## CONTENTS

**Preface** 1

1.- **Contextualizing the research** 5
   - Introducing the context 6
   - Transitional Justice and Social Movements 15
   - Research design 23
   - Outline of the book 30

2.- **NGOs in Peru: Thriving in a hostile environment** 33
   - 1963-1980: Left-leaning reforms and the founding of social organizations 35
   - 1980-1990: Violent turmoil and NGO expansion 38
   - 1990-2000: Another authoritarian regime and a new raison d’être of NGOs 41
   - 2000-2014: Human rights following Peru’s transition to democracy 44
   - Concluding remarks 55

3.- **Victim-survivor associations’ opportunities and constraints** 59
   - Research sites 60
   - “We all know what it’s like inside”: Reflexión 64
   - “They took them away and we never saw them again”: ANFASEP 69
   - “We escaped the violence and left everything behind”: ARDCP 78
   - Transformation of basic-needs oriented associations 85
   - Concluding remarks 86

4.- **Naming and shaming victims: The semantics of victimhood** 89
   - Legal-political entities and notions of victimhood 91
   - NGOs and notions of victimhood 97
   - Victims and notions of victimhood 102
   - Concluding remarks 116

5.- **Sufrido en carne propia: Representation of victim-survivors** 121
   - Development cooperation and representation of victim-survivors 123
   - Representativeness of organized victim-survivors 141
   - Concluding remarks 150

6.- **“Another slap in the face”? Priorities of victim-survivors for transitional justice** 155
   - Victimhood and victim rights to reparations: a bone of contention in the political arena 157
   - The meaning of reparations for victim-survivors 164
   - Absence of memorials 179
   - Concluding remarks 182

**Conclusion: Victim-survivor associations negotiating for recognition** 185
   - In the name of the victims? 187
   - Grassroots victim activism and analyzing transitional justice 188
CONTENTS

APPENDIX:
Appendix A: List of abbreviations 199
Appendix B: Glossary 201
Appendix C: Description of data collection and analysis 202
Appendix D: Sample of a coded transcript 205

Bibliography 207
Acknowledgments 219

Summary 223
Samenvatting in het Nederlands 227
Resumen en Español 231