They interpreted this as the state valuing the lives of people from Lima more than the lives of Andean campesinos. Despite considering the reparations amount too low, participants mentioned that victims accepted them because of their needs. However, they also noted that the state had taken advantage of this desperation.

[3] Barrios Altos and La Cantuta are two massacres and emblematic cases investigated by the TC. The Grupo Colina death squad killed 16 people in Barrios Altos in 1991 and 9 in La Cantuta in 1992. The Peruvian Attorney General's office considered these crimes against humanity, and prosecuted and convicted former president Alberto Fujimori for them.

Fourth Story: Resisting Ongoing Racialized and Classed Patriarchy

Experiencing and resisting racialized and classed patriarchy (see Figure 6): *Racialized and classed patriarchy* and the violence it generates is a structural reality in this community and permeates multiple aspects of women's lives. It was particularly evident in how participants spoke about its effects on their *intrapersonal processes* as well as their *home dynamics* and their *community life*. Nevertheless, women exhibited ways in which they were seeking to resist this violence, noting that education was a key element in this *resistance*. *Educational processes* are perceived as primarily fostered and facilitated by *external agents.* These teachers, working at local schools, or other professionals working for the state, NGOs, or in the private sector, provide trainings in particular skills. These *educational processes* provide women additional tools and resources to engage in *intrapersonal processes* or changes that facilitate their *resistance* to racialized classed patriarchy. Their *resistance* is exercised in the home and in the community, women's most immediate environments and where they feel the effects of violence more closely.

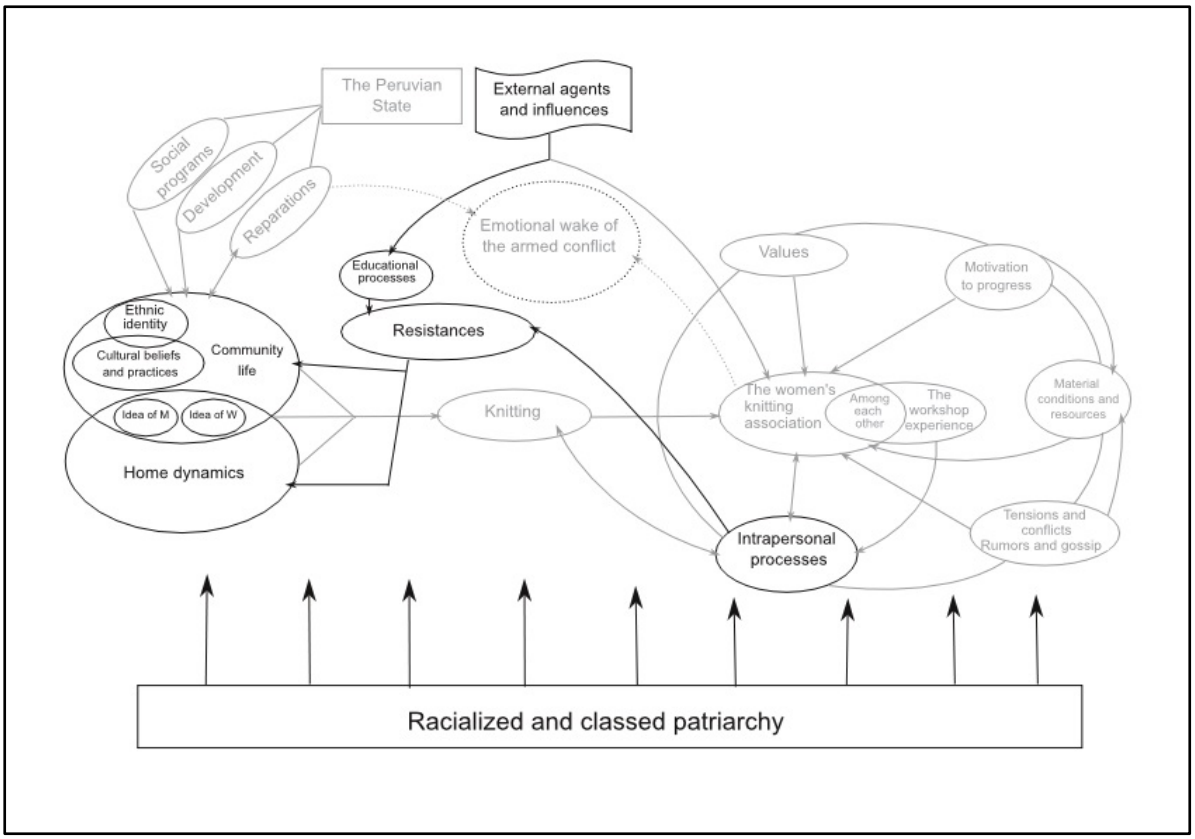

Figure 6: Experiencing and resisting racialized and classed patriarchy

Andean women experience many immediate difficulties and challenges in their daily lives that unfold in the context of a broader patriarchal system that is well established in Peruvian society. Patriarchal dynamics, or "machismo," as the participants referred to it, infiltrates most aspects of Andean women's lives and is experienced as interfacing with other forms of marginalization. They noted, for example, its close association with their experiences of ethnic discrimination. These two forms of marginalization usually happened to them simultaneously, and consequently, they experienced them as one and the same. In the model, I use the term *Racialized and classed patriarchy* because, although women participants experience machismo and ethnic discrimination as deeply interconnected, the gendered aspect of this experience seemed to be more salient to them.

One of the areas of life in which women noted the effects of machismo most closely was in their home and family dynamics. In this regard, women spoke of the many forms of

abuse women in the town still experience at the hands of their husbands. Although, they recognized that physical violence had decreased in the town in recent years, women participants mentioned that some men still physically abuse their wives inside their homes. They also described in detail forms of what could be called psychological abuse: men treating their wives with disdain, yelling at them, and bossing them around. Women saw these as ways in which some men exercised control over their wives: they controlled where they were, how they dressed, to whom they talked. They described these men as jealous and controlling. The story below was created by the women participants to communicate an experience of machismo. In it we can observe some of these forms of control.

The "machista" man

Once upon a time there was a man called Conquistador (conqueror in Spanish) who left every morning to go to work and came back drunk and demanded food from his wife called Trabajo (work in Spanish). Ms. Trabajo, after seeing her husband Conquistador's attitude and seeing her children cry because they did not have anything to eat, decided to go work. When the husband Conquistador came back, he did not find his wife home, he got angry and started complaining because she had not cooked. Ms. Trabajo already had some money, so she cooked early and fed her children, so when he came back to the house he found the pot empty. At a certain point Mr. Conquistador no longer comes back to the house and Ms. Trabajo lives happy in her home.

Text vignette 1: Collective story to express experience of machismo

Women participants find men's economic control particularly harmful. They described how some men in the town still control their wives economically by not allowing them to work outside the home or to have or control their own income. Men are the only breadwinners, and women's dependence is reflected in their need to ask for money from their

husbands. Men try to confine women to the house and are upset if women want to work or to get involved regularly in any activity outside the house or pursue work in the fields. One participant vocally described how men in the town say: "*Warmiqa wasinpi,*" which in Quechua means "To the house woman!" Thus, most (if not all) of the domestic chores fall to women, including child rearing. Women participants described child rearing as a particularly limiting activity. They narrated how, when a child is born, women's lives change completely; they no longer have time to do anything other than take care of their children. Women mentioned that children "cut off their hands," expressing how their hands no longer belong to them; they are all for their children and their family.

Women participants described motherhood and becoming pregnant as something that interrupts the life plans of many young townswomen. Their descriptions suggest that they perceive motherhood as out of women's control. They described how many young girls become pregnant while they are still in high school or pursuing higher education. Some then interrupt their studies to resume them later, but most drop out of school. Men on the other hand, in many occasions, do not assume responsibility for the pregnancy, and even if they do, having a child is not something that will limit their work or study plans. This idea about men not being bound to their children in the same way as women are is expressed through a widely known saying in the town: Men always fall on their feet. These descriptions of women's being pushed toward domestic life and lacking control over their reproduction reveal how control over women's reproductive life contributes to their being controlled economically (Radcliffe, 2015).

Some women's families contribute to pushing them toward the home and away from studying. Women participants noted that some parents ask their daughters to stop studying at some point in high school because they think their daughters are wasting time and money since they are going to get pregnant anyway. Furthermore, when these young women have

children, their own families pressure them to stay at home and discourage them from working.

The challenges women have in not being able to leave their homes affect their capacity to work together with other women and to organize. Consequently, this affects women's capacity to join the association in the town. As mentioned previously, some men do not want their wives leaving the house, let alone getting together with other women in an association. Women participants mentioned that because of men's resistance to women's engagement with other women, many women prefer to stay home and not come to the association's meetings; they do not want to upset their husbands. Others do come, but they cannot concentrate on what they are doing, because they are thinking about how they have to run back to their home and complete their chores. Furthermore, women participants commented on how men discourage women from going to meetings (such as the meetings of the association) by saying that women only go to meetings to gossip. These men also say that women are wasting their time, and they will accomplish nothing by organizing.

Patriarchal dynamics can be considered in many ways as a two-way street. It is clear that men in the town are not exclusively responsible for sustaining forms of machismo. Women's ideas about men and about other women contribute to the patriarchal dynamics described here. Evidence to support this idea comes from what some participants reported when asked about their perceptions of gender roles. They felt that it was in women's nature to care for their children, and that it was very hard for men to do it. Women also spoke about house chores as if they were a woman's duty. They explained that women have many things to do, but that they have to find a way to do them all. Furthermore, some women participants (especially the ones over 50-years-old) emphasized how it was a woman's responsibility to also serve others at home. These older participants expressed several value-related ideas about how a woman "must be." They mentioned that a woman must be strong and support

her husband and children in the face of adversity because she is the "cornerstone of the home." Additionally, she has to provide this support and strength in a caring and understanding way. Thus, one can see how these women set very high expectations for themselves and lower expectations for their husbands in terms of what each has to be able to do and be in the world (Forstner, 2013).

Participants' ideas around women, men, and family are also reflected in their reactions to laws as well as state institutions and services that promote and protect women's rights (e.g., CEM, DEMUNA). Since the early 1990's, the Peruvian State has signed onto treaties that seek to protect women's rights (e.g., World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995, Inter American Convention of Belem do Para, 1995). Consequently, it has been progressively creating institutions and putting in place mechanisms to protect these rights. Whether or not these mechanisms are successful is beyond the scope of this research. However, what is relevant is how these institutions are perceived as generating changes in partner and family dynamics at the local level as well as how women are responding to these changes. Many of the participants expressed strong criticisms of these institutions and services, asserting that they saw them as threatening marriages. They expressed anger and sadness when describing how couples were being quickly separated, sometimes without discussing things more thoroughly. Other participants described women who took advantage of laws that favor them, using them in negative ways. They noted that some women do not want to fulfill their household responsibilities and have become lazy. They talk back when their husbands ask them to do their house chores, threatening to report them. Some even mentioned that some women are in the streets, doing nothing, all day.

In a way, these reactions toward laws, institutions, and services that protect women's rights, and toward the women who draw on them as resources, may reflect antagonisms among local townswomen. Some judge harshly those women who challenge what they

perceived to be the community's more traditional social norms and expectations about women and married life and believe they should not do so. Similarly, these reactions toward women's rights may also reflect a certain ambivalence in the participants' attitudes toward women's roles vis-à-vis the public and private spheres. On the one hand, they speak about how women need to get out of their homes to work and organize in order to become independent. On the other hand, they feel it is wrong for women to abandon their home responsibilities and challenge their husbands' authority. The ways through which these laws and institutions have been introduced into the town may have generated some women's feelings that a certain family balance or order has been ruptured. However, these gender-oriented state services are usually underfunded and external professionals working in them may lack needed skills and resources to implement them. Thus, it is possible that these Andean women felt that the services did not respond to their needs due to the cultural difference between them and the providers, or because the providers treated them in a paternalistic and disdainful manner (Boesten, 2010). It is worth thinking about how laws, institutions, and services that seek to address gender issues and, more specifically, violence against women, can enter and work within rural communities in ways that do not feel overly disruptive and that also acknowledge and incorporate the community's worldview without falling into a cultural relativist standpoint that completely neglects women's well-being and autonomy.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, women participants experience gender and ethnic discrimination as processes that are closely intertwined. Women participants described several cases of discrimination against those in the town who were seen as poorer and having fewer resources. Participants narrated how those in the town who have better economic situations treat those who do not with contempt. This form of discrimination is intensified when it is a woman in a lower economic situation, and discrimination comes from

women and men alike. Discrimination toward Andean campesinas is deeply rooted in their lower levels of formal education. Women participants mentioned that many of the older women in the town have not gone to school, and thus, sometimes cannot express themselves well. They described how these women are treated as ignorant by others who do not take them seriously and who treat them in patronizing ways. Sometimes this patronizing and childish treatment also comes from husbands who ask their wives to keep quiet in social situations to not embarrass them. Women participants mentioned how these women are called "*polleronitas*" (in relation to the name of traditional Andean women's skirt, called *pollera*) and how others make fun of them when they cannot express themselves correctly in Spanish. Given that education in Peru is still conducted exclusively in Spanish (although this has been progressively changing in the past decade) not knowing how to speak Spanish well is a sign of your lack of education. Noticing others' mockery, many campesina women feel embarrassed and decide to not participate in order to avoid others' scorn.

Women participants spoke about how campesina women in the town internalize the damage caused by gender and ethnic discrimination. The way others treat them renders campesina women shy and inhibited. They develop self-doubts and worry about not being able to do or saying something correctly. Some women participants even noted that campesinas have many ideas and want to speak but they hold back. One mentioned: "That is why campesina women are inhibited. Even when they are thinking something, they keep quiet. They are there, in their hearts, with their thoughts and ideas. They cannot speak." This participant described her inhibition as a holding back, as feeling and thinking but not expressing. It is interesting to think about the possible psychological implications of burying things inside oneself, of not expressing feelings and thoughts despite having them.

Although racialized and classed patriarchy seems to have a powerful and deleterious effect on several areas of Andean women's lives, women participants also described forms of

their resistance, explaining how many of these forms are connected to education. They emphasized the importance of formal education for townswomen, clarifying that they thereby become more valued in the community and that they also feel more valuable. They described how, through education, women can think differently, learn new things, and receive information of which they were not aware. Having all this new information can help them "awaken" from their own reality and think about alternatives to oppressive situations. Participants spoke about how education exposes women to different life options, options that go beyond the home and the community.

Women participants narrated stories of women from the town who have thrived by leaving the town and studying beyond its borders. Since there is only one higher education institute in Huacasancos and no universities or colleges most wanting a college education must go to a neighboring city. Women participants had many examples of women who had left the town to study. Some of them have since come back; others have not. They mentioned how those women who come back bring with them new ideas and experiences from the outside. This underscores a very salient idea for these women: higher education is brought into the community from the outside.

When women participants spoke about education it was always described as having been brought by someone from the outside, usually professionals. They mentioned as examples not only school teachers at the local schools, but also NGO or government workers who provide trainings and talks. These women perceive any experience that involves receiving information coming from the outside, from the cities, as potentially educational. It is important to consider here the implications this has in terms of the value conferred on local knowledge as compared to western knowledge, especially having in mind the colonial history of Peru and the role Spanish language and formal education has played in it (Garcia, 2005).

For the women participants, support for or forms of resistance do not come exclusively from education. Resistance also requires the internal decision and determination of each woman. They described how change starts inside of themselves, from the moment they realize that they can do the same things as men and as others more generally. Nonetheless, this does not mean that others cannot have an influence over this decision to change and (as many described) "wake [you] up." Talking to other women can help women decide to make changes in their lives in order to resist forms of machismo and ethnic discrimination.

In terms of these changes, the immediate place where women see resistance taking place is in the home and in the community, and in the particular dynamics that take place there. They spoke some of these changes, about shifts reflected in women's current perceptions that they have the right to work with their own hands. Others spoke about being able to make economic transactions on their own, such as selling cattle; their husbands do not always have to be the one to do these things. They mentioned how women in the town are hardworking but that they do not see the "fruit of the efforts." They underscored that with determination and more education they had greater chances of changing their situation.

We have seen in this section how, despite the fact that racialized classed patriarchy is a system that operates at a structural level, its pervasive effects are felt daily and in many aspects of Andean women's lives. In each of these situations there is constant tension and interplay between forms of violence and domination and possible strategies to resist them.

Fifth Story: The Emotional Wake of the Armed Conflict

Dealing with the emotional legacy of the armed conflict (see Figure 7): the *emotional wake of the armed conflict* is still very present in this town. Nevertheless, this emotional wake is not discussed openly, neither by the women participants nor by other townspeople. These emotions remained untouched and thus, unchanged, despite the years that have passed

since the conflict occurred. They are in some way frozen in time and unaffected by the other processes that are taking place in this town. It is not clear that the *reparations* processes that have taken place in this town have affected these emotions nor is it clear that other processes that bring people together, such as *the women's knitting association*, could have an effect on them.

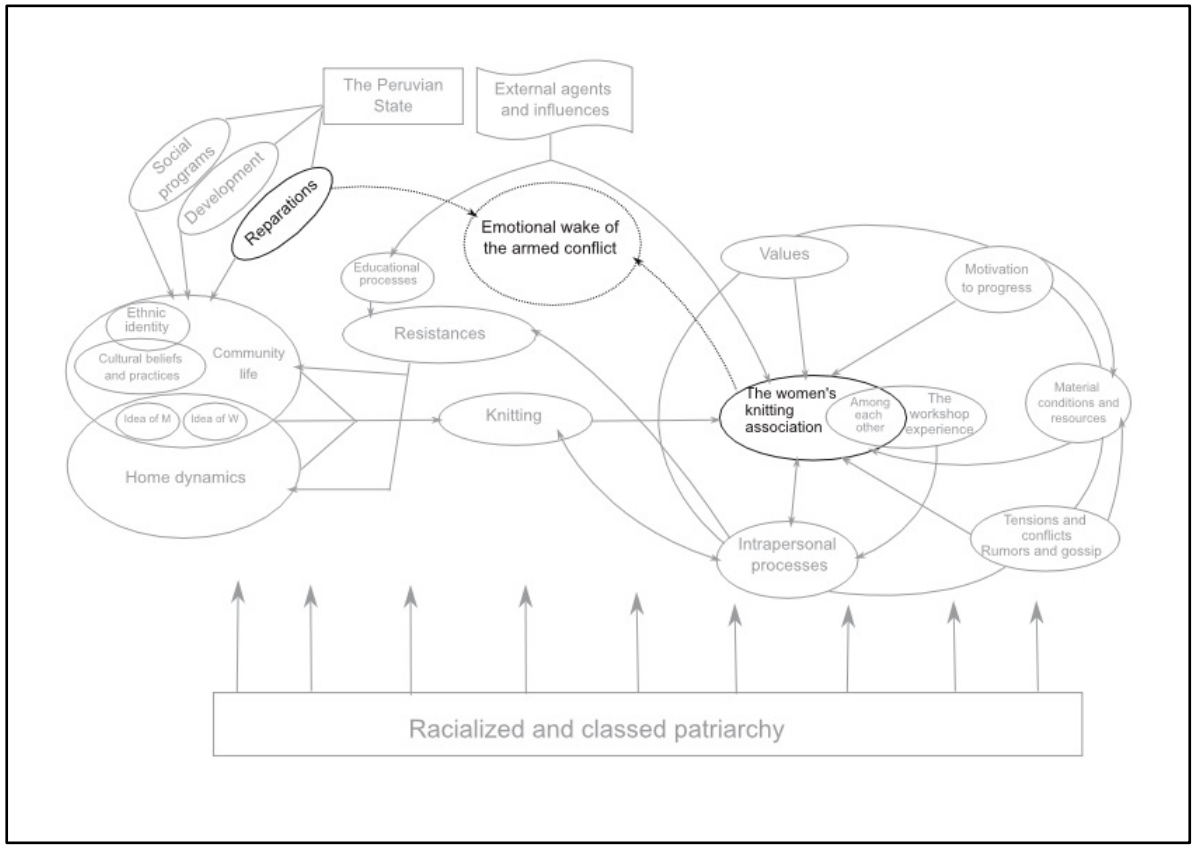

Figure 7: Dealing with the emotional legacy of the armed conflict

As mentioned earlier, it was difficult for the participants to speak in collective spaces about the armed conflict and the feelings that it brought up for them. However, many of them were willing to share, and felt more comfortable doing so, in one-on-one conversations. When speaking about the conflict, these women participants—mostly the older ones—vividly remembered the killings that occurred with SL. Some participants mentioned clearly that many townspeople joined SL's ranks while others shied away from affirming this. How many

and who actually joined SL continues to be debated. What is clear are the memories of the bloody confrontations some participants witnessed.

Sexual violence has been extensively documented in the Peruvian armed conflict. Also well documented is how difficult it is for women to talk about it. In this PAR process only one women spoke explicitly of experiences of sexual violence that had occurred in the town. She described how the soldiers barged into houses and raped women while their family members could not do anything and had to stand aside silently witnessing the horrors. She explained that although everyone knew this was happening, no one could report it because there was no one to whom to report it. After the conflict ended, it remained unreported because the survivor could barely remember the face or the name of who raped her, and she did not believe it would bring her or her family any justice.

It seems that some of those who were in SL are still present in the town. Many of the participants spoke of how "they see them walking" in the town. This expression seems to highlight the freedom they see these alleged members of SL enjoying, a freedom that many townspeople seem to think they do not deserve. Indeed women participants described these people as being part of the community's daily life, some of them they see on daily or weekly bases. Understandably enough in this context, many townspeople have difficulty talking about the conflict. Participants expressed how many in the town fear talking about the conflict, because they do not want to be accused of being part of SL. Others have learned to keep quiet and to not accuse anyone of being part of SL, because they fear the possible repercussions. In this way it seems as if there is an implicit pact of silence in this town.

The Peruvian truth commission has extensively documented feelings of mistrust as one of the psychosocial effects of the armed conflict. Surprisingly enough, participants do not see mistrust as something evidently present among themselves as a result of the armed conflict. It seems that participants understand mistrust as something different than what was

described in the truth commission's report. For them mistrust (in Spanish "desconfianza") is a feeling that emerges when others take advantage of you, mostly in economic terms. They do perceive this form of mistrust as present in their community and believe it is an obstacle to organizing. However, for them mistrust does not emerge due to the fear of having been a victim of violence. Thus, they do not see it as connected to the armed conflict. Even when some did recognize that mistrust could be present due to the conflict, they mentioned that this mistrust did not necessarily interfere with their capacity to work with each other. Some participants explained that they know "who was who" and "who did what," and consequently they know with whom they can work. It is also possible for people in this town to feel that they can work and be with each other despite their mistrust, because they feel they do not have much of a choice. Sometimes close knit communities that have endured strong internal conflicts, cannot afford to constantly bring up these issues if they want to keep their lives moving roughly forward (Eastmond & Selimovic, 2012).

Other PAR participants expressed feeling great anger and resentment as a result of the armed conflict. They connected these feelings to still seeing people in the town who were involved with SL. They mentioned how it is difficult to shake those feelings off, and they spoke of how they drag the feelings with them. The reparations process also caused resentment and anger. As mentioned in the third process, "The post-conflict relationship of the community with a distant Peruvian State," women participants described not agreeing with, and even feeling angry about, how the reparations processes have unfolded. Some remember seeing those believed to be members of SL going to speak to the TC, and they believe that those former members of SL received individual reparations as a result of their testimony. Others mentioned how they believe that town leaders have benefited most from collective reparations, and that they even suspect that they mishandled funds designated for collective reparations projects. Other participants underscored how reparations are not for all,

and how they resent that. These participants described seeing how others in the town have received reparations and believe others have been able to advance in life because of that. Some women mentioned that some of their family members who were affected by the conflict did not get any reparations. In general, there is a feeling that all in the town lived through the conflict and are affected in one way or another. Furthermore, women participants mentioned how they defended the town and that they deserve reparations. In summary, we can see that feelings of anger and resentment due to the lack of perceived justice in the reparations process are prevalent in this community. Despite this, it was also clear that these feelings are rarely discussed openly among members of the community.

The feelings left by the armed conflict still persist in this community and with them persists a sense of being damaged. Many women participants described how feelings of anger and resentment have damaged them and are damaging them still today. Some participants used the words being sick or having "trauma" to refer to their present suffering. They notice the damage in the fear that still emerges when, for example, they are walking long distances alone. Other participants mentioned noticing the damage on those who lived through the conflict as children. One described how some of those children are now violent as adults.

It is well established in the transitional justice literature that reparations projects do not actually repair the emotional damage caused by armed conflicts (see Danieli, 1995; Hamber, 2006). Comments of the participants of this PAR process confirm this as well. Women participants clearly expressed in both the workshops and individual interviews that reparations do not heal the emotional damage caused by the conflict. Other participants said that if they were to heal, it would be because of their own emotional strength and not because of reparations. Regarding individual reparations, they expressed how "you will not heal just because the government gives you some money," and much less so if you have lost a family member.

Regarding individual reparations, their healing capacity left some doubts in some of the participants who mentioned that maybe they did heal a little. It is important to mention that none of the women who said this have received individual reparations. Therefore, it is possible that they think that individual reparations are having an effect on the lives of those who have received them. The idea of money having a positive effect on people's lives does not seem absurd. Along the same lines, some participants mentioned how the economic aspect of their lives is related to the social and emotional ones. For one participant, having a good economic situation is the base from which to solve other social problems. Another participant explained how having economic stability is not healing in and of itself but that it does help the healing process. She mentioned: "The economy does not heal, but it still supports us in some way, it supports our emotional stability. Otherwise we will be worried with our spirits low." Given these connections between having a stable economic situation and having social well-being and emotional stability, it is not surprising that some women in this town decided to put together an association with clear economic goals. Under this logic, an association seems like a reasonable way to face the challenges of these post-conflict times.

The healing effects of collective reparations also seem to be insignificant. Many participants noted that the collective reparations given to their neighborhoods had not had any effects on their lives. Interestingly, women participants did not clearly attend to the fact that the workshop space they were using for the knitting association was initially part of a collective reparation project given to the town. There were differences of opinions as to whether the space (and what was in it) was or was not part of a collective reparation project. This was a controversial topic in the group and some women were convinced that the workshop space was not part of collective reparations. Why some women categorically rejected benefitting from collective reparations is unclear. What seems clear is that it is a topic that brought up very visceral emotions within the group. In terms of the repairing

effects of the women's knitting association, only one women mentioned that the association could be repairing them a little because they are gathering, sharing, and learning things from each other. However, she did not clearly link this repair as a response to the harms caused by the armed conflict.

Memory and remembering is a complicated but relevant topic vis-à-vis emotions in the wake of armed conflicts. The pain they associate with remembering the past was remarkably clear in the participants' comments. Those who lived through the conflict clearly expressed how painful it is to remember and some spoke of how they still cry when they do. Because of this, most of them do not want to remember the armed conflict, and are strongly opposed to doing so. Very few women spoke of benefits of remembering. Openness to remembering the armed conflict can, of course, vary greatly depending on how one had been affected. Those with harsher memories of direct victimization may have more resistance to remembering. The town has few memory sites; the only public memorial is a religious cross in the cemetery that reads, "In memory of the fallen in the armed conflict." Beyond this, the only other object that could be described as a memory site is a large army helicopter that sits on a hill in the middle of the town. I have heard several stories of how the helicopter crashed in the town in 1992. The knowledge about memory and silence generated through this feminist PAR suggests that this helicopter may represents the ever present, although silenced, memories of the armed conflict.

Many participants expressed how they want to forget but cannot. They spoke of how forgetting seems impossible because the memories—and the emotions that surrounded them—always come back. Nevertheless, some participants expressed relief when mentioning that they perceived that some in the town had started to forget, seeming to be happy for those who could forget. They also mentioned how they will not be able to move on completely if

they do not forget. Despite this assertion, many saw forgetting as only possible for the younger generations who had not lived through the conflict memory and remembering .

The Workshop Process

I conclude the findings describing the relational processes that developed in the PAR workshops, both among the women participants and between the participants and me. As a reminder, there were nine months of workshops conducted between April and December, 2017. In each month, except the first (in which we only had a one hour introductory meeting), we held the workshop over two afternoons.

Relational processes took place in the PAR workshops in which the participants and I progressively got to know each other, adapting how we worked together and interacted within those emerging relationships. The goals with which I went into the workshops were different from those of the women participants, both as a collective and also as individuals. Thus, as the workshop activities unfolded, we implicitly negotiated several aspects, shifting some of our goals as we went. Power circulated between us and among them and was being negotiated in each workshop.

As the monthly workshops unfolded, the women participants became more familiarized with the participatory strategies within them. For some participants it seemed that this way of working was new. Consequently, it took them more time to respond and actively participate. Others jumped into the workshop activities with more ease. Although silences seem to have served different functions in the workshops, in these initial months of adaptation it was common to have silences in response to open questions to the group. I had to become accustomed to these silences and learn how to tolerate them without filling them immediately with another question or comment.

Women participants also had to adapt to the length and the structure of the workshops. As explained in the previous chapter, each workshop usually followed a structure

that started with an ice breaker, followed by two main activities (that involved creative or verbal techniques) and finished with a meal. During the first month, the women were unhappily surprised to discover that after one main activity I was expecting them to start another. Some even left after this first activity. Fortunately, after a couple of months they grew accustomed to us doing two activities, and I also became more thoughtful about how I would combine the two activities in order to not tire them. An option for me would have been to shorten the workshops and only conduct one main activity. However, I considered that this would compromise the data collection and, more importantly, the potential impact the workshops could have in terms of creating a space to collectively think about these issues and to provide as many resources as I could to collaborate with them in the development of their association. Therefore, instead of shortening the workshops, I noticed which activities were more tiresome for them and which were not, and I tried to combine them in a way that would create a dynamic balance that met the needs of most, if not all, participants.

During the workshops I also had to adapt the activities to allow the women to feel comfortable enough to participate. I learned that individual creative art activities, such as drawings, collages, and sculptures, were incredibly challenging for some women who felt very insecure. Despite my clarifications about the nature and the goals of the workshop activities, some women asked constantly if they were doing it correctly, who was doing better, and if I would give them a grade. Overall, I considered these individual insecurities to be an obstacle for the development of the PAR process. Thus, I opted for using more collective creative arts activities instead of individual ones. These seemed less threatening or anxiety producing for most women, eliciting greater participation.

Regardless of the type of activities we did, women always showed some resistance to participating, and some women did so more often than others. These resistances were expressed, for example, in their attempts to violate the guidelines or suggestions I had

established for an activity, for example, using words in a collective drawing when I suggested they should not. Interestingly, their engagement in such behaviors was child-like as they often hid their work from me and laughed. In a way, I felt as if they were placing me in a position of power only to then challenge this power. However, I also may have placed myself in this position as well by such guidelines as rules that could not be broken rather than as resources to facilitate participation. Other times I experiences their knitting as reflecting their resistance to participating. Although I did propose rubrics for each activity and we did have norms that we had agreed upon for the participatory workshops, including confidentiality, respect for others, etc., I never prohibited the women from knitting in the workshops. Most women brought what they were knitting to the workshops and started knitting from time to time when the activity allowed them to. Evidently there were activities that required them to put aside their knitting completely to fully participate. However, in group discussions they could knit while they talked. It seems that how much they were engaged or wanted to engage in these discussions was related to their knitting. Thus, if they were very engaged (either listening or speaking), they would put their knitting down, and if they were not, for whatever reason, they would focus more on their knitting. It seemed that they withdrew into their knitting if they wanted or needed to.

As can be seen, power was constantly negotiated through the workshops and was exercised by the participants and me in multiple and diverse ways. Another of these ways was through the women's use of Quechua. Many times during the workshops the women participants switched to Quechua. They mostly used Quechua to make jokes, sometimes about me, and also to complain about things in the workshop they did not like. It seemed that their use of Quechua partly had the intention of excluding me, or at least of giving me a secondary role and assuming more control over the process. This intention became evident when they said to each other, "be careful, the señorita understands Quechua." Although I

was taking Quechua classes during my fieldwork, I obviously did not speak it with the fluency the women did nor did I understand it completely. Thus, this gave the women the option of using Quechua without me being able to respond to or engage actively in their conversations. Their use of Quechua, on the one hand did make me feel excluded and lacking control over the situation. On the other hand, I also appreciated the freedom and self-confidence with which they made use of their native language. The opposite feelings that I experienced in these situations made me doubt how much time I should allocate for their talk in Quechua before I asked them to resume the workshop activities. I tried not be restrictive; however, I also wanted us to not get distracted from our task for too long and I clearly perceived their talk in Quechua as a "distraction" rather than as their delving more deeply into the process. These were definitely very challenging moments.

Power in the workshop was also negotiated through the food preparation process. From the start of the workshops, I told the women that I was providing a meal, in part because in Andean communities eating together is a way of bonding and showing appreciation for those to whom you offer food (Mitchell, 2006). During the first two months I hired someone from outside the association to prepare the food. However, by the third month one of the leaders of the association asked if they could do it themselves and I accepted. For that month's meeting she and two other women quickly organized and cooked something, and later during the workshop they asked the other participants if they were interested in continuing with the food preparation as a way to start making a small income for the association. Although, the income they made per each workshop (about US $25.00) may not seem like a substantial amount of money for many households, it was significant to them.

The food preparation process had several challenges from which the women and I drew some lessons. During the first few months, we asked for volunteers for next month's food committee at the end of each workshop. Many times, I facilitated this process. Toward

the end, getting volunteers became more challenging because most of the participants had already cooked once and did not want to cook again. Most of them said they did not have time. It was also challenging for some food committees to communicate in order to divide the tasks before, during, and after cooking. Other groups communicated more fluidly and split up the tasks easily. For those where communication was a problem, most of the work fell to one person. Also challenging were issues of mistrust that emerged around the food preparation and how the money was being handled. When I realized that some women were becoming wary about how that month's food committee was handling the money, I brought this up in the workshop and created an activity around it. As a result of this activity, the participants concluded that mistrust emerges if you do not have public accountability. Thus, from then on, at the end of each workshop the food committee shared information about costs, etc. with the other participants, ensuring a more transparent accountability process. Throughout the workshops they mostly maintained this practice and it seemed important for reducing mistrust among them.

From the beginning, the idea of the women participants cooking for the workshops seemed risky. I thought about the potential complications this could bring, mostly in terms of logistical disagreements and mistrust. However, I also recognized this was a way for the women to obtain an economic resource that I was bringing into the community and to assert more control over some aspect of our work together. Aware of the complications that an economic relationship can bring, I decided to allow the women participants to cook for the workshops. I decided this, partly because I feared that denying this to them would damage our relationship, but also because I could not be indifferent to their material needs and their desire to work together to overcome them. Power negotiations permeate PAR and the expectation is that power is shared and discussed throughout the process. Therefore, more important than who gets to assert power and how, is the discussion of the issues that are at

hand in these power negotiations and what these issues mean for the group and its members. The food preparation process created a space to discuss some important issues (regarding material resources, mistrust, team work, and local leadership) and to the best of my capacity I used that space to do so.

Finally, the relationships among the women participants evolved throughout the workshops and the PAR process. What I was able to observe in the participants' relationships was similar to what they described about themselves (see the second story). Women in the workshops shared an important amount of information about town activities, happenings, and about issues related to their daily lives. These types of informative comments were threaded throughout all of the workshops. Participants also shared their opinions about several topics in the workshops, sometimes engaging in lively discussions from different standpoints. In some occasions they questioned each other strongly and in others they agreed. In general, throughout the workshops the participants had a greater opportunity to interact with each other than they typically experience in the everyday, and these interactions seemed to have strengthened their relationships. Although possibly influenced by what they thought I wanted to hear, toward the end of the year, participants acknowledged that the workshops were beneficial for them. They recognized the continuing differences among members of the association and that there were many issues around which they would need to continue to work. However, they also mentioned how the workshops created a space for them that differed from others that they had had in the past, a space that allowed them to get to know each other more deeply and to feel a little closer.

Below is the collective drawing they made in the last meeting to represent their experiences of the workshop processes. They described that they are at the left of the drawing in a circle playing and doing an activity. I am the big figure at the center of the drawing. They mentioned I was facilitating the activity. The larger dimensions with which the women

participants represented me suggest that they perceived me to be central to these workshops, perhaps even "larger than local life," that is, than themselves. This centrality given to the outsider researcher, in this case me, is similar with that which was mentioned earlier about the influence and dependency of external agents for creating resistance and change (see also Lykes & Crosby, 2015b). As PAR researchers we need to be very aware of how we may be reproducing dependency and what this means for communities' exercise of power within and beyond the PAR process. It is our responsibility to unpack and counter this dependency and concentration of power if we want communities to be able to create and engage the power within themselves and their communities in order to transform their lives.

Image 4: Collective drawing representing the experience of the workshop process

Discussion

This feminist PAR project documented and analyzed some of the many processes that unfolded in the wake of the decision by a group of Andean women in the town of Huancasancos to come together and form a women's knitting association and allow me to accompany them. These women sought to address the material conditions of poverty in the town and to engage multiple expressions of racialized classed patriarchy, or in Andean women's words, machismo, in a post-conflict context. The research confirms that these two aspects of Andean women's experiences, poverty and machismo, are interconnected and reinforce each other. In this first section of the discussion I analyze the research findings reported above vis-à-vis Andean women's prioritizing of these experiences and suggest some of the multiple connections evidenced in the feminist PAR process.

Organizing to Face Material Needs and Machismo

Prioritizing a response to one's material reality. The Andean women who came together in this association prioritized addressing their material needs and developing resources that would contribute to alleviating their poverty. Scholars working with indigenous communities affected by armed conflicts (e.g., Women of Photovoice/ADMI & Lykes, 2000), and with indigenous communities more generally (e.g., Quiroga & Paulizzi, 2011; Radclife, 2015), confirm that despite experiencing multiple forms of oppression, including violence, indigenous women identified redressing material poverty as one of their most salient challenges, one that they felt needed to be addressed urgently. The importance Andean women give to addressing poverty may seem evident given the characteristics of their material reality which were previously described. Moreover, Andean women, and indigenous groups in general, rarely feel that interventions brought by outside professionals respond to these material needs. In a study conducted by Radclife and colleagues (2003) with Andean women in Ecuador, a community leader mentioned, "Development experts talk about

our right to health, to mental well-being. But how are we going to have this if we're worried about sending our kids to school without lunch" (pp. 391). This comment reflects the disconnect that frequently occurs between mental health and/or social science professionals who are mostly focused on the social and emotional aspects of people's experience and the actual needs expressed and perceived as priorities by the people with whom we are working. This occurs at least in part because the professionals with particular disciplinary expertise who choose to work with these populations are trained in theoretical models and interventions that focus on social and emotional experiences. However, if we are seeking to have a significant impact on people's lives, and to engage in work driven by their articulated needs, we are challenged to identify alternative models that more directly engage their lived experiences as they themselves prioritize them.

In this research, Andean women focused on and prioritized their material needs and they asked outsider professionals (such as myself) to focus on these needs as well. Participants from this research underscored, both in group spaces and individual interviews, that one of their priorities, and what brought them together in the association, was to generate an income so that they could provide themselves an opportunity to makes ends meet. Focusing, and requesting others to focus, on their material needs can be interpreted as a form of agency, as an attempt to address and seek to change their unsatisfactory reality and draw on the resources they have at hand to do so (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). Andean women in this town observed and analyzed their present reality and realized that to overcome poverty they needed to engage in an occupation from which they could receive income. They analyzed their knowledge(s) and skills vis-à-vis what was valued in their community, and they decided to knit garments that they would then sell. Thus, these Andean women were active agents prior to their engagement in this feminist PAR in that they had reflected upon

their experiences, conducted a keen analysis of their reality—and of themselves—and decided to act upon their "findings."

This feminist PAR project sought to support this agency and further strengthen it by engaging with the knitting association they had formed through a process of collective reflection and analysis. These processes were designed so that they could potentially lead to subsequent actions that would strengthen their association. Adding collective reflections to action processes has the potential of improving the transformative impact these action processes might have (M. Montero, 2006). In this feminist PAR project, the action processes of engaging in a knitting association as an income-generating action was accompanied by a process of reflection in which the PAR participants were invited to think about the challenges and opportunities they might find or had found when working as a group of Andean women knitters. Therefore, an organizing process that started with the goal of addressing Andean women's material needs became a site for also addressing the social and emotional aspects of their organizing experience. Through the critical analysis of their reality, that is interrogating the knowledge they have about themselves and about themselves in relation to their social context, this feminist PAR process sought to build on an existing local initiative and contribute to a process of what Freire (1970) called *conscientização* [*conscientación* in Spanish; critical consciousness or conscientization in English]. Conscientización is paramount in processes that seek to dismantle conditions of injustice that lead to impoverishment of communities and those that live therein. Without it, real and sustainable transformation is unlikely (Martín-Baró, 1994).

The salience of the experience of impoverishment led these Andean women to organize. However, poverty—and its constraining manifestations in the everyday—is also the main obstacle these women encountered as they sought to organize. Studies working in Andean communities have found a feminization of responsibility in these contexts, that is,

that women take on more income-generating activities without reducing their responsibilities at home (Fostner, 2013). This is also reflected in Huancansancos, where Andean women take on many daily tasks—in the home, in the fields, and, more recently, with the need for generating cash income in small businesses—and have to work hard to manage these diverse responsibilities. Additionally, because of the patriarchal gender division of labor present in this community, many women do not have support to care for their children and must take on that task as well. This leaves them very little free time. The time they are using to organize (going to meetings, workshops, or trainings) is not time during which they are working on an activity that will directly and immediately contribute to their livelihood. In this study several participants expressed that one of the association's main obstacles was the time constraint experienced by its members who are busy working on other activities, such as taking care of their cattle or working in small businesses. This is not unique to Huancasancos; in many Andean communities poverty—and unequal gender relationships—create structural barriers that hinder Andean women's capacity to organize (Fostner, 2013).

Resisting racialized patriarchal control. Machismo is the other important structural barrier affecting these Andean women's organizing efforts. The unequal distribution of labor in the home and the oppressive treatment that some of women receive at the hands of family and community members has contributed to Andean women's decision to come together to confront these conditions (Radcliffe, Laurie, & Andolina, 2003; Ruiz Bravo, 2005). For Andean women machismo is reflected in the control others exercise over them, and this control is expressed at a corporeal level (Velazquez, 2007). In this feminist PAR project women articulated feeling as if their hands no longer belonged to them, that they were "cut off" when they gave birth to their children. They described having to use their hands to care for their children and to do other domestic tasks required to sustain their households. Similarly, when describing young townswomen's pregnancies, participants conveyed deep

feelings about the lack of control these women experienced over the planning of these pregnancies. Participants perceived that both their hands and wombs were under the control of external actors rather than under their own control. This perceived lack of control of their own reproductive processes is not unique to the Andean women of Huancasancos. One of the worst manifestations of the multiple assaults on Andean women was Fujirmori's government´s so-called family planning program in the poorest areas of Peru in the 1990's, a program that led to the forced sterilization of hundreds of thousands of Andean women (CLADEM - Comite de America Latina y el Caribe para la defensa de los derechos de la mujer, 1999). These aggressive population policies were embedded in widespread and long-term racism and sexism toward Andean women (Boesten, 2006).

The symbolism of hands and womb is very powerful and interconnected. Through it these Andean women expressed a lack of control over both their productive labor (their hands) and their reproductive labor (womb); productive (income-generating) labor is restricted by the reproduction. Thus, due to patriarchal ideologies entrenched in Andean communities, women's self-fulfillment becomes subordinated to the destiny of their children or spouses (Velazquez, 2007). In this context, the emphasis women place on using their hands for knitting acquires additional relevance: it is a way of reclaiming the use of their hands for a task that they have decided upon to improve their own futures and that of their families. In this way they take control over productive labor in the service of the children they have produced, but on their own terms.

Andean women's circulation in social spaces is also all too often controlled by family and community members' attitudes and discourse. In this feminist PAR, women clearly described how some men in the town do not allow their wives to work outside of the home, let alone to gather in community with other women. These men are opposed to associations of women and are constantly telling others that women that attend these groups only do so to

gossip and waste time. Husbands´ rejection of Andean women's participation in women's groups—such as the knitting association—as well town members' deprecatory comments about their participation are quite common in Andean communities (Fostner, 2013; Mitchell, 2006). Stereotypes of women gossiping or wasting their time in women's groups also serve to discourage women's participation in public spaces (Ruiz Bravo, 2005). They keep women from gathering and sharing their experiences of marginalization to develop ways to confront them. This form of social control has a deep impact on Andean women's subjectivities.

The control exercised over Andean women's bodies and social lives also appears at a discursive level where it controls the image of Andean women in the collective imaginary, wherein they are neither seen nor represented as full subjects. Furthermore, the denial of their subject position is reflected in how Andean women's work is invisibilized. Gender divisions of rural labor allocates agricultural and herding tasks to women, work that is undervalued or even unacknowledged by other community members (Radcliffe, Laurie, & Andolina, 2003; De la Cadena, 1991). A participant in this study mentioned you always find a women, never a man, in small parcels of land in the punas. This work, although very time consuming, is never remunerated nor does it generate sufficient capital to facilitate children's education and well-being. As a result many Andean campesina women feel that they work hard but that their work is not socially recognized nor economically compensated. In this feminist PAR project there was a consensus among participants that women in the town work as hard, even as harder than men, but that they do not reap the benefits of their efforts. Because work has great value in the Andean culture (Zoomers, 2006), denying women's positions as workers and producers, erases them as subjects. The decision to form a knitting association in which they came together to work in an area that promised financial resources and through which they could perform agency as women-as-organizers was perceived as one way to counter the negation of their subject positions and to affirm their protagonism. These women positioned

themselves centrally within their cultural system while demanding recognition as valued and productive subjects, able to take on actions to improve their own and their families' lives (Ruiz Bravo, 2005).

A lack of recognition as equal subjects affected the participants' capacity to interact and express themselves with confidence in social situations. Many times they held back and did not share their opinions or speak up when they disagreed with an issue being discussed. They explained that some women have become shy and inhibited, holding back and not expressing themselves even when they have many ideas, at least in part because of the disdainful ways others in the town treat them. This strong social inhibition is related to linguistic limitations when expressing themselves in Spanish (Garcia, 2003). However, as discussed previously, this inhibition occurs in the context of disdainful relationships where others neither fully listen to nor perceive Andean women as subjects. The bi-directionally of this lack of recognition, which makes itself evident in social interactions, has been underscored in previous research with Andean women, where some have been reported to say, "we want to say things, but people don't take notice of us. We cannot talk, we cannot say anything. So that we women too are made to be afraid, not saying anything. We cannot talk!" (Radcliffe, 2015, p.114). Researchers confirm that many Andean women are aware of the need to break this silencing and self-silencing and experience great strength when engage in public debates as dialoguing subjects (Ruiz Bravo, 2005).

Some research confirms that Andean women's unequal treatment and positioning is deeply connected not only to patriarchal dynamics but also to racial dynamics (Velazquez, 2007). Each society, socially and historically, constitutes ideas about women and about them vis-à-vis their context. In the Peruvian society, due to entrenched patriarchal and racial dynamics, Andean women's condition as women and as Andean reinforce each other to render one unique experience of marginalization that places them at one of the lowest levels

of the social hierarchy (De la Cadena, 1991). As a result they speak about their experiences of machismo and ethnic discrimination, they speak about them as if they were one. They describe the paternalistic and contemptuous ways that others treat them when they call them *polleronas*. As mentioned previously, pollera refers to the traditional skirt used in the Andean regions and Andean identity and culture is carried in and expressed through traditional clothing, including polleras. Thus, the choice of mocking and thus, reinscribing the pollera on Andean women's bodies, is a way of devaluing not only their Andean culture, but also their Andean womanhood. Several participants in this feminist PAR mentioned observing this pejorative slur was used frequently in reference to Andean women in interactions in the town and beyond.. However, Andean women's experience of ethnic and gender identity can vary significantly depending on multiple other factors including age/generation and spatial location (i.e., rural or urban). These differences may inform how women experience this gender racialized discrimination.

Once again, this analysis of the uses and abuses of pollerona, reveals the control of Andean women's subjectivity and representations through discourse. Post-colonial feminists have argued that third-world women or women from the global south are placed in an essentialized position of subalternity within much of the scholarship generated in the global north (Mohanty, 1991). From this position, they become the archetypical bearers of culture. This phenomenon can also be observed in the Peruvian national imaginary wherein a woman in a pollera with braided hair appears as the most emblematic symbol of a rich cultural legacy, on the one hand, and as the last remains of a backwards culture, on the other (Babb, 2017). This symbolic construction calcifies ethnic identity, reducing or erasing any understanding of it as fluid (De la Cadena, 1991).

Many Andean women today find multiple ways to reject these expressions of symbolic violence that position them exclusively or primarily as polleronas against whom

others discriminate. They embrace fluid subjectivities or multiple identities, circulating in different social spaces wherein they perform these diversities. For example, I observed some women in Huacasancos dressing according to the social space in which they moved, choosing whether or not to accentuate their Andean identity. When traveling to the city of Ayacucho, some women wore more contemporary clothes, such as jeans and blouses. Conversely, when they had to participate in formal events with external agents—who could potentially support their work—they wore their most traditional and elegant polleras. In this way, they made use of their most culturally-charged image to channel support and resources for their projects. Even when they may seem to be exploiting the stereotypical image that others construct of them, they exercise agency by making the most of a situation that is beyond their control for their own benefit.

Neither Andean women nor Andean communities more generally tend to recognize personal experiences of discrimination. The finger usually points in another direction, that is, toward those who either live higher up in the mountain or further away from the urban center (Babb, 2017; Mitchell, 2006). Alternatively it may be that it is such a daily experience that it is not noteworthy. In this feminist PAR project very few women acknowledged being themselves targets of gender or racial discrimination. It was always other women in the town who had families that treated them with disdain, or who were called polleronas. The few women who did speak about personal experiences, did so in individual conversations rather than in the group. The reluctance to acknowledge one's own marginalization in front of others similarly marginalized could be a reflection of how painful these experiences are, making them difficult to share. However, not speaking about these experiences could also be interpreted as another form of resistance, as a way of rejecting public acknowledgment that one has been placed in a position of marginalization. Although in western psychological thought talking about one's painful experiences is seen as beneficial (Ross, 2010), this might

not hold true for these women, who rather face their marginalization by not contributing to its being made more salient through discourse, even within their own groups. Thus, their self-silencing of these experiences is not necessarily an inability to process them. Rather, it may reflect an alternative strategy of resistance, perhaps one of the only routes within their reach for either resisting marginalization or for sustaining their energies for other initiatives in the midst of structural oppression that can only be overcome over time and through more collective efforts.

Some scholars have noted that when Andean women both experience marginalization and resist it, the processes occur in constant tension (Babb, 2017). This tension could be reflected in their apparent ambivalence toward ideas, actions, or events related to gender inequalities. For example, an Andean woman might emphasize that women are strong and can do the same things as men, while also acknowledging that it is women's responsibility to take care of domestic tasks (Fostner, 2013). This ambivalence was quite apparent in some women in this feminist PAR project who sustained both of these ideas and had difficulties recognizing any inconsistency between them.

Discussions such as this risk overgeneralizing about or essentializing Andean women, suggesting that they are an homogenous group. Yet, there is ample evidence that contradicts this tendency and affirms considerable diversity in their gendered perspectives, ideas that vary according to life experiences within and across generations. As importantly, gendered struggles against patriarchy are neither progressive nor linear processes. Rather, these are processes wherein, as women, we take steps forward but also steps backward. Additionally, gender emancipation is a culturally embedded process. As such, women will traverse different paths, and the process will look differently depending on the socio-cultural contexts in which they live and work. In Peru, Andean women's identities evolve in relation to their own local histories but also in constant confrontation with dominant models of femininity and

masculinity brought from Lima and from others who enter their communities from further afield including anthropologists, development workers, extractive industry professionals, and psychologists. Andean women choose to identify with some of these external ideas and appropriate them in their own ways to their local contexts, but they also chose to reject others (Ruiz Bravo, 2005). As suggested above, some appropriations are performative expressions in response to strategic decision-making to improve their situations while others may be longer term and slower dialogic adaptations.

In this feminist PAR process, Andean women described their criticism of external ideas of femininity in their reactions to social services that sought to address gender violence in the town. They spoke harshly of these services and disagreed with how they perceived them to be proceeding (i.e., in splitting up couples too quickly when one reported gender violence to a local provider without sufficient consultation with the couple itself). Their concerns reflect others that have been documented by feminist scholars who have found that interventions through which state institutions and social service agencies seek to combat violence against women sometimes end up reproducing violence similar to that which they seek to eradicate (Alcalde, 2014). In a study conducted in the Peruvian Andes, Boesten (2006) analyzed how programs and services designed to address violence against women frequently reflect the discriminatory structures of Peruvian society. These programs position Andean women exclusively as victims, and often fail to address structural issues that sustain Peruvian patriarchal dynamics. Furthermore, her study documented how most of the professionals working in these programs had little to no training in a gender perspective, lacked sensitivity toward gender issues, did not speak Quechua, and acted in discriminatory and authoritarian ways toward the people in the communities they served. Under these circumstances it is understandable that Andean women would have negative perceptions about similar services.

Sometimes ideas around womanhood put forward by professionals influenced by western feminist thinking are a mismatch with Andean women's ideas about their gender and ethnic identities, identities they are constantly constructing and negotiating vis-à-vis their context. This is not to say that some of the ideas around womanhood Andean women hold do not lead them to engage in oppressive dynamics toward each other, but rather to interrogate the extent to which gender identities and roles, that at a first glance might seem restrictive for some of us trained in western feminist thought, might be a source of strength and pride for Andean women. One example of this difference in perception can be seen through the reactions toward groups of Andean women that organized around their identity as mothers in Clubs de Madres. The women in Clubs de Madres sought to face several forms of gender, racial, and economic inequality that women experienced in the years immediately following the armed conflict. However, some feminist activists from Lima criticized them for organizing around a traditional female identity, arguing that by doing so they were not challenging patriarchal structures (Vargas, 1995). Organizing under the moniker of motherhood might give the impression that women are taking a conservative approach that remains within the permissible margins of power. However, in these groups, women might gain more gender awareness and empowerment, which might be more responsive to their current experiences and later contribute to unexpected changes that undermine existing patriarchal relationships (Boesten, 2006). This occurred, for example, in Laramate, a southern district of the region of Ayacucho, near the site of this feminist PAR project. A group of women there organized as a Club de Madres but later decided to change their name to Organization of Indigenous Women of Laramate (OMIL). Through this shift they sought to reaffirm their identity and self-esteem as indigenous women. Women from OMIL described this shift as reflective of the point they had reached after 14 years of analyzing the meaning of the term indigenous and what it represents. For them to identify as indigenous "is to

recognize your origins, your customs, your language and your way of seeing the world" (Chirapaq, 2013, para. 9). OMIL's case reflects how identifying as an Andean woman can evolve from being an identity through which women are marginalized or "othered" to being an identity through which they appropriate a renewed social position. After coming together, and recognizing themselves as indigenous subjects, these Andean women now demanded that recognition from others (Ruiz Bravo, 2005).

Andean Women's Relationships With External (Western) Ideas about Organizing, Development, Progress, and Education

The Andean women who participated in this feminist PAR project had formed a women's association with the support of external agents and institutions. This collaboration could fall within the framework of what some professionals have called development projects (Conelly, Murray Li, MacDonald, & Parpart, 2000; Rathgeber, 1990). Also, the women participants considered that through their association they were promoting their own development both at a personal level in terms of the skills and socioemotional capacities they were building and also at an economic level through their capacity to generate an income. As I argued in the literature review, the development paradigm has gained traction and expanded in areas and in countries considered to be "in development." Also, in recent decades, it has focused on the particular ways it *should* work, with women incorporating a gender perspective in what is now known as the Gender and Development approach (Rathgeber, 1990). However, these ideas about development unfold on the ground in ways that have particular implications for participating groups. This feminist PAR project interrogated how the Andean women participants perceived and articulated their relationships to external ideas about organizing-as-women, development, and progress. Given the findings reported above, it is also important to analyze how certain dynamics of Andean women's relationships with

external ideas and knowledge can also be observed in their relationship with educational processes.

Striving for development in a capitalist economy. For Andean women, development and progress are closely associated with income generation, which is one of the main reasons driving them to work together. The need to earn an income reflects capitalist incursions into Andean local economies and local influences on Andean women (Burga, 1977; Mallon, 1983). However, Andean women draw their ideas about development and progress from their own cultural practices and knowledges, as well as from capitalist development per se. Their traditional practices and knowledge inform how they engage capitalist production, as evidenced by their decisions to incorporate local traditions (e.g., knitting) into a market economy (Radcliffe & Laurie, 2006). This desire to combine the "traditional" and "modern" world is reflected in the perceptions participants from this study shared about their community's development. They not only saw development and progress as the creation of businesses and paid jobs, but also as something that should include their campesino activities, for example, through the improvement of their agricultural production and cattle rearing. Similarly, it could be argued that by deciding to form a women's association around knitting they were finding a way of taking an element from the cultural practices they enjoyed, that had benefited their families and communities for generations, and inserting it into a capitalist system. This suggests that these Andean women see their culture as offering resources that can contribute to progress and to a more modern way of living. They do not want to leave their knowledge and practices behind, but rather they have a desire to generate income from this knowledge and these practices to enable them to survive in today's economy (Ruiz Bravo, 2005).

The capacity to generate an income has also had an effect on the Andean women participants in this PAR process at a social and emotional level. The women spoke about how

being paid for their knitted garments made them feel more confident and less insecure about their skills. The symbolic value of money is reflected in the value attributed to oneself for what one produces and sells in a capitalist society. This could partly explain why Andean women who are able to generate an income—a monetary value attributed to their work—feel personally valued as women. Their income-producing capacity has an effect on their sense of self-worth because it is translated into their capacity to take care of themselves, which grants them autonomy, and to take care of other members of their families, affirming their caretaking roles. Furthermore, the monetary contributions Andean women make to their families also increases their status within them (Fostner, 2013); some report that spouses respect them more and treat them differently when they bring money into the home. Despite the perceived and real positive benefits of these processes they also reflect how Andean communities and Andean women have been affected by the pernicious dynamics of a capitalist system that equates income-producing capacity with self-worth.

However, Andean women assess the value of their work both through the income they generate, vis-à-vis capitalist production, and through a solid work ethic, fostered in campesino communities, that recognizes and values the intrinsic value of all work (Ruiz Bravo, 2005; Zoomers, 2006). The latter includes their family-based and community-based work, work that is not monetized within capitalist production. Because of this, Andean women have sought ways to obtain a monetary compensation for work that they already intrinsically value, knitting. Yet, the framing of this knitting association responds to, rather than challenges, the dominant capitalist system. The absence of, for example, alternative systems or structures for organizing their labor, e.g., a cooperative or collective model of shared distribution and ownership, is noteworthy. It was unclear whether or not the absence of alternative strategies for women-as-organizers in Huancasancos reflected the women's

desires or the agenda of "outsider" consultants and/or the extractive industry that initially offered its financial support to them.

Despite the lack of these alternatives the women had discerned ways to engage the rules of the capitalist economy that presented obstacles, thwarting other Andean women's capacity to insert themselves into its production cycles (Deere & Leon, 2001; Thorp & Paredes, 2010). Participants in this PAR process recognized that in today's economy you need to have some money with which to initiate a project if you expect to make money. Most women from this town do not have enough money to invest on their own. The women who started the knitting association sought to overcome this obstacle by combining the limited finances that they had individually. As discussed above, they exercised agency by drawing on the resources of external actors who were in a position to offer them support. Despite this strength, this action is not without limitations, both because it does not challenge the structural injustices present in the economic system and because it potentially engages them in complex international dynamics as beneficiaries of a corporation engaged in extractive industries in the areas surrounding their town. It did, however, offer these women an alternative path, at least in the short term, for addressing the obstacles they confronted.

In order to create more sustainable forms of economic well-being Andean women, and those of us who work with them, need to consider alternative forms of framing well-being, forms that go beyond their incorporation into the capitalist economy. Some groups of campesinos in other communities are organizing to defend their particular ways of being in the world and of being with the land, ways that are in opposition to the productivity-first mentality and human objectification of workers underlying capitalism (see La Via Campesina, International peasant movement, n.d). These groups, together with others who organize around indigenous identities, have taken the path of challenging an economic system that has been conceptualized to place the majority of the world's populations at the

margins while benefiting only a few elites. But some women may not be in a position to benefit from choosing between one path or the other. They may benefit in the short term from engaging in creative actions to respond to their material needs (by inserting themselves in the current economic system), while at the same time critically questioning this system and envisioning alternative options for pursuing their economic well-being. Such a process could be observed in the example mentioned above women from OMIL. These women started by taking a more traditional route organizing under the identity of motherhood only to later develop a more critical posture toward gender and racial marginalization and embrace and reclaim their indigenous identity.

Critically incorporating development and organizing-as-women. The construct reflected in their positionality of "organizing-as-women" seems to have entered this community from the outside, either brought by townswomen who have had experiences outside of the town or from external actors coming into the town. In both cases it could be argued women's organizing is strongly informed by ideas around development and about women's, particularly indigenous women's, role in development.

The constructs "development" and "developing" seem quite positive as they imply a desire or orientation to improve living conditions and to move forward as a society (Radcliffe, 2015). However, there are several assumptions underlying these constructs that all too easily go unquestioned. Development envisions a particular way of living, an optimal state of things, and is a definitional project that sets an ideal of the modern society that all should pursue. Development is usually defined from a place of power and privilege. The ideas or perspectives of groups identified as "underdeveloped" or "sub-developed" or "developing" are not included in the development framework nor in its policies (Esteva, 1985). As a result, some groups, such as Andean women, are defined vis-à-vis this development ideal and are positioned as undeveloped, not-modern, vulnerable, and

disempowered. Professionals promoting Andean women's organizing may unknowingly be promoting these ideas. In this feminist PAR process, Andean women spoke about the desire to progress and to be "something more than who they are," implying that who they are now, Andean campesinas, is not good enough. It seems that this idea of organizing-as-women, introduced from outside of their community with the goal of facilitating their personal and economic development, may be heard by them to be saying that it is Andean women who need to change, not the unequal social and political systems in which they live (Radcliffe, 2015). Some participants of this study suggested that to a certain extent some Andean women have internalized these ideas from the development framework that constructs or positions them as under or undeveloped subjects. Alternatively, their self-presentations in the group may also reflect a realistic analysis of their material conditions as Andean women and a desire to change them.

The idea of organizing-as-women from external institutions places considerable emphasis on women as individuals, focusing on the skills they need in order to progress. Several projects with a Gender and Development (GAD) approach focus on the importance of training women in these skills and empowering them (See Collete and Gale, 2009; De Nys, Hidrogo, Lajaunie, & Chinarro, 2013; Walsh, 2000). The importance of women as individuals who are developing their personal capacities was also reflected in feminist PAR participants' emphasis on the importance of Andean women's individual strengths and optimism. Developing individual skills and capacities can provide Andean women with important tools to respond to their material needs. However, if the idea of organizing-as-women focuses primarily or exclusively on these individual capacities it risks ignoring and leaving unquestioned the structural barriers in society that marginalize Andean women. Ideas about organizing-as-women should not only focus on what needs to change in Andean women, but, more importantly, on what needs to change in the context that is oppressing

them, and on how these women can contribute to creating changes in this context. These more systemic and structural transformations are, of course, long term goals and require more collaborative organizing and, often, strategies for building social movements to push for broader transformations. This feminist PAR process sought to contribute to such structural transformations, albeit in a small way. In the workshops, participants were encouraged to express their personal ideas about racialized gender oppression, and to discover similarities and differences about these issues among other women in the project. These collective spaces provided an opportunity for women (and for myself) to interrogate and expand their thinking about certain issues, issues in which some women were more conservative while others were more critical. Additionally, these space facilitated processes by which these women became more aware of their shared opinions, of their lived experiences, of marginalization, and of the need to change the conditions that marginalized them. This PAR process may have planted a seed for or nurtured previous initiatives for broader transformations.

Despite these contributions of organizing-as-women, this strategy, introduced from beyond Andean community borders, may not be a "good fit" with Andean women's realities and daily lives. For example, many Andean women in this research found it challenging to combine their association's meetings and activities with their daily routines. They tried to respond to this situation by thinking of ways to adapt the association's activities—which were strongly informed by forms of organizing-as-women proposed by external agents—to their everyday life. For example, they discussed organizing the association's meetings in sites where women in the town typically gathered, such as the market, rather than in a community room not commonly frequented. Women from this feminist PAR project also described organizing in the association as a process that seemed removed and disconnected from their cultural context. The experience of womanhood is strongly informed by the specific sociocultural context in which they live (Velazquez, 2007). Hence, it is important for Andean

women's organizing practices (for economic, social, or political purposes) to be grounded in the cultural context and connected to the community's life. Even when it is not common in Andean communities for women to organize separately from men, Andean women's organizing practices can draw from the knowledge(s) and strengths of several forms of Andean and campesino organizing and adapt them in ways that serve their own goals as women. Andean women can also integrate their organizations' practices and activities with their communities' lives. For example, participants from this feminist PAR process were participating in the traditional festivities celebrated in the town as a knitting association, using these festivities as spaces to share their association's work with others. These efforts could be seen as ways to connect their association, and their organizing-as-women, with their culture and with the daily life of their community.

Groups of Andean women—as well other indigenous women in Latin America (see Kaqla – Grupo de Mujeres Mayas Kaqla, 2014)—are finding ways to organize-as-women that do not dislocate them from their communities. On the contrary, their organizing practice is very connected with their communities and with the struggles occurring therein (Radcliffe, 2015). By connecting their organizing-as-women to the sociocultural context Andean women might foster their capacities to critically analyze the structural inequalities present in their everyday lives and to think about ways to integrate their economically-grounded organizing practices with these broader struggles for justice. In terms of development, it is not about discarding the paradigm all together but rather about interrogating to what extent Andean women's voices inform ideas and concrete strategies about living better in today's world. Also, development approaches should not be a one-size-fits-all but rather need to be more sensitive and nuanced to be incorporated better into people's everyday lives (Cornwall, 2003). Andean women elsewhere are already forging their unique agenda for development, while they reject being positioned by others as essentialized poor women. They create their

own understandings of development by drawing from the development field but also from their own indigenous identities (Radcliffe, 2015; Ruiz Bravo, 2005).

Andean women's relationship with education. Andean women's relationship with educational processes is quite complex and is marked by the challenging relationship Andean people have with the Peruvian State and with the broader socioeconomic dynamics that seek to sustain their marginalization. This feminist PAR project revealed the importance the participants gave to formal education (i.e., school and college). They also recognized that, due to the patriarchal dynamics within their families and communities, many young women are not able to complete high school because they become pregnant (Ames, 2006; Taboada, 2013). They described how the lack of formal education contributes to women's marginalization, limiting their opportunities for professional growth. Analyzing this daunting scenario, Andean women emphasize the importance and need to be formally educated (Garcia, 2003). They also emphasized the importance of informal educational processes, including trainings, talks, and workshops. They believe that through these activities they can learn new things that may help them progress and gain tools that can help them face the challenges of their everyday lives.

Andean women's demands for and valuing of education is understandable given that education has been historically denied to Andean people, more so to Andean women. The widespread provision of public education in rural areas of Peru is a relatively recent phenomenon. Until the 1950's, in rural areas education remained a privilege of the elites; most Andean campesinos had no access to formal schooling (Degregori, 1990; Oliart, 2014). Also, education in Peru is strongly tied to a sense of citizenship. It was not until 1980 that illiterates won the right to vote, and most of those who were illiterate were Andean campesinos because the state failed in its responsibility to provide formal schooling to all (Garcia, 2005). Thus, education served as a way to grant or deny citizenship and political

participation. Having an education, and being able to read and write, meant being able to have a voice within the political system of the country. It is against this historical backdrop that we must read Andean women's strong demand for and valuing of education.

In this feminist PAR project the value and demand for education was not accompanied by a deeper or more critical examination of the Peruvian educational system, something that is taking place in other parts of Peru. Rural Andean communities, indigenous activists, NGO's, and state officials are discussing how and if an intercultural bilingual curricula (including the incorporation of indigenous languages and Spanish) should be imparted in some areas of the country. Garcia (2003) worked with Andean communities in Cusco where she found that the strongest push-back for this curricula came from parents in Andean communities who rejected how the state, influenced by NGO's and mestizo activists who upheld indigenous rights, was incorporating Quechua into the school curricula. The parents demanded that their children learn the same things and in the same language as children in the cities. Similar to the women in this feminist PAR project, these parents underscored the importance of education and demanded their children's right to have it. The absence of critiques by the PAR participants about the ways in which the Peruvian educational system is strongly informed by western philosophical and pedagogical practices and the demands of these Andean parents for having their children learn the same content in the same language as children in the cities, could suggest that Andean campesinos prioritize and value more western knowledge than their own traditional knowledge. However, the dynamics taking place in these struggles and debates about education for Andean communities are more complex than that. Andean populations have long been excluded from Peru's dominant social, economic, and political structures, and this has been done partly through their exclusion from the educational system (Garcia, 2005). Consequently, many Andean campesinos today may feel that once again the state is excluding them from the

decision-making process of how their children's education should be organized and conducted. Rather than a failure to value their traditional knowledge and practices, these educational attitudes may reflect Andean parents' insistence of their rights to decide when and how these practices are included in the educational system. This feminist PAR process documented some of the ways in which participants appreciated their traditional cultural knowledge and practices. This appreciation was also reflected in their happiness in speaking with me in Quechua and their clear appreciation of my efforts to learn their language. Thus, the lack of criticism of the western influences within current educational processes and the value and demand for education as it is currently implemented, that is, in Spanish and mostly centered on western knowledge, may not reflect a rejection of their Andean culture, but rather a demand for equal opportunities in a society that has constantly excluded them. The fact that most Andean communities, such as Huancasancos, are not demanding that their knowledge be included in the curricula does not mean that these demands might not have a place in their agenda in the future, after their right to education has been fully guaranteed.

Engagement in educational processes usually increases one's chances for upward social mobility. However, many times in Andean communities this upward mobility is necessarily accompanied by an outward mobility, that is, movement outside of Andean communities (Steel & Zoomers, 2009). In this feminist PAR process the women explained that children and other young members of the town who wanted to pursue higher education had to leave their community because there were no universities and only one higher education institution in Huancasancos. Moreover, if these young people wanted better job opportunities, they had to establish themselves permanently in the cities where they studied because there were insufficient employment or income-generating opportunities in the town. Despite these remarks, participants did not seem to question the current limitations of either existing educational opportunities or of opportunities for local employment that tapped into

the skills and knowledge gained through higher education. As professionals engaging in processes with Andean women, we might need to think together with them about the structural barriers that do not allow educational processes—and the positive effects they can bring—to be more connected with changes and transformations in Andean peoples' own contexts, and collaboratively design potential actions that can be taken to counter this disconnect.

The Distant and Hierarchical Relationship With the State and With Transitional Justice Processes

The relationship between Andean communities and the Peruvian State has been historically portrayed in terms of the absence of the state in these regions (Drinot, 2011). However, in the past two decades an increased number of social programs and social services in the Andean region makes it difficult to talk about state absence or about a completely distant state secluded in Lima or in other major cities. Although geographical distances and difficult or costly travel conditions persist between the state's services and institutions and several remote areas of the Andes, I argue that rather than this geographical or physical distance, it is more accurate to speak about the social distance in the relationships between the state and Andean communities. The latter is expressed through the hierarchical and bureaucratic ways in which the state relates to Andean communities, as demonstrated through the implementation of many of its social programs and services (Boesten, 2006), as well as in how transitional justice mechanisms have been carried out in this post-conflict period.

Relationship with the state through its social programs and services. The sense of distance conveyed by the state is partly due to the fact that, despite several decentralization efforts, its actual power remains centralized in Lima, the place from which those who represent it travel to specific Andean localities and implement policies through institutions that offer social services or through more temporary social programs (Contreras, 2000). This

sense of distance is also reinforced by the fact that the Peruvian State usually applies a top-down approach in which policy makers and other professionals define the issues that need to be addressed and then design a social program and/or social service to tackle them (Dammert, 2003). The lack of involvement in and dialogue with the Andean communities for which many of these programs and services are designed is deeply problematic. Neither the community's understandings of the issues that affect their lives nor their concerns are included in the program design, nor is the community permitted to guide the implementation phases of the state's social programs and services. Often as a result, the goal of the service or program and the actual experiences of people from the community where the program or service takes place are disconnected. The experiences of the participants from this feminist PAR project with some social programs reflect this disconnection. For them, many social programs, instead of actually addressing social issues—such as poverty alleviation, for example—brought up other problems, such as rendering women and families dependent on the state's support and decreasing their willingness to work. Although not mentioned openly by the participants, either in the individual interviews or in the workshops, it also seems that some social programs had created divisions and tensions between those who were beneficiaries and those who were not. I make this point in light of the controversy generated about the appropriateness of social programs and in light of the some participants' harsh criticisms toward those who are beneficiaries. It is very likely that these critiques would have created discomfort in those beneficiaries who believe they fairly received the government's economic support. Unfortunately, it seems that the state officials who are in charge of these programs either are not aware of these harmful effects or have decided to ignore them. Their lack of awareness would again reflect their previously mentioned lack of connection to Andean communities' experiences, more specifically, to the experiences of those Andean women who are the direct beneficiaries of many of these programs. Also, the decision to

ignore these effects, if they are known, suggests a lack of genuine interest in the well-being of Andean communities that these programs allegedly seek to support.

The social distance between the Peruvian State and Andean communities is also reflected in the distant and even disdainful treatment that some state officials and workers have towards community members, a treatment that is worse for women (Alcalde, 2014). Andean women from this PAR process spoke of how some state officials treat women in paternalistic and sometimes contemptuous ways. This treatment marked a distance—and difference—between Andean women and the state professionals, many of whom were from outside the community and knew little about it or its practices. Thus, we can see how through a distant treatment toward Andean women, state institutions and their officials exhibit the racism and sexism prevalent in the Peruvian society (Boesten, 2006).

The hierarchical and distant relationships described above reflect a Peruvian State that does not perceive Andean communities—and Andean women even less so—as valid interlocutors with whom to engage in a genuine dialogue about their development and their well-being. The paternalistic message this conveys is that the state and its urban, mestizo or white officials know what is best for Andean people. Andean people are not recognized as full citizens who have expertise about matters pertaining to their own lives (Radcliffe, 2015; Garcia, 2005). The state, through its distant relationships with Andean communities, is constructing or sustaining existing social differences and symbolic barriers that keep Andean people marginalized, barriers that impede the recognition of Andean citizenship and full personhood. Thus, Andean people's relationship with the state is marked by a *desencuentro* [mismatch] in which the state neither recognizes Andean subjectivities and diverse protagonisms nor seeks to go beyond these differences to better understand Andean communities and address both their strengths and the ongoing social injustices that continue to marginalize and impoverish them.

Relationships with transitional justice processes. This disconnect between the state and Andean communities is also present in the way transitional justice (TJ) mechanisms have been carried out in Andean communities and in the way the state has engaged with community members. As mentioned in the literature discussed above, TJ mechanisms and procedures are usually informed by the debates and decisions taking place in national, even international, institutions that work in the field of justice and human rights, far away from the lives of the communities were TJ mechanisms unfold (Shaw & Waldorf, 2010). In Peru, this disconnect reveals itself in the deleterious effects that some TJ mechanisms unintentionally have in Andean communities, particularly through the facilitation and/or promotion of reparations and memory making.

Experiencing reparations in Andean communities. Individual and collective economic reparations seem to have generated divisiveness and tension in some Andean communities including Huancasancos. The Andean communities of the southern region of Ayacucho were a stronghold for SL (CVR, 2003). The members of these communities had long, deep, and complex engagements with SL, and some community members joined its ranks (Gonzalez, 2011; Theidon, 2012; Ulfe, 2013). This complex social configuration has led to a very challenging post-war landscape in which the lines between perpetrator and victim are not clear and where different narratives about the conflict's unfolding are present within Andean communities (Moffett, 2016). Reparations are the most tangible way in which a state acknowledges victimhood but also function as a way through which it validates some stories of the war and the suffering it generated over others. In the community where this feminist PAR took place, the reparations process seems to have increased the already existing tensions between many of its members who hold different and contested truths about the armed conflict, SL, and the military. Also, these tensions reinforced and build-on long-standing conflicts present in this community (over land and resources) that pre-date the war.

Thus, a reparations process that started with the goal of contributing to the recovery of an Andean community, has ended up contributing to the exacerbation of anger and resentment among many of its members. Other scholars working in Andean communities have documented similar experiences (Correa, 2013; Theidon, 2012; Ulfe & Malaga, 2015). This conflictive scenario should not be taken as an argument against reparations but rather as a call for the state to analyze the ways in which reparations processes are playing out and to consider alternative strategies in dialogue with those who lived through these local realities and for TJ processes more broadly to explore in greater depth the ways of engaging with and responding to "complex victims" (Moffet, 2016), that is, victims who are not necessarily "innocent" but who were involved as both victims and perpetrators in a conflict. Given how the conflict occurred in these Andean communities, it seems that any form of reparations to only some "victims" will generate conflict. However, more careful measures could have been, and still can be, taken when implementing reparations to mitigate at least some, if not all, negative effects.

It is also important to analyze the reparations process against the backdrop of poverty and the distant state that facilitated these processes. Individual and collective economic reparations have been seen as significant material resources coming into some Andean households and communities, especially considering the high levels of poverty and extreme poverty in these regions (Koc-Menard, 2014). The difference these resources could make for the lives of some Andean campesinos most likely increased the feelings of tension, anger, and resentment between those who received reparations (officially recognized as victims) and those who did not (Ulfe & Malaga, 2015; Moffett, 2016). Also, in this conflict the lack of clarity between who was a victim and who a perpetrator or the existence of complex victims makes it challenging to form discrete categories around victimhood. Thus, we can see how

the challenges of reparations processes increase tensions in a context in which the state has a pending social debt with its citizens.

Another limitation of current reparations processes is seen in some community processes of collective reparations that are confused or confounded with other actions and processes that constitute the state's overall responsibility, such as providing basic services and building infrastructure (e.g., roads, water and sanitation services) (Correa, 2013). In this study some participants described the similarity between collective reparations and development projects, suggesting that the way the state presents these projects and communicates their underlying meaning is not clear. Participants seem not to understand or appreciate the intended connections between the reparations projects and redress or repair for the harms suffered during the armed conflict. Implicit within these confusions are also disagreements as to whether or not direct and indirect victims, that is, anyone who survived the armed conflict in the town, were eligible for reparations and/or whether or not those who had moved to Huancasancos since the conflict formally ended were similarly entitled to benefit from collective resources allocated to the town.

It is also possible that in some cases the state, taking advantage of this confusion, is using reparations projects to address the broader issues that the state should be addressing as part of its responsibility to its citizens. More clarity is required when teasing apart reparations projects from other state-related projects, both to contribute to the acknowledgement of the damage of the war and the state's responsibility in it, and also to clearly recognize what constitutes the state's duty and pending debt toward Andean populations. Reparations in the wake of this 20th century armed conflict will not compensate for two centuries of the state's neglect, nor were they designed to do so. However, this does not mean that the Peruvian State should not work to address the structural socioeconomic inequalities, many of which gave rise to the conflict. The state should work to address these inequalities, but in a continuous,

sustainable, and well thought out way, and not by using collective reparations for one-time gross violations of human rights to try to address broader socioeconomic issues.

Although I am arguing here that reparations in the Peruvian context are not an adequate avenue to address long standing structural injustices in the post-conflict environment, other scholars have suggested that TJ might be a useful resource for redressing harm from long standing structural inequities. In the global north, indigenous and native peoples living in post-colonial nations draw on a TJ paradigm to seek redress for historical violations committed by their governments (Lykes & van der Merwe, 2017). In Canada, for example, aboriginal peoples created a truth and reconciliation commission to investigate and address the legacies of the residential school system that forcibly removed native peoples from their families from the late 19th century through most of the 20th century (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Similarly, and drawing from the experiences in Canada, aboriginal peoples in Australia are demanding reparations for the centuries of injustices perpetrated against them through the history of the establishment of that country (Butler, n.d). The demands made by these indigenous groups lie at the heart of debates about whether long standing historical violations and structural violence are best addressed by transitional justice or by other mechanisms (Lykes & van der Merwe, 2017). Regardless of whether these historical violations are matters pertaining to TJ or social justice and injustice more broadly, indigenous peoples' use of TJ reveals their strong demand for modern states to respond to the longstanding and persistent debts they have with these people. Whether using a TJ framework or not, what is important is that states recognize both overt forms of violence (such as those occurring in the context of armed conflict) and ongoing forms of structural violence perpetrated against indigenous peoples and that they are clear in their commitment and actions toward addressing both these forms of violation and injustice.

Irrespective of decisions to engage TJ processes for structural redress or not, TJ scholarship points to an additional complexity in all reparations processes, that is, that reparations refers to the material measures that are intended as redress for harm from human rights violations, whereas reparation in the singular refers to the emotional processes of repair (Hamber, 2006). Studies in several countries affected by conflict have clarified the limited effects of reparations at an emotional level (Colvin, 2006; Lira, 2006; Prieto, 2012), emphasizing that one can never repair the harm suffered, that is, return survivors to the status quo ante and that all reparations is, at best, symbolic (Hamber, 2006). Although reparations and reparation were not explicitly distinguished in this feminist PAR process, though they seemed to be understood interdependently some of the participants. One woman noted how "the economic aspect does not heal, but it still supports us in some way, it supports our emotional stability. Otherwise we will be worried with our spirits low." Similar experiences have been documented in Mayan women survivors of the Guatemalan armed conflict. In their demands for reparations and their understandings of integral processes of post-war repair they strongly underscored the need to repair harm from the impoverishment threaded into their everyday life (Lykes, Crosby, & Caxaj, 2016). Earlier work with Maya Ixil and K'iche' women who survived the genocidal violence in their communities identified a similar connection between the emotional, that is, their sense of self and well-being, and the material, when they prioritized building a corn mill to provide for their families and community material survival as a mental health project (Lykes, 1999). As I have argued above for the importance of connecting economic well-being with psychosocial well-being, I here suggest that more attention be given to the connections between economic reparations and emotional repair. I am not implying that reparations are enough as the shortcomings of reparations to address deep and painful feelings were also strongly emphasized by participants in this research. However, I am proposing that we take into account what some Andean women are

expressing and that we consider how and if economic measures are contributing, even if it is in a small degree, to the reconstruction of Andean women's lives in the wake of the war. Evidently, these specific reparatory measures should be but one piece within the broader scheme of addressing structural injustices, but this one piece's potential impact vis-à-vis psychosocial repair should not be disregarded.

Memory making, remembering, and its complexities. Memory making or remembering is another area within TJ processes in which there seems to be a disconnect between political and intellectual elites' discourses and the local experiences within Andean communities. In the Peruvian TJ's discourse, memory has gained an important place in recent years, mostly driven by human rights activists and civil society members (Laplante, 2007; Milton, 2014). The relevance and positive associations around the importance of remembering past violence and making memories from it contrasts with the experiences of some Andean communities who find memory making processes and talking about the war and its legacies very challenging. In this feminist PAR process it was very challenging to even tangentially address the armed conflict, ever more so to openly discuss it. A tense and eerie silence would overtake the room when the topic was brought up, a silence very difficult to sustain. In part due to these dynamics, I also found myself complicit with the women's silences. I was resistant to address the topic in the group space during most of my fieldwork and waited until the last couple of months, with the encouragement of my advisor, to do so. However, this barrier of silence was partly lifted in individual conversations where some women would share some of their experiences and feelings regarding the war. The difficulty to do so and their decision to not share remembrances of the armed conflict in collective spaces seems associated with the divisions created or reinforced by the war and to the ongoing contested versions of the "truth." Additionally, researchers have suggested that some

communities resist confrontation and favor the maintenance of peaceful interactions in everyday life (Eastmond & Selimovik, 2017).

Different from some of TJ's discourse, which sustains that memory making or re-membering can lead societies to an affirmation of their own moment of declaring "never again" (Jelin, 2012), this research suggests that some women in this Andean community experience memory and talking about violence as that which will increase the possibilities for its recurrence. This interpretation is not surprising given that often in these communities victims and perpetrators live side by side. Silence is a strategy through which some Andean communities manage their fear and also a way to actively avoid reviving conflicts. Their silence, thus, can be read as more than the absence of speech; it is a stance toward keeping the violence away and a manner of caring for a longed for but fragile social stability (Eastmond & Selimovik, 2017). For these communities then, silence can be protective.

Andean communities, similar to many others, also avoid speaking about and remembering the war because it is painful (Laplante & Theidon, 2007). It goes without saying that remembering events and losses in the context of a post-conflict situation where the threat of further conflict and ongoing violence is ever present is extremely painful. Although years have passed since the conflict ended, for Andean people the pain that it caused persists as if frozen in time. Western psychological thought has always given a central place to verbal language, particularly in clinical psychology and in various schools of psychotherapy (Prilleltensky, 1994). Speech and verbal communication (especially with mental health professionals) are seen as the primary means for processing emotions, reflecting on underlying causes, and reframing one's understanding of issues, among other mental processes. Psychoanalytically trained psychologists would even sustain that the impossibility of expressing oneself verbally (especially in a therapeutic encounter) could be a reflection of a defensive mechanism operating to protect the psyche from unbearable

emotions and thoughts (Herman, 1992; Richman, 2013). Psychologists and psychotherapists trained within cognitive-behavioral therapies have also underscored the importance of language given the role it has in making the individual aware of irrational beliefs that consequently can lead to harmful actions and emotional pain (Beck, 1970). Also, speech has been seen as relevant given that it allows psychologists and clients to establish a therapeutic relationship or bond with healing potential (Leach, 2005; Shonfeld-Ringel; 2001).

Despite the apparent healing possibilities that speech seems to offer according to western psychological thought, speaking about their painful memories does not seem like a viable possibility for contemporary Andean campesinos living in rural communities or towns such as those who participated in this PAR process. Most of these women mentioned that they preferred not to discuss the conflict and the pain that it caused as they focused on moving forward with their lives. They recognized and acknowledged that silence does not reflect forgetting, but also affirmed that speaking does equal remembering; in the absence of what they felt were viable conditions to speak, they opted for silence. TJ scholars have written about the absence of adequate conditions to speak—and to be listened to—and the potential ensuing harms (Crosby & Lykes, 2011; Ross, 2010). Because the stories about the war are so contested in Andean communities, it is difficult for people to find the conditions and spaces in which their memories can dwell and evolve collectively. In this feminist PAR process some women waited until the last week of my fieldwork to reveal very sensitive stories about the war. The timing of their revelations is not arbitrary; rather it suggests the difficulty of having these memories present in the town (through me) and the fear of these memories leading to subsequent violent consequences. By sharing these stories days before I left, women were making sure that I took the stories with me. Perhaps this was the only way they imagined them capable of being shared.

This feminist PAR process suggests that memory making should be contextualized vis-à-vis the present conditions in the society in which these processes are occurring. When remembering the past is not connected to the construction of a better future (Lykes, personal communication, September, 2017) then memory making can seem senseless. Although in the Peruvian context the violence of the conflict has ended, the conditions of structural violence in which the conflict took root and the forms in which it emerged, persist (Correa, 2013). This poses great challenges for memory projects such as those proposed by TJ. Memory making seems more plausible in a society where TJ's amends go hand in hand with actual changes in the social structures that gave rise to that conflict. In societies where these changes are taking place there may be better conditions for remembrance processes that will contribute to TJ. However, memory making seems too challenging if the differences between the past conditions of society—that gave rise to the conflict—and the present ones are perceived to be minimal or nonexistent. How can Andean communities make memory of a past they do not wish to see repeated if that past—of poverty and marginalization, in the absence of the state taking responsibility for the democratic distribution of resources and as guarantor of their human rights—persists into the present? In this context memory making may be experienced as something that is holding one down, tying one to a past as one still struggles to leave it behind in order to move forward with a new life project. My collaboration with these Andean women confirms some of the many differences, perhaps even contradictions, between advocating for remembering and memory making processes from within academic circles or civil society organizations in Lima and experiencing the risks of remembering in a small Andean community where reminders of the violent past and perpetrators from distinct sides of the armed conflict are still present and its effects threaded into daily life. One risks encountering a former foe as one enters the marketplace and is challenged by the everyday harsh conditions of poverty at home and in one's labor within and

beyond the family. Academics, civil society members, and state officials working in the area of transitional justice need to be more aware of and more sensitive to how remembering the past and making meaning of it is experienced in different rural localities as they are informed by their particular histories of the conflict and also by their current realities.

Painful memories and feelings associated with the conflict are still present in many Andean communities, and it is not clear that projects focused on helping survivors revisit the past can make new meaning of it through an "official story." Thus, these projects seem unlikely to help those who have survived overcome the multiple and sometimes conflictual effects of the armed conflict. In this study, participants mostly expressed the difficulty of both forgetting and of healing. However, when they mentioned those years some people seemed to feel as if others had been starting to forget the particular experiences, expressing a sense of empathy and relief, as if they were happy that others had been able to forget. For some in this context, forgetting is represented as something desirable, something for which they long yet also something which many perceive as impossible. Thus, in some very particular contexts, maintaining silence about the experiences of the armed conflict might a be a way of contributing to others' processes of forgetting. The findings from this feminist PAR process suggest that those who seek to accompany women through post-conflict processes might want to consider self-silencing as a way of being in solidarity with the healing processes of previous foes who remain neighbors and fellow travelers in one's local community—and perhaps even a way to maintain hope for one's own desired healing.

Whether or not one can envision self-silencing as a resource for healing, talking about the armed conflict is challenging for women living in this and in other Andean communities (Laplante & Theidon, 2007). Opening oneself to this alternative framing of self-silencing is neither a dismissal nor a negation of certain forms of memory making that have been facilitated in some of these communities. As argued above, Andean communities are diverse,

as are those who survived gross violations of human rights during the armed conflict. These diversities and complexities suggest that understandings of memory making processes should go beyond verbal accounts that create a more factual representation of the past and incorporate other forms through which individuals and communities can perform who they are and who they may have been in different historical moments. Alternative forms of remembering have taken place in some Andean communities, many of them through artistic expressions (Milton, 2014). In Sarhua, a community very close to where this study took place, artisans have found ways to tell stories of the war through paintings they make on wooden boards known as *Tablas de Sarhua*. In her ethnographic work in this community, Gonzalez (2011) analyzed how these paintings allowed for Sarhuinos to narrate a story about the conflict in more diverse, less homogenized, but contextually particular ways. These paintings became a vehicle through which competing memories and interpretations among Sarhuinos could be represented for each other and for a wider public. Although using verbal language, folkloric songs from Ayacucho called *Huaynos*, have also been used as a vehicle to narrate stories of the war and its legacies (Ritter, 2014). The creative platform that music offers serves to narrate experiences that do not aspire to convey historic truths or a single, official narrative. Rather, they are experiences told from a personal point of view that seek to speak to the collective (Aroni, 2016). Through their songs, people from Ayacucho tell stories about remembering and yearning for their lost loved ones who they visit in the cemetery. They also sing about migrating to the cities and leaving Ayacucho, a place where they have been harmed but that they still love. Other songs speak about violent memories of the war, describing poetically a scenario where blood and dynamite combine with flowers and fields. Those of us who work in the field of TJ,might have greater chances of understanding the strategies these communities already use to re-member the conflict by attending to these alternative forms of remembering being generated by Andean peoples. Promoting Andean

communities' forms of memory making that have been imported from a western human rights context may not be contributing to their more local and particular processes of healing and recovery in ways that are hypothesized to somehow be universal. Thus, in the same ways that indigenous peoples in other parts of the world have argued for drawing on more local traditions as resources for justice seeking (see, e.g., Viaene's (2010) work with the Maya Q'eqchi' of Guatemala), we should expand our understandings of re-membering and of memory making to incorporate those expressions and processes that respond better to the needs of the communities with whom we seek to work. Finally, I am not arguing that more western-informed psychological processes should not be available to these communities but rather that they should not be imposed upon them nor should they be the only processes offered by the state or by TJ advocates, activists, or academics.

Feminist PAR in Huancasancos and Beyond

The participatory and collective nature of feminist PAR is one of its strengths. However, the collective construction of knowledge that occurs in feminist PAR is not without challenges. As discussed throughout this dissertation, participation is a central axis of PAR. When real participation takes place in a collective process, then power circulates in diverse ways and is constantly negotiated and renegotiated (McIntyre, 2007). In this concluding section I explore some of the strengths of feminist PAR as a resource for negotiating diverse circulations of power in community-based work with women and discuss suggestions for assessing its validity as one among many qualitative and constructivist participatory research strategies. I also summarize some of the limitations we identified in this project as well as some of its implications for future work in and beyond Huancasancos.

Negotiating power through participation toward a psychosocial approach. In this feminist PAR, the participants and I negotiated several elements throughout the research process. The women shaped to a great extent the logistic framework of the workshops. The

days and the times of workshop meetings as well as the length of the workshops were discussed and negotiated together with the women in hopes of enhancing their engaged participation in the multiple processes of PAR. Furthermore, the participants' interest strongly informed the research focus, which is one of the core and guiding elements of any PAR process. Initially, it was challenging for me to accept that the women wanted to create an organization for primarily economic purposes and that this would be a major focus of the work we would do together. Their interests did not align with what I perceived to be my professional training and expertise, and I was concerned about how I could contribute to their collective initiative. Moreover, I assumed that the participants lacked interest in analyzing the emotional and social elements of their lives. I was proven wrong; I soon realized that they did not perceive these as disconnected activities. To the contrary, while thinking about their emotions and interpersonal relationships they prioritized generating an income. I became aware of how valuable it was that these women, after analyzing their reality, had decided to act upon it, that is, to try to change their economic or material conditions, and that they had thought carefully about how they wanted to realize those goals.

Feminist PAR is about recognizing women's acts of agency, as well as their resistance to act, and accompanying them in ways that contribute to or enhance their ongoing actions as well as a better self-understanding their inaction. It is about genuinely listening to the women with whom we want to work without trying to prioritize or promote our own research agendas (Maguire, 1987). I sought to continuously reaffirm these processes through this feminist PAR. In this research process I positioned myself vis-à-vis the participants in the most horizontal way possible. I sought to recognize them as knowledgeable and dialoguing subjects who shared with me the power to define the course of this research. The constant negotiation that occurred throughout the year of fieldwork and the tensions that I felt with the participants, could be an indicator that this power was actually shared, and I see in this one of

the greatest accomplishments of this process. The action piece of this feminist PAR was already in the making prior to my arrival: women had been organizing to form a women's association. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this PAR process sought to strengthen this action by creating a space in which to reflect upon their ongoing work. The workshops constituted this space in which together we thought about the association's strengths as well as its challenges as they were unfolding.

As one leaves the field one is challenged to think about the extent to which the transformative actions feminist PAR facilitates can be sustained beyond the presence of oneself as an external or "outsider" researcher. If actions emerge from and are carried out with the participants, and if they appropriate these actions and make them their own, then there might be greater chances for actions to persist beyond the presence of external agents (M. Montero, 2006; McTaggart, 1997). In this feminist PAR, the action of coming together to think collectively in the workshops was brought from the outside. However, the participants informed to a great extent the configuration of this collective reflection space. Additionally, this process of collective thinking took place within the framework of a bigger process of organizing as an association, a process for which the women participants had a strong motivation. Also, considering that the association has continued to draw on the support of other external agents, including the mining company and the municipality, it may be more likely that women will continue their organizing. However, it is important to acknowledge that beyond the specific development of this women's knitting association, the greater impact of this feminist PAR on the women participants' lives can only be assessed over time.

The particular characteristics of each participant and the relational dynamics among them also inform how a feminist PAR will unfold. As in all groups, in feminist PAR some women participate more actively than others, sharing their thoughts, experiences, and feelings. This was also the case in this feminist PAR process, where some participants who

were more outgoing and less shy tended to speak more, sometimes dominating the conversation. However, in feminist PAR, in addition to a group process, each woman also goes through her own individual process. A qualitative change could be observed in the participation of each woman in this feminist PAR. Over time some women started to share their thoughts more, while others became more attentive to me and to others in the group, which was expressed in their postures and emotional expressions. Thus, even when some women might have had a more observable influence over the group dynamic all participants contributed to it in different ways, also drawing from the group different elements.

This feminist PAR was a means for the participants and me to think about the psychosocial dimensions of Andean women's realities—psychosocial to the extent that psychological processes take place and are grounded in a social context from which they cannot be separately understood. By thinking and feeling together with the women participants about the challenges they encountered in their everyday, we also thought about different and potentially transformative ways of re-storying their lives as individuals and as a group within a particular social context. Martín-Baró (1994) argues that as psychologists we must approach psychosocial processes from the bottom-up, that is, from the point of view of the people. Being a community psychologist, informed by my training in clinical and developmental psychology, I brought to this feminist PAR a variety of perspectives, perspectives that I had to temporarily suspend and later re-incorporate in a different way guided by the participants' perspectives. In this study the participants and I sought to create an understanding of Andean women's lives that emerged from them, based on their understandings, so that they could subsequently engage in actions seeking further changes in their lives.

Assessing the validity of this feminist PAR. Psychological research conducted under a positivist paradigm tends to focus on parameters of reliability and validity for assessing the

knowledge(s) yielded therein. Different from these studies, the knowledge crafted in this feminist PAR was guided by a social constructivist paradigm and drew from several qualitative data collection and analysis methods as well as from creative techniques. Moreover, in this study, participants had an active role in the production of knowledge, especially in the first stages of the analysis of the data. Therefore, instead of using conventional parameters of validity, it is more adequate to assess the knowledge emerging from this study in terms of certain facets of validity considered in qualitative inquiry. For Riessman (2008) the validity of a study should be assessed from the perspective in which it is framed, a perspective that the researcher has to make clear. In this particular study I have discussed the participatory approach taken, one in which knowledge has been dialogically and collectively co-constructed with the participants. I have also discussed the subsequent constructivist grounded theory analysis which is based in a social constructivist paradigm. Furthermore, in this process, I have sought to make as clear as possible my subject position as the researcher (Riesmann, 2002), as well as the co-constructed nature of the knowledge here presented. The validity of a study can also be strengthened by carefully documenting the process used to collect and interpret the data (Riessman, 2008). In this study I described the processes of analysis that took place both during the participatory part of this research and during the grounded theory analysis. For this analysis I explained in detail how, by progressing through several iterative stages of analysis, I was able to put together an abstract understanding of social and emotional processes that remained grounded in the data.

Another form of validity proposed by qualitative researchers is related the potential impact research can have on processes of social and political change. Narrative researchers have argued how the stories of those who are usually silenced can function politically (Riessman, 2008). By putting these stories "out there" researchers can allow others who are oppressed to better understand and change their situation in a process that has also been

called “catalytic validity” (Lather, 1986). Other researchers speak about research for social change in term of “impact validity” (see Massey and Barreras, 2013) in order to refer to the potential impact studies can have for social change in its use for advocacy and activism. In a similar vein Prilleltensky (2003) has argued for the importance of psychopolitical validity in psychological research. This validity refers to the extent that research not only gives place to knowledge about oppression but also to knowledge that can serve to take action and dismantle this oppression. Under this logic, research should contribute to psychopolitical well-being, a well-being that depends both on psychological health as well as on political structures and on the interactions between these two elements.

This feminist PAR sought to contribute to social change in the lives of Andean women. In this regard its validity is better assessed in terms of psychopolitical impact and catalytic validity. This study has sought to create spaces in which Andean women could collectively think about the structural issues blocking their emotional, social, and economic well-being and subsequent emancipation. Moreover, these reflective spaces have sought to accompany and strengthen already existing action processes by which the participants were pursuing changes in their lives. Despite its shortfalls and the limitations of its contribution—vis-à-vis the broader structures of racialized and gendered marginalization—this feminist PAR has pursued psychopolitical, impact, and catalytic validity and this goal has guided its course.

Limitations. Processes of feminist PAR can also encounter particular challenges when they take place in post-conflict settings (Lykes, 2013). In Andean communities affected by armed conflicts the divisiveness created by the war added to and reinforced previous conflicts that were part of these communities’ prior histories. The legacies of these multiple historical community conflicts permeate the group dynamic that takes place within any feminist PAR process. In this project the divisiveness that existed among its members

emerged primarily when discussing issues related to the armed conflict. Unresolved tensions among the participants seemed to have limited their capacity to discuss these topics in a group setting. What could and could not be said seemed to depend primarily on who was present in the group at any given meeting and on how the other group members perceived each other vis-à-vis their history of involvement in the conflict. Thus, when trying to address issues related to armed conflicts in communities affected and divided by them, as PAR researchers we need to think about alternative and creative ways to address and process these topics without threatening the fragile social stability people may be struggling to preserve. Despite the limitations placed by the divisiveness of the armed conflict, in this feminist PAR project women seemed to be making an effort to put previous conflicts aside in order to work toward a collective goal. Focusing on concerns of livelihood has been found to help people in a post-war context look at the pragmatics of everyday living while putting aside conflicting narratives of the war (Eastmond & Selimovik, 2012).

Carrying out a feminist PAR with women from a cultural context different from one's own can also lead to several challenges and limitations. An initial challenge is related to how you enter into a community, that is, who are your contact persons or interlocutors (M. Montero, 2006). In this research, in order to initially approach the Andean town of Huancasancos, I had to find someone who knew the women from this town and who was willing to introduce me to them. It was a staff member from the mining company that worked in the town who introduced me to a group of women who had begun to form a knitting association. This initial relationship and connection with the women influenced which other townswomen I was able to approach and with whom I established initial relationships. It is very likely that these initial relationships subsequently influenced the future relationships I was able to establish with other women in the town. Some townswomen may have not approached me nor this feminist PAR process because they were not close to the women who

had initiated the knitting association or because they might have had some differences or conflicts with them. They also might not have approached this feminist PAR project due to their opinions about the mining company and the municipality, given that these actors were supporting the association of women with whom I was working. Thus, there is a significant group of women with whom I was not able to connect, and whose experiences are not represented in this feminist PAR process, Andean women's experiences that may differ from the experiences represented herein.

For most research conducted in communities different from one's own, the issue of through whom you enter the community always presents challenges. This issue can become even more poignant when the research process is sustained through a deep involvement with the community, such as in PAR and other forms of community-based research. Even when this factor may be, to a great extent, beyond researchers' control—given that we always enter communities through particular actors—it is still important to consider how it might be influencing the research process and how this influence can be diminished or creatively engaged.

Another important limitation is related to the differences in language between the participants and me. Quechua was the first language of most, if not all, of the women. Thus, even when they understood and spoke Spanish fluently, on some occasions I had the impression that the way they used—and understood—some words were slightly different than the way I did. For example, the word *desconfianza* which translates into English as "mistrust," on occasions was interchanged by some Andean women in the workshop with the word *desconformismo,* a word I perceive to be a misconstruction of Spanish, which would most likely be translated as "not conforming." This did not occur on many occasions, and when it did, the women usually noticed my confusion at their choice of word and would correct themselves and use a word more familiar to me as a first language Spanish speaker.

However, these potential semantic differences are provocative and may suggest slightly different interpretations of the meanings constructed by the women and documented by me in this feminist PAR, some of which I may not have fully captured in this text.

Implications. The findings of this feminist PAR yield several important implications for professionals and academics interested in working with Andean women, Andean communities more broadly, and with communities affected by armed conflicts. I have tried to convey the importance of truly listening to people's concerns and to demonstrate how a feminist PAR process is a resource for doing so. Within this context, one of the major concerns of the Andean women participants is their economic reality and their material needs, a concern that most likely is not exclusive to Andean women, but is also present in other groups living in conditions of poverty and marginalization.

Community and liberation psychologists working with populations who live in conditions of poverty and structural oppression have underscored the importance of incorporating into our work a focus on material needs (Martín-Baró, 1994; M. Montero, 2004; Prilleltensky, 2004; Watkins & Shulman, 2008). Working with communities in the wake of war, Lykes and Coquillon (2009) argued that psychosocial interventions need to strengthen people's sense of self-efficacy while also building local economic sufficiency. From a feminist relational advocacy perspective, Goodman and colleagues (2009) have underscored the deep interconnection between access to resources and emotional well-being, and how a professional's provision of instrumental support in the context of a connected relationship serves as emotional support. Similarly, if psychologists, as well as other mental health and social science professionals, seek to work with Andean women in a way that is responsive to their needs and priorities, they cannot be indifferent to their material reality. They must see how their economic and emotional well-being are deeply intertwined and they must search for ways to address them both given this interconnection. This might seem

challenging at first, and as professionals we might need to enter reality not through the main door, but by slipping in through the window, as Rodari (1996) advised. We need to envision alternative practices that go beyond our conventional training and seek to address the emotional and social aspects of people's experience, in the real conditions in which they unfold, in a way that is connected and responsive to their lived experiences.

In terms of the implications for professionals who seek to facilitate processes by which Andean women can organize, this study reveals how these organizing processes are strongly influenced by ideas grounded in western thought that come from outside Andean communities. If, as professionals, we want to accompany processes that are not exclusively grounded in western thought but also in Andean women's cultural identities and ways of being and living in the world, then we need to pay closer attention to the practices and knowledge associated to organizing that are already present in these communities and reflect upon what can we learn from them. As mentioned previously, Andean communities have been coming together to work toward collective goals utilizing values and ideas grounded in their cultural identities. It is not that we should uncritically take these ideas and values as unproblematic but rather that we should be open to learning from them and incorporate them in our work, instead of just bringing in and applying our knowledge and practice of organizing and related ideas about development and progress. As importantly, although not discussed in any detail in this dissertation in light of its focus on existing development and TJ practices, we must be attentive to the limitations and weaknesses within these communities, facilitating critical reflection not only on the imposition of western practices but also on the oppressive aspects of local traditions and values.

In terms of incorporating Andean women's experiences and understandings, a similar argument to the one above can be made about ideas around womanhood. In this feminist PAR project participants expressed a certain resistance to ideas put forward by external

professionals and institutions about women's roles and about women in relation to men. Even when these ideas might have had inherent value (especially regarding the inequality between women and men as well as the struggles against domestic violence), what this resistance reveals is how Andean women perceived these ideas—or the ways they were introduced—as somewhat foreign and intrusive. Forms of emancipatory Andean womanhood need to be crafted dialogically *with* Andean women and outside professionals while acknowledging inequitable power circulatations in these processes and their grounding in colonial histories and ongoing violence. This implies finding ways to ground projects for Andean women's emancipation in their context and in their experiences of what being a woman is and what a woman can become. This does not imply discarding completely all forms of western feminist thought, but rather for us outside professionals to approach these processes with more humility as we put forward western feminist values and practices.

As professionals working with Andean women, either from the state, the academy, or civil society organizations, we need to make greater efforts to understand their notions around women and men. It is by opening up horizontal and dialogical spaces, where Andean women and outside feminist professionals can critically interrogate together patriarchal structures in context, that we have greater chances to reach new understandings on these issues and potential ways to address them. These new conceptualizations might be more attuned with Andean women's understandings of their problems and at the same time they can incorporate, in a more critical way, western feminist thought. Our western feminist constructions of gender are not the only ones, and they are not without weaknesses, but neither are Andean notions about women and men. Thus, we need to think of more thoughtful ways of addressing patriarchal issues in contexts different than our own. By doing this, alternative feminisms can be crafted dialogically through feminist PAR. We can encounter feminisms that challenge the barriers of the prevalent western-based feminism, and through this

encounter, enrich our understandings of diverse struggles women face and also enrich their local struggles.

The ideas emerging from this study might also have implications for professionals who have a role in informing the design and implementation of TJ mechanisms. There is a significant disconnect between the values upheld and the goals promoted by TJ institutions and the lived experiences of Andean communities where these TJ mechanisms unfold. This disconnect must lead us professionals to rethink our approaches within our TJ work (Gready & Robins, 2014). This does not mean discarding completely what has already been done. Many professionals with a strong and genuine commitment to the defense of human rights and social justice have contributed importantly to Peruvians' struggles for justice and redress. Rather, this means, thinking more closely with the populations and communities most affected by the conflict about how they are experiencing TJ mechanisms. In terms of reparations, we should pay closer attention to the effects reparations are having on local dynamics (at a social, emotional, and economic level), keeping in mind the context of poverty in which reparations often take place. Similarly, in terms of memory making, professionals interested in facilitating and accompanying these processes may need to consider having a more contextualized and nuanced approach. Memory making and remembering can be valuable processes, and we cannot deny the persistence of memories in the wake of conflicts. However, we may need to think about more diverse and creative approaches to remembering, approaches informed by forms of re-membering that are already taking place in local communities that might better respond to the complexities of each post-war scenario.

Concluding thoughts. I conclude this chapter with a brief reflection on the themes and dynamics cutting across the discussion. The processes developed through this feminist PAR project revealed some ideas—and concrete projects associated to these ideas—that had entered this Andean town vis-à-vis organizing-as-women, development and progress, and

about how to deal with the legacies of the armed conflict. External actors from the Peruvian State, the private sector, and civil society organizations are putting forward these ideas and seek to work with Andean women with whom they can carry out projects based on these ideas. This introduction of ideas and projects usually occurs in the context of an asymmetrical power relationship between these external actors and Andean women. However, these women are neither passively incorporating ideas nor accepting projects from the outside without questions. Women in this feminist PAR project drew from ideas they felt could benefit their own personal and collective goals while negotiating with external actors, including me, the municipality, and the mining company. In the relationship with the Peruvian State and the transitional justice measures carried out in the town, townswomen and other community members seem to have had more limited opportunities for dialoguing about issues that deeply concern them, such as reparations processes.

Through this discussion I have sought to convey how Andean women are positioned within the intertwined structures of gender, class, and racialized relationships in ways that tend to deny their full subject positions. Through these dynamics of marginalization, their knowledge, experiences, feelings, and desires are neither fully recognized nor valued. Andean women are strong, powerful, brave, smart, and resistant. Their problems do not rely exclusively, or even primarily, on them as individuals but rather are rooted in systems and structures in which they live and work. They are not poor women, but they are living within unjust socioeconomic systems that impoverish them, positioning them as poor. They are not oppressed, but there are powerful, greedy, and selfish individuals and organizations who participate in their oppression. As professionals we need to cease framing social issues or social problems in ways that focus mostly on Andean women's weaknesses instead of on the unjust structures within and beyond their society. Andean women are working toward, crafting with their own hands, alternative ways to build a better future for themselves; a

future that draws on external knowledge and resources as well as on traditional Andean knowledge and practices. It is not clear how this future will be constituted. However, what is most important is that Andean women imagine this future, a future in which they define their own and their community's well-being and development and in which they mobilize their power to secure what they value and desire. With this feminist PAR project I hope that the women participants and I have made a contribution, even if only a small one, to this possible future—one in which my role has been and will continue to be one of pragmatic solidarity as local Andean women guide and give leadership to these struggles for a better future.

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Appendix A

Outline of PAR-Workshops

Workshops will take place every month from April to December, and there will be approximately two workshops each month. In the workshops the participants will use creative techniques to explore their thoughts and feelings on particular topics associated with the research focus of organizing as women. Participants will have chosen topics before each workshop through group discussions. Each workshop will last between 2 to 3 hours, and will be facilitated by the PI of this research. The workshops will be organized in pairs. The first workshops in this pair will be for the first level analysis and the second ones for the second level analysis (see methodology section of dissertation).

First Workshop

Step one: Exploring our interests through creative techniques. In the first workshop within each set we will use a creative technique or embodied practice to explore a particular topic. The topics will not yet have been defined. They will be defined with the participants in the second meeting.

The creative techniques we will use will be selected from these:

- Collective drawing
- Individual and/or collective collages using newspapers and magazines, and/or elements of the natural surroundings
- Individual and/or collective sculptures using clay, plasticine or newspaper and glue
- Storytelling
- Role play
- Image theater

When working collectively women will be divided into subgroups of 4 or 5 to use a particular creative technique to explore the topic chosen for that pair of workshops. All subgroups will use the same technique.

Step two: Sharing the products of our creativity. After using the creative technique the subgroups of women participants will present to the others what they have created. Then those women who were not part of the subgroup will say what they see in the product of the creation, which might be a drawing, a role play, a story, etc. Afterwards the creators of this product will explain what their creation is, that is, what they wanted to convey through the process. We will engage in a discussion in the larger group about what is expressed in both sets of interpretations.

Step three: Summarizing emerging content and closing remarks. Finally, after each subgroup presents, we will have a final discussion seeking to identify crosscutting issues, that is, what themes were interpreted across the productions and analyses of each of the smaller groups.

Step four: Evaluation of the workshop. We will discuss with the women participants what went well and what could have gone better. I will ask them to name three things individually that went well, and three things that could have gone better, and based on the latter, changes they would suggest. I will write down these ideas on newsprint.

Documenting and organizing the information. I will audio or video record these workshops, and will also document them through field notes on newsprint, including what ideas are developed in and/or emerge from this first workshop. I will organize the information and present it back to the women in a second workshop.

Second Workshop

Step one: Remembering the first workshop: I will begin the workshops by asking the women participants what they remember from the first workshop. I will write down what

they remember and complement the information that is missing, in order to make a review of the workshop.

Step two: Defining elements of analysis for the re-presented information. With the women participants we will define what elements are important to analyze when looking at their creations, that is, the results of the creative techniques. For example, if we are analyzing a drawing the women might say it is important to note the use of colors, the characters, the objects, the time/place where the drawing takes place, among others.

Step three: Analyzing the re-presented data from the first workshop. I will present to the participants the information collected and organized from the first workshop. We will use the defined elements to analyze: 1) the participants' creations and 2) the information that emerged in Step # 2 of the first workshop, that is what the participants shared about their and others' creations. In addition to this analysis using the defined elements, in this step women participants can also add new ideas about the topic at hand that they might not thought about in the first workshop session.

Step four: Summarizing reflections. As a group we will summarize and elaborate conclusions of what we have learned from the particular topic in these two workshops. To conclude I will set the next meeting time with the participants.

Documenting and organizing the information. I will take field notes on newsprint and record in audio this second workshop.

Additional Notes

- The topics of the subsequent workshops will be developed with the women participants iteratively. However, the format of the workshops will be similar to what is described here.
- At the end of the PAR process I will conduct an evaluation workshop.
- Through the workshops we will discuss the possibility of sharing some of the

information elaborated in the workshops with the townspeople. However, with the women participants we would need to decide, if we want to share information, what information to share and in what format to do so.

Appendix B

Outline of PAR-Workshops (Spanish translation of Appendix A)

Guía de Talleres IAP

Los talleres se llevaron a cabo cada mes entre Abril y Diciembre, y habrá aproximadamente dos talleres cada mes. En los talleres las participantes usarán técnicas creativas para explorar sus pensamientos y sentimientos respecto a temas particulares que están asociados al foco de la investigación, organizarse como mujeres. Las participantes habrán elegido los temas antes de los talleres a través de discusiones grupales. Cada taller durará entre 2 a 3 horas y será facilitado por la investigadora principal de este estudio. Los talleres estarán agrupados en pares. El primer taller de cada par será destinado para el primer nivel de análisis y el segundo para el segundo nivel de análisis (Ver la sección de metodología en el cuerpo de la tesis).

Primer Taller (dentro del par)

Paso uno: Explorando nuestros intereses a través de las técnicas creativas. En el primer taller de cada par usaremos técnicas creativas prácticas a través del cuerpo para explorar un tema particular. Los temas aún no han sido definidos. Serán definidos con las participantes en la segunda reunión.

Las técnicas creativas[4] que usaremos serán seleccionadas de la siguiente lista:

- Dibujo colectivo
- Collages individuales y/o colectivos usando papel periódico, revistas y/o elementos del entorno natural.
- Esculturas individuales o colectivas usando arcilla, plastilina o papel periódico y goma.
- Cuenta cuentos

[4] Para una explicación más detallada de estas técnicas creativas ver la sección de metodología en el protocolo del IRB.

- Dramatizaciones
- Teatro de imágenes

Para el trabajo colectivo las mujeres serán divididas en subgrupos de 4 o 5 participantes para usar una técnica creativa particular para explorar el tema elegido para ese par de talleres. Todos los subgrupos utilizarán la misma técnica.

Paso dos: Compartiendo los productos de nuestra creatividad. Luego de usar la técnica creativa los subgrupos de mujeres presentarán a las demás lo que han creado. Luego aquellas mujeres que no son del grupo dirán que ven en el producto de la creació, que puede ser un dibujo, una dramatización, un cuento, etc. Luego las creadoras de este producto explicarán su creación que querían representar a través de ella. Después discutiremos en el grupo más grande que se está expresando en ambas interpretaciones.

Paso tres: Resumiendo el contenido que sale y palabras de cierre. Finalmente, luego de la presentación de cada subgrupo, tendremos una discusión final con el objetivo de identificar temas transversales, es decir, qué temas fueron observados a los largo de las creaciones y análisis de cada uno de los subgrupos.

Paso cuatro: Evaluación del taller. Discutiremos con las participantes que salió bien y qué pudo haber salido mejor. Les pediré que de manera individual nombren tres cosas que salieron bien y tres cosas que pudieron salir mejor, y basado en esto último que cambios sugieren. Apuntaré estas ideas en un papelógrafo.

Documentando y organizando la información. Grabaré en audio o video estos talleres, y también tomaré notas en los papelógrafos. Organizaré la información y la presentaré de vuelta a las mujeres en el segundo taller.

Segundo Taller (dentro del par)

Paso uno: Recordando el primer taller: Empezaré los talleres preguntándole a las participantes que recuerdan del primer taller. Tomaré nota de lo que recuerdan y complementaré esta información con lo que falte para poder hacer un recuento del primer taller.

Paso dos: Definiendo los elementos de análisis para la información vuelta a presentar. Con las participantes definiremos qué elementos son importantes a analizar cuando observamos sus creaciones, es decir, los productos de las técnicas creativas. Por ejemplo, si estamos analizando un dibujo las mujeres tal vez dirán que es importante mirar el uso del color, los personajes, los objetos, el tiempo/lugar dónde el dibujo ocurre, entre otros.

Paso tres: Analizando la información del primer taller vuelta a presentar. Le presentaré a las participantes la información recogida y organizada del primer taller. Usaremos los elementos definidos previamente para analizar: 1) Las creaciones de las participantes y 2) La información que salió en el paso dos del primer taller, es decir, qué compartieron las participantes sobre sus creaciones y las creaciones de las demás. Además de este análisis, utilizando los elementos previamente definidos, en este paso las participantes también pueden agregar nuevas ideas sobre el tema tratado que tal vez no se les hayan ocurrido en el primer taller.

Paso cuatro: Resumiendo las reflexiones. En grupo resumiremos y elaboraremos las conclusiones de lo que hemos aprendido del tema en particular en estos dos talleres. Para concluir determinaremos la fecha y hora de la próxima reunión.

Documentando y organizando la información: Tomaré notas en los papelógrafos y grabaré en audio o video este segundo taller.

Comentarios Adicionales

- Los temas de los talleres siguientes serán desarrollados con las participantes de manera iterativa. Sin embargo, el formato de los talleres será similar al acá descrito.

- Al final del proceso de IAP llevaré a cabo un taller de evaluación.
- A lo largo de los talleres discutiremos la posibilidad de compartir algo de la información elaborada en los talleres con el pueblo. Sin embargo, con las participantes tendremos que decidir si queremos compartir esta información, qué información compartiremos y en qué formato.

Appendix C

Individual Interview Guide for Women Participants

Introductory questions:

1) Do you live here in the town? Since when?
2) What do you do for a living? What are your daily activities?

About organizing:

1) Do you think organizing as women is important? Why?
    a) If so, what are the benefits of working/organizing in a group?
    b) Are they different from working individually?
2) What are the challenges of working/organizing in a group?
    a) Are they more difficult than working individually?
3) What are the risks of working/organizing in a group?
    a) Are they the same as or different from working individually? In what ways?

About women's organizing in the town:

1) Do you find that women in this town are interested in organizing with other women? If so, what makes you think so? Are you interested in organizing with other women?
2) Do women in this town organize? And what do they organize for? And you?
3) What groups of organized women do you know in the town? Can you tell me a story about this (or these groups), that is, how did they start, what do they do, did they work well as a group?
4) Have women in the past organized in this town? Can you tell me a story about that experience?
5) What strengths do women have that would help them organize?
6) Do women have challenges in organizing? If so what are they?

7) Do you think *machismo* is a challenge for women to organize? How so?
8) Do you think discrimination or racism is a challenge for women to organize? How so?
9) Do you think mistrust is a challenge for women to organize? How so?
10) What do you think would help women to organize in this town?

If they haven't mentioned it already:

1) Do you think the war has raised challenges for organizing in this town?
2) What do you think about the reparations program? Did you or your family receive reparations?

Final thoughts

1) Is there any final idea or comment you would like to add?
2) Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?

Thank you for your time and for sharing your thoughts

Appendix D

Individual Interview Guide Women Participants (Spanish translation of Appendix C)

Guía de Entrevistas Individuales

Preguntas introductorias:

1) ¿Vive acá en el pueblo? ¿Desde cuándo?
2) ¿A qué se dedica? ¿Cuáles son sus actividades diarias?

Sobre organización:

1) ¿Cree que organizarse como mujeres es importante? ¿Por qué?
    a) Si es así ¿Cuáles son los beneficios de trabajar/organizarse en un grupo?
    b) ¿Son distintos a los beneficios de trabajar sola?
2) ¿Cuáles son los retos de trabajar/organizarse en un grupo?
    a) ¿Son más difíciles que los retos de trabajar sola?
3) ¿Cuáles son los riesgos de trabajar/organizarse en un grupo?
    a) ¿Son los mismos o distintos a aquellos retos de trabajar sola? ¿En qué sentido?

Sobre las actividades organizativas de las mujeres en el pueblo:

1) ¿Le parece que las mujeres en este pueblo están interesadas en organizarse con otras mujeres? Si es así ¿Qué le hace pensar eso? Está usted interesada en organizarse con otras mujeres?
2) ¿Las mujeres en este pueblo se organizan? ¿Para qué se organizan? ¿Y usted?
3) ¿Qué grupos de mujeres organizadas en el pueblo conoce? ¿Me puede contar una historia sobre este(os) grupos, es decir, cómo empezaron, qué hacían, trabajaban bien como grupo?

4) ¿En el pasado las mujeres en este pueblo se organizaban? ¿Me puede contar una historia sobre esta experiencia?
5) ¿Qué fortalezas tienen las mujeres de aquí que las puedan ayudar a organizarse?
6) ¿Las mujeres tienen retos o dificultades para organizarse? Si es así ¿cuáles son?
7) ¿Cree que el machismo es un obstáculo para que las mujeres se organicen? ¿Cómo así?
8) ¿Cree que la discriminación y el racismo son obstáculos para que las mujeres se organicen? ¿Cómo así?
9) ¿Cree que la desconfianza es un reto o un obstáculo para que las mujeres se organicen? ¿Cómo así?
10) ¿Qué cree que ayudaría a las mujeres en este pueblo a organizarse?

Si no lo han mencionado antes, preguntar:

1) ¿Cree que el conflicto armado ha traído más retos para organizarse en este pueblo?
2) ¿Qué piensa sobre programa de reparaciones? ¿Usted o su familia recibió reparaciones?

Ideas finales

1) ¿Hay alguna otra idea o comentario que quisiera agregar?
2) ¿Tiene alguna pregunta para mi?

Gracias por su tiempo y por compartir sus opiniones e ideas conmigo.

Appendix E

Individual Interview Guide for Key Informants*

**Questions in this interview guide will be adapted depending on the interviewee.*

1) Since when have you worked in this institution and what is your current position?

2) Can you tell me about your institution, that is, when and how it started, and in what main area it works?

3) Can you tell me how your institution is or was related to the reparation process in Huancasancos?

a) When did this relationship with Huancasancos start?

b) What was the role of your institution?

c) What was the role of the people of Huancasancos?

4) What does your institution understand by repair or reparation?

5) What is the position of your institution vis-à-vis the individual and collective reparations given to the victims of the armed conflict?

6) Do you know how the reparation process proceeded or is proceeding in Huancasancos?

a) What reparations (individual or collective) were given out first? Why?

b) Have all the registered victims received reparations?

c) How is it decided who receives individual reparations first?

d) What collective reparation was implemented first and how was this decided?

e) Will there be more individual and/or collective reparations implemented in the future?

7) Can you tell me what you think about the ways in which individual reparations were carried out in Huancasancos?

8) Can you tell me what you think about the ways in which collective reparations were carried out in Huancasancos?

Appendix F

Individual Interview Guide for Key Informants (Spanish translation of Appendix E)

Entrevista a Informantes Claves

1) ¿Desde cuándo está usted trabaja en esta institución y cuál es su actual cargo?

2) ¿Puede contarme un poco sobre su institución, es decir cómo y cuándo surgió, y cuál es su principal área de trabajo?

3) ¿Puede contarme cómo su institución está o ha estado vinculada al proceso de reparaciones en Huancasancos?

a) ¿Cuándo empezó esta relación?

b) ¿Cuál fue el rol de su institución?

c) ¿Cuál fue el rol de la población de Huancasancos?

4) ¿Qué entiende su institución por reparación y/o reparar?

5) ¿Cuál es la postura de su institución respecto al proceso de reparaciones tanto individuales como colectivas a las víctimas del conflicto armado?

6) ¿Sabe cómo se llevó o se está llevando a cabo el proceso de entrega reparaciones en Huancasancos?

a) ¿Qué reparaciones se entregaron primero (individuales y colectivas)? Por qué?

b) ¿Se le ha entregado reparaciones individuales a todas las víctimas registradas?

c) ¿Cómo se decide quién recibe reparación individual primero?

d) ¿Qué reparación colectiva se hizo primero y cómo se decidió esto?

e) ¿Habrán más reparaciones individuales o colectivas en el futuro?

7) ¿Puede decirme qué piensa sobre la manera en la que se llevaron a cabo las reparaciones individuales en Huancasancos?

8) ¿Puede decirme qué piensa sobre la manera en la que se llevaron a cabo las reparaciones colectivas en Huancasancos?

Appendix G

Incomplete Sentence Form

Complete the following sentences with what first comes to mind

Women must be_____

It is important that a woman knows _____

A woman must never_____

Since little women learn to _____

Women are always_____

Women want to_____

It is difficult for women to_____

Women like _____

Women always think_____

Women are capable of_____

Complete the following sentences with what first comes to mind

Men must be_____

It is important that a man knows _____

A man must never_____

Since little men learn to _____

Men are always_____

Men want to_____

It is difficult for men to_____

Men like _____

Men always think_____

Men are capable of_____

Appendix H

Incomplete Sentence Form (Spanish translation of Appendix G)

Completar las siguientes frases con lo primero que se te venga a la mente

Las mujeres deben ser_____

Es importante que una mujer sepa_____

Una mujer nunca debe_____

Desde pequeñas las mujeres aprendemos a _____

Las mujeres siempre están_____

Las mujeres queremos_____

Para las mujeres es difícil_____

A las mujeres les gusta_____

Las mujeres siempre piensan _____

Las mujeres son capaces de_____

Completar las siguientes frases con lo primero que se te venga a la mente

Los hombres deben ser_____

Es importante que un hombre sepa_____

Un hombre nunca debe_____

Desde pequeños los hombres aprenden a _____

Los hombres siempre están_____

Los hombres quieren_____

Para los hombres es difícil_____

A los hombres les gusta_____

Los hombres siempre piensan _____

Los hombres son capaces de_____

Appendix I

Across-time and Across-deductive Topic Analyses of Axial Codes

In addition to the within-axial code analyses previously explained, I analyzed both the content codes and the process codes across time and across deductive topics to search for potential patterns. I did this using coding matrices created in NVivo. To analyze across time I observed how the axial codes were distributed across the monthly workshops. I was able to observe some interesting patterns in the content codes. I found that the axial code racialized and classed patriarchy appeared only after the third month, it did not emerge before the August workshop. Additionally, I observed that there were some axial content codes that were more evenly distributed across workshops, which suggested that the participants were discussing and bringing up issues represented by these codes throughout the workshops. These axial codes include: the women's knitting association, experiences of the workshop, among each other, intrapersonal processes, material conditions and resources, motivation to progress, racialized and classed patriarchy, resistances, home dynamics, idea of women, idea of men, and the Peruvian state. In contrast, other axial codes were concentrated in only one or two monthly workshops, suggesting that the participants only discussed these issues on one or two occasions across all workshops. These axial codes are: community life, ethnic identity, cultural practices and beliefs, reparations, development, social programs, educational processes, emotions left by the armed conflict, tensions & conflicts, values, and knitting.

An analysis across deductive topics allowed me to observe how the axial content codes were distributed across the topics I had introduced in the workshops. Therefore, I was able to see in which deductive topic the axial content codes were more prevalent. All the axial content codes—except for three of them—were concentrated in one deductive topic. This means that more than 50% of these codes emerged within only one of the deductive topics I had identified and used in my first entry into interpreting the workshop transcripts.

The axial content codes concentrated in the deductive topics in the following manner. In intragroup elements: the women's knitting association, among each other, material conditions and resources, tensions & conflicts, motivation to progress, and values. In patriarchy: home dynamics, idea of men, and racialized and classed patriarchy. In town and ethnicity: community life, ethnic identity, cultural practices and beliefs, development, the Peruvian State, and social programs. In discrimination: educational processes, and resistance. In armed conflict and reparations: reparations, and emotions left by the armed conflict. In knitting: knitting. The axial content code experiences of the workshop emerged primarily in two deductive topics: intragroup elements, and armed conflict and reparations. The axial code idea of women emerged primarily in two deductive topics as well: patriarchy and intragroup elements. The axial code intrapersonal processes emerged more evenly across several deductive topics addressed in the workshops.

The axial process codes were also analyzed across time by observing how they were distributed across the monthly workshops. There were only two codes that showed a significant pattern. The axial code that represents feeling self-doubt and the axial code that represented showing self-doubt in the workshops, were only present through the September workshops. After September, these codes no longer appeared. The other process codes did not show changes across time but were distributed more evenly throughout the months of the feminist PAR process.

In terms of how the process codes were distributed across deductive topics, some process codes concentrated in the deductive topic of intragroup elements. In the workshops where we worked on this deductive topic more codes of making jokes were present and also codes that represented showing self-doubt in the workshops. However, process codes that represented showing confidence in the workshops were also concentrated in this deductive topic. Finally, relating in an asymmetrical and confrontational manner (towards Gaby and the

workshops) was another process code that was more frequent in this deductive topic.