

ISSN 1806-6445

v. 11 • n. 20 • Jun./Dec. 2014

sur

20

COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE  
HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOTION



**CONECTAS**  
HUMAN RIGHTS

**EDITORIAL BOARD**

**Christof Heyns** University of Pretoria (South Africa)  
**Emilio García Méndez** University of Buenos Aires (Argentina)  
**Fifi Benaboud** North-South Centre of the Council of Europe (Portugal)  
**Fiona Macaulay** Bradford University (United Kingdom)  
**Flavia Piovesan** Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (Brazil)  
**J. Paul Martin** Columbia University (United States)  
**Kwame Karikari** University of Ghana (Ghana)  
**Mustapha Kamel Al-Sayyid** Cairo University (Egypt)  
**Roberto Garretón** Former-UN Officer of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (Chile)  
**Upendra Baxi** University of Warwick (United Kingdom)

**EDITORS**

Pedro Paulo Poppovic  
 Oscar Vilhena Vieira

**EXECUTIVE EDITORS**

Maria Brant – Executive editor  
 Thiago Amparo – Guest editor  
 Luz González – Assistant executive editor

**EXECUTIVE BOARD**

Albertina de Oliveira Costa  
 Ana Cernov  
 Conrado Hubner Mendes  
 Glenda Mezarobba  
 Juana Kweitel  
 Laura Waisbich  
 Lucia Nader  
 Luz González  
 Manoela Miklos  
 Maria Brant  
 Thiago Amparo

**REFERENCES**

Luz González  
 Thiago Amparo  
 Tânia Rodrigues

**LANGUAGE REVISION****SPANISH**

Carolina Fairstein  
 Celina Lagrutta  
 Erika Sanchez Saez  
 Laia Fargas Fursa

**PORTUGUESE**

Erika Sanchez Saez  
 Renato Barreto  
 Marcela Vieira

**ENGLISH**

Murphy McMahon  
 Oliver Hudson  
 The Bernard and Audre Rapoport  
 Center for Human Rights and Justice,  
 University of Texas, Austin.  
 Tina Amado

**GRAPHIC DESIGN**

Oz Design

**LAYOUT**

Alex Furini

**COVER DESIGN**

Mariana Brend

**COVER PHOTO**

Renato Stockler

**CIRCULATION**

Beatriz Kux

**PRINTING**

Yangraf Gráfica e Editora Ltda/Alphagraphics

**ADVISORY BOARD**

**Alejandro M. Garro** Columbia University (United States)  
**Bernardo Sorj** Federal University of Rio de Janeiro / Edelstein Center (Brazil)  
**Bertrand Badie** Sciences-Po (France)  
**Cosmas Gitta** UNDP (United States)  
**Daniel Mato** CONICET / National University of Tres de Febrero (Argentina)  
**Daniela Ikawa** International Network on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights / Columbia University (United States)  
**Ellen Chapnick** Columbia University (United States)  
**Ernesto Garzon Valdes** University of Mainz (Germany)  
**Fateh Azzam** Arab Human Rights fund (Lebanon)  
**Guy Haarscher** Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium)  
**Jeremy Sarkin** University of the Western Cape (South Africa)  
**João Batista Costa Saraiva** Regional Jurisdiction for Children and Adolescents of Santo Angelo/RS (Brazil)  
**José Reinaldo de Lima Lopes** University of São Paulo (Brazil)  
**Juan Amaya Castro** VU University Amsterdam/ University for Peace (Costa Rica)  
**Lucia Dammert** Global Consortium on Security Transformation (Chile)  
**Luigi Ferrajoli** University of Rome (Italy)  
**Luiz Eduardo Wanderley** Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (Brazil)  
**Malak El-Chichini Poppovic** Conectas Human Rights (Brazil)  
**Maria Filomena Gregori** University of Campinas (Brazil)  
**Maria Hermínia Tavares Almeida** University of São Paulo (Brazil)  
**Miguel Cillero** University Diego Portales (Chile)  
**Mudar Kassis** Birzeit University (Palestine)  
**Paul Chevigny** New York University (United States)  
**Philip Alston** New York University (United States)  
**Roberto Cuéllar M.** Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (Costa Rica)  
**Roger Raupp Rios** Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil)  
**Shepard Forman** New York University (United States)  
**Victor Abramovich** University of Buenos Aires (UBA)  
**Victor Topanou** National University of Benin (Benin)  
**Vinodh Jaichand** Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland (Ireland)

**SUR - International Journal On Human Rights** is a biannual journal published in English, Portuguese and Spanish by Conectas Human Rights. It is available on the Internet at <<http://www.surjournal.org>>

SUR is covered by the following abstracting and indexing services: IBSS (International Bibliography of the Social Sciences); ISN Zurich (International Relations and Security Network); DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals) and SSRN (Social Science Research Network). In addition, SUR is also available at the following commercial databases: EBSCO, HEINonline, ProQuest and Scopus. SUR has been rated A1 and B1, in Colombia and in Brazil (Qualis), respectively.

SUR. Revista Internacional de Direitos Humanos / Sur – Rede Universitária de Direitos Humanos – v.1, n.1, jan.2004 – São Paulo, 2004 - .

Semestral

ISSN 1806-6445

Edições em Inglês, Português e Espanhol.

1. Direitos Humanos 2. ONU I. Rede Universitária de Direitos Humanos

# Human Rights in Motion

## CONTENTS

LUCIA NADER, JUANA KWEITEL, & MARCOS FUCHS	<b>7</b>	Introduction
PROFILE OF PEDRO PAULO POPPOVIC	<b>11</b>	“We Did not Create Sur Journal Because We Had Certainties, But Because We Were Full of Doubts”
MALAK EL-CHICHINI POPPOVIC OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA	<b>17</b>	Reflections On the International Human Rights Movement in the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century: Only the Answers Change
<b>LANGUAGE</b>		
SARA BURKE	<b>27</b>	What an Era of Global Protests Says about the Effectiveness of Human Rights as a Language to Achieve Social Change
VINODH JAICHAND	<b>35</b>	After Human Rights Standard Setting, What’s Next?
DAVID PETRASEK	<b>45</b>	Global Trends and the Future of Human Rights Advocacy
SAMUEL MOYN	<b>57</b>	The Future of Human Rights
STEPHEN HOPGOOD	<b>67</b>	Challenges to the Global Human Rights Regime: Are Human Rights Still an Effective Language for Social Change?
EMÍLIO ÁLVAREZ ICAZA	<b>77</b>	Human Rights as an Effective Way to Produce Social Change
INTERVIEW WITH RAQUEL ROLNIK	<b>81</b>	UN Special Procedures System is “Designed to Be Ineffective”
INTERVIEW WITH PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO	<b>91</b>	“Besides Human Rights, I Don’t See a Solution for Serving the Victims”
INTERVIEW WITH KUMI NAIDOO	<b>97</b>	“The Rule of Law Has Consolidated All the Injustices That Existed Before It”
<b>THEMES</b>		
JANET LOVE	<b>105</b>	Are we Depoliticising Economic Power?: Wilful Business Irresponsibility and Bureaucratic Response by Human Rights Defenders
PHIL BLOOMER	<b>115</b>	Are Human Rights an Effective Tool for Social Change?: A Perspective on Human Rights and Business
GONZALO BERRÓN	<b>123</b>	Economic Power, Democracy and Human Rights. A New International Debate on Human Rights and Corporations
DIEGO LORENTE PÉREZ DE EULATE	<b>133</b>	Issues and Challenges Facing Networks and Organisations Working in Migration and Human Rights in Mesoamerica
GLORIA CAREAGA PÉREZ	<b>143</b>	The Protection of LGBTI Rights: An Uncertain Outlook

---

ARVIND NARRAIN **151** Brazil, India, South Africa:  
Transformative Constitutions and their Role in LGBT Struggles

---

SONIA CORRÊA **167** Emerging powers: Can it be that sexuality and human rights  
is a 'lateral issue'?

---

CLARA SANDOVAL **181** Transitional Justice and Social Change

---

## PERSPECTIVES

---

NICOLE FRITZ **193** Human Rights Litigation in Southern Africa:  
Not Easily Able to Discount Prevailing Public Opinion

---

MANDIRA SHARMA **201** Making Laws Work:  
Advocacy Forum's Experiences in Prevention of Torture in Nepal

---

MARIA LÚCIA DA SILVEIRA **213** Human Rights and Social Change in Angola

---

SALVADOR NKAMATE **219** The Struggle for the Recognition of Human Rights in Mozambique:  
Advances and Setbacks

---

HARIS AZHAR **227** The Human Rights Struggle in Indonesia:  
International Advances, Domestic Deadlocks

---

HAN DONGFANG **237** A vision of China's Democratic Future

---

ANA VALÉRIA ARAÚJO **247** Challenges to the Sustainability of the Human Rights  
Agenda in Brazil

---

MAGGIE BEIRNE **257** Are we Throwing Out the Baby with the Bathwater?: The North-South  
Dynamic from the Perspective of Human Rights Work in Northern Ireland

---

INTERVIEW WITH  
MARÍA-I. FAGUAGA IGLESIAS **265** "The Particularities in Cuba Are Not Always Identified Nor  
Understood By Human Rights Activists From Other Countries"

---

## VOICES

---

FATEH AZZAM **273** Why Should We Have to "Represent" Anyone?

---

MARIO MELO **283** Voices from the Jungle on the Witness Stand of the  
Inter-American Court of Human Rights

---

ADRIAN GURZA LAVALLE **293** NGOs, Human Rights and Representation

---

JUANA KWEITEL **305** Experimentation and Innovation in the Accountability  
of Human Rights Organizations in Latin America

---

PEDRO ABRAMOVAY  
AND HELOISA GRIGGS **323** Democratic Minorities in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democracies

---

JAMES RON, DAVID CROW AND  
SHANNON GOLDEN **335** Human Rights Familiarity and Socio-Economic Status:  
A Four-Country Study

---

CHRIS GROVE **353** To Build a Global Movement to Make Human Rights  
and Social Justice a Reality For All

---

INTERVIEW WITH MARY LAWLOR  
AND ANDREW ANDERSON **365** "Role of International Organizations Should Be to Support  
Local Defenders"

---

## TOOLS

- |   |            |  |
|---|------------|--|
| GASTÓN CHILLIER AND<br>PÉTALLA BRANDÃO TIMO       | <b>375</b> | The Global Human Rights Movement in the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century: Reflections from the Perspective of a National Human Rights NGO from the South |
| MARTIN KIRK                                       | <b>385</b> | Systems, Brains and Quiet Places: Thoughts on the Future of Human Rights Campaigning   |
| ROCHELLE JONES, SARAH<br>ROSENHEK AND ANNA TURLEY | <b>399</b> | A 'Movement Support' Organization: The Experience of the Association For Women's Rights in Development (AWID)                                    |
| ANA PAULA HERNÁNDEZ                               | <b>411</b> | Supporting Locally-Rooted Organizations:<br>The Work of the Fund For Global Human Rights in Mexico   |
| MIGUEL PULIDO JIMÉNEZ                             | <b>419</b> | Human Rights Activism In Times of Cognitive Saturation:<br>Talking About Tools   |
| MALLIKA DUTT AND NADIA RASUL                      | <b>427</b> | Raising Digital Consciousness: An Analysis of the Opportunities and Risks Facing Human Rights Activists in a Digital Age                         |
| SOPHEAP CHAK                                      | <b>437</b> | New Information and Communication Technologies' Influence on Activism in Cambodia  |
| SANDRA CARVALHO AND<br>EDUARDO BAKER              | <b>449</b> | Strategic Litigation Experiences in the Inter-American Human Rights System   |
| INTERVIEW WITH FERNAND ALPHEN                     | <b>461</b> | "Get Off Your Pedestal"  |
| INTERVIEW WITH MARY KALDOR                        | <b>469</b> | "NGO's are not the Same as Civil Society But Some NGOs Can Play the Role of Facilitators"  |
| INTERVIEW WITH LOUIS BICKFORD                     | <b>475</b> | Convergence Towards the Global Middle:<br>"Who Sets the Global Human Rights Agenda and How"  |

## MULTIPOLARITY

- |  |            |  |
|--|------------|--|
| LUCIA NADER                                      | <b>483</b> | Solid Organisations in a Liquid World  |
| KENNETH ROTH                                     | <b>491</b> | Why We Welcome Human Rights Partnerships   |
| CÉSAR RODRÍGUEZ-GARAVITO                         | <b>499</b> | The Future of Human Rights: From Gatekeeping to Symbiosis                                      |
| DHANANJAYAN SRISKANDARAJAH<br>AND MANDEEP TIWANA | <b>511</b> | Towards a Multipolar Civil Society   |
| INTERVIEW WITH EMILIE M.<br>HAFNER-BURTON        | <b>519</b> | "Avoiding Using Power Would Be Devastating for Human Rights"                                   |
| INTERVIEW WITH MARK<br>MALLOCH-BROWN             | <b>525</b> | "We Are Very Much A Multi-Polar World Now, But Not One Comprised Solely Of Nation States"      |
| INTERVIEW WITH SALIL SHETTY                      | <b>531</b> | "Human Rights Organisations Should Have a Closer Pulse to the Ground" Or How We Missed the Bus |
| INTERVIEW WITH<br>LOUISE ARBOUR                  | <b>539</b> | "North-South solidarity is key"  |

# INTRODUCTION



## HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOTION: A MAP TO A MOVEMENT'S FUTURE

Lucia Nader (Executive Director, Conectas)  
Juana Kweitel (Program Director, Conectas)  
Marcos Fuchs (Associate Director, Conectas)

**Sur Journal** was created ten years ago as a vehicle to deepen and strengthen bonds between academics and activists from the Global South concerned with human rights, in order to magnify their voices and their participation before international organizations and academia. Our main motivation was the fact that, particularly in the Southern hemisphere, academics were working alone and there was very little exchange between researchers from different countries. The journal's aim has been to provide individuals and organizations working to defend human rights with research, analyses and case studies that combine academic rigor and practical interest. In many ways, these lofty ambitions have been met with success: in the past decade, we have published articles from dozens of countries on issues as diverse as health and access to treatment, transitional justice, regional mechanisms and information and human rights, to name a few. Published in three languages and available online and in print for free, our project also remains unique in terms of geographical reach, critical perspective and its Southern 'accent'. In honour of the founding editor of this journal, **Pedro Paulo Poppovic**, the 20<sup>th</sup> issue opens with a biography (by João Paulo Charleaux) of this sociologist who has been one of the main contributors to this publication's success.

This past decade has also been, in many ways, a successful one for the human rights movement as a whole. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has recently turned 60, new international treaties have been adopted and the old but good global and regional monitoring systems are in full operation, despite criticisms regarding their effectiveness and attempts by States to curb their authority. From a strategic perspective, we continue to use, with more or less success, advocacy, litigation and naming-and-shaming as our main tools for change. In addition, we continue to nurture partnerships between what we categorize as local, national and international organizations within our movement.

Nevertheless, the **political and geographic coordinates** under which the global human

rights movement has operated have undergone profound changes. Over the past decade, we have witnessed hundreds of thousands of people take to the streets to protest against social and political injustices. We have also seen emerging powers from the South play an increasingly influential role in the definition of the global human rights agenda. Additionally, the past ten years have seen the rapid growth of social networks as a tool of mobilization and as a privileged forum for sharing political information between users. In other words, the journal is publishing its 20<sup>th</sup> issue against a backdrop that is very different from that of ten years ago. The protests that recently filled the streets of many countries around the globe, for example, were not organized by traditional social movements nor by unions or human rights NGOs, and people's grievances, more often than not, were expressed in terms of social justice and not as rights. Does this mean that human rights are no longer seen as an effective language for producing social change? Or that human rights organizations have lost some of their ability to represent wronged citizens? Emerging powers themselves, despite their newly-acquired international influence, have hardly been able – or willing – to assume stances departing greatly from those of “traditional” powers. How and where can human rights organizations advocate for change? Are Southern-based NGOs in a privileged position to do this? Are NGOs from emerging powers also gaining influence in international forums?

It was precisely to reflect upon these and other pressing issues that, for this 20<sup>th</sup> issue, SUR's editors decided to enlist the help of over 50 leading human rights activists and academics from 18 countries, from Ecuador to Nepal, from China to the US. We asked them to ponder on what we saw as some of the most urgent and relevant questions facing the global human rights movement today: 1. Who do we represent? 2. How do we combine urgent issues with long-term impacts? 3. Are human rights still an effective language for producing social change? 4. How have new information and communication technologies influenced activism? 5. What are the challenges of working internationally from the South?

The result, which you now hold in your hands, is a **roadmap for the global human rights movement** in the 21<sup>st</sup> century – it offers a vantage point from which it is possible to observe where the movement stands today and where it is heading. The first stop is a reflection on these issues by the founding directors of Conectas Human Rights, **Oscar Vilhena Vieira** and **Malak El-Chichini Poppovic**. The roadmap then goes on to include **interviews** and **articles**, both providing in-depth analyses of human rights issues, as well as **notes from the field**, more personalized accounts of experiences working with human rights, which we have organized into **six categories**, although most of them could arguably be allocated to more than one category:

**Language.** In this section, we have included articles that ponder the question of whether human rights – as a utopia, as norms and as institutions – are still effective for producing social change. Here, the contributions range from analyses on human rights as a language for change (**Stephen Hoggood** and **Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro**), empirical research on the use of the language of human rights for articulating grievances in recent mass protests (**Sara Burke**), to reflections on the standard-setting role and effectiveness of international human rights institutions (**Raquel Rolnik**, **Vinodh Jaichand** and **Emílio**

**Álvarez Icaza**). It also includes studies on the movement's global trends (**David Petrusek**), challenges to the movement's emphasis on protecting the rule of law (**Kumi Naidoo**), and strategic proposals to better ensure a compromise between utopianism and realism in relation to human rights (**Samuel Moyn**).

**Themes.** Here we have included contributions that address specific human rights topics from an original and critical standpoint. Four themes were analysed: economic power and corporate accountability for human rights violations (**Phil Bloomer, Janet Love and Gonzalo Berrón**); sexual politics and LGBTI rights (**Sonia Corrêa, Gloria Careaga Pérez and Arvind Narrain**); migration (**Diego Lorente Pérez de Eulate**); and, finally, transitional justice (**Clara Sandoval**).

**Perspectives.** This section encompasses country-specific accounts, mostly field notes from human rights activists on the ground. Those contributions come from places as diverse as Angola (**Maria Lúcia da Silveira**), Brazil (**Ana Valéria Araújo**), Cuba (**María-Ileana Faguaga Iglesias**), Indonesia (**Haris Azhar**), Mozambique (**Salvador Nkamate**) and Nepal (**Mandira Sharma**). But they all share a critical perspective on human rights, including for instance a sceptical perspective on the relation between litigation and public opinion in Southern Africa (**Nicole Fritz**), a provocative view of the democratic future of China and its relation to labour rights (**Han Dongfang**), and a thoughtful analysis of the North-South duality from Northern Ireland (**Maggie Beirne**).

**Voices.** Here the articles go to the core of the question of whom the global human rights movement represents. **Adrian Gurza Lavalle** and **Juana Kweitel** take note of the pluralisation of representation and innovative forms of accountability adopted by human rights NGOs. Others study the pressure for more representation or a louder voice in international human rights mechanisms (such as in the Inter-American system, as reported by **Mario Melo**) and in representative institutions such as national legislatures (as analysed by **Pedro Abramovay and Heloisa Griggs**). Finally, **Chris Grove**, as well as **James Ron, David Crow and Shannon Golden** emphasize, in their contributions, the need for a link between human rights NGOs and grassroots groups, including economically disadvantaged populations. As a counter-argument, **Fateh Azzam** questions the need of human rights activists to represent anyone, taking issue with the critique of NGOs as being overly dependent on donors. Finally, **Mary Lawlor and Andrew Anderson** provide an account of a Northern organization's efforts to attend to the needs of local human rights defenders as they, and only they, define them.

**Tools.** In this section, the editors included contributions that focus on the instruments used by the global human rights movement to do its work. This includes a debate on the role of technology in promoting change (**Mallika Dutt and Nadia Rasul**, as well as **Sopheap Chak and Miguel Pulido Jiménez**) and perspectives on the challenges of human rights campaigning, analysed provocatively by **Martin Kirk** and **Fernand Alphen** in their respective contributions. Other articles point to the need of organizations to be more grounded in local contexts, as noted by **Ana Paula Hernández** in relation to Mexico, by **Louis Bickford** in what he sees as a convergence towards the global middle, and finally by **Rochelle Jones, Sarah Rosenhek and Anna Turley** in their movement-support model. In addition, it is noted by **Mary Kaldor** that NGOs are not the same as civil society,



properly understood. Furthermore, litigation and international work are cast in a critical light by **Sandra Carvalho and Eduardo Baker** in relation to the dilemma between long and short term strategies in the Inter-American system. Finally, **Gastón Chillier and Pétalla Brandão Timo** analyse South-South cooperation from the viewpoint of a national human rights NGO in Argentina.

**Multipolarity.** Here, the articles challenge our ways of thinking about power in the multipolar world we currently live in, with contributions from the heads of some of the world's largest international human rights organizations based in the North (**Kenneth Roth** and **Salil Shetty**) and in the South (**Lucia Nader, César Rodríguez-Garavito, Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah** and **Mandeep Tiwana**). This section also debates what multipolarity means in relation to States (**Emilie M. Hafner-Burton**), international organizations and civil society (**Louise Arbour**) and businesses (**Mark Malloch-Brown**).

Conectas hopes this issue will foster debate on the future of the global human rights movement in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, enabling it to reinvent itself as necessary to offer better protection of human rights on the ground.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that this issue of Sur Journal was made possible by the support of the Ford Foundation, Open Society Foundations, the Oak Foundation, the Sigrid Rausing Trust, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). Additionally, Conectas Human Rights is especially grateful for the collaboration of the authors and the hard work of the Journal's editorial team. We are also extremely thankful for the work of Maria Brant and Manoela Miklos for conceiving this Issue and for conducting most of the interviews, and for Thiago Amparo for joining the editorial team and making this Issue possible. We are also tremendously thankful for Luz González's tireless work with editing the contributions received, and for Ana Cernov for coordinating the overall editorial process.



sur

## Human Rights in Motion

# Tools

**GASTÓN CHILLIER AND PÉTALLA BRANDÃO TIMO**

The Global Human Rights Movement in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Reflections from the Perspective of a National Human Rights NGO from the South

**MARTIN KIRK**

Systems, Brains and Quiet Places:

Thoughts on the Future of Human Rights Campaigning

**ROCHELLE JONES, SARAH ROSENHEK AND ANNA TURLEY**

A 'Movement Support' Organization: The Experience of the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID)

**ANA PAULA HERNÁNDEZ**

Supporting Locally-Rooted Organizations:

The Work of the Fund for Global Human Rights in Mexico

**MIGUEL PULIDO JIMÉNEZ**

Human Rights Activism in Times of Cognitive Saturation: Talking About Tools

**MALLIKA DUTT AND NADIA RASUL**

Raising Digital Consciousness: An Analysis of the Opportunities and Risks Facing Human Rights Activists in a Digital Age

**SOPHEAP CHAK**

New Information and Communication Technologies' Influence on Activism in Cambodia

**SANDRA CARVALHO AND EDUARDO BAKER**

Strategic Litigation Experiences in the Inter-American Human Rights System

**INTERVIEW WITH FERNAND ALPHEN**

"Get Off Your Pedestal"

**INTERVIEW WITH MARY KALDOR**

"NGO's are not the Same as Civil Society But Some NGOs Can Play the Role of Facilitators"

**INTERVIEW WITH LOUIS BICKFORD**

Convergence Towards the Global Middle: "Who Sets the Global Human Rights Agenda and How"



ANA PAULA HERNÁNDEZ

Ana Paula Hernández is the Program Officer for Latin America at the Fund for Global Human Rights. She leads its grant making in Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala and its Corporate Accountability Project in Mesoamerica. She holds an MA in Human Rights and Democracy from *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* (FLACSO) and in 2010 was named a Yale World Fellow.

E-mail: [ahernandez@globalhumanrights.org](mailto:ahernandez@globalhumanrights.org)

ABSTRACT

---

Through concrete examples of the Fund for Global Human Rights' grant-making experience in Mexico, the article discusses the importance of supporting both large organizations with national and international reach as well as locally rooted groups that have direct and ongoing contact with communities affected by human rights violations. Locally rooted organizations face an upward battle in obtaining resources, yet they play a vital role in 1) identifying and responding to community needs, 2) enabling affected communities to advocate on their own behalf, and 3) bolstering national and international policy campaigns by mobilizing a grassroots constituency and monitoring the implementation of human rights protections. Diversifying funding and ensuring resources reach both front-line activists and larger organizations contributes to a more effective civil society and brings us closer to the critical social change that funders were created to support.

Original in English.

Received in May 2014.

KEYWORDS

---

Grantmaking - Civil society - Human rights – Mexico – Grassroots



This paper is published under the *creative commons* license.

This paper is available in digital format at [www.surjournal.org](http://www.surjournal.org).

ESSAY

## SUPPORTING LOCALLY-ROOTED ORGANIZATIONS: THE WORK OF THE FUND FOR GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS IN MEXICO

Ana Paula Hernández

### 1 Introduction

As international organizations, donors, and activists, we are all looking for the most effective ways to foster critical social change. Those of us in the human rights field work to transform the structural issues at the core of rights abuses: impunity, corruption, inequality, lack of transparency and accountability, discrimination, and racism, among others. To that end, we aim to strengthen the international and regional standards and mechanisms that promote and protect rights, while at the national level, we press for policy change to recognize and implement those standards. All the more crucial to this work is the development of local constituencies with 1) the credibility to inform the development of policies and practices that respond to community needs, and 2) the broad, grassroots power to demand changes and monitor their implementation. It is vital that we support and nurture these on-the-ground movements to play this role.

More resourceful, flagship, organizations continue to have additional needs for funding, but with the benefit of larger budgets and dedicated fundraising staff, they have had considerable success in securing international resources. With staff dedicated to writing funding proposals and reports and maintaining connections with donors, these flagship organizations can both secure significant funding and demonstrate to donors their ability to effectively manage large budgets. This positions them on a path towards long-term growth, as most donors value the size of organizational budgets and the ability to secure other sources of funding.

For smaller, state-level and community-based organizations, obtaining funding continues to be an upward battle. They lack the initial resources to retain staff to conduct their core activities; often, one person is doing the work

---

*Notes to this text start on page 417.*

of three or more. Severely understaffed, they are challenged to make fundraising a priority when faced with ongoing human rights emergencies that demand a response. As their budgets fail to grow, they lose the opportunity to show donors they are capable of managing large projects and find it difficult to demonstrate a track record. Few donors are willing to take the risk in providing these groups with seed funding to begin to reverse this cycle, and they rarely are put on the path to grow.

As the Fund for Global Human Rights's Program Officer for Latin America based in Mexico City, in the next sections, I will draw on our grant-making experience in Mexico to demonstrate the importance of supporting smaller, local groups and how we have been able to incorporate them into our grant program in that country.

## 2 The work of the Fund for Global Human Rights in Mexico

The Fund for Global Human Rights (hereafter, the Fund) is an international human rights organization that provides funding, technical resources, and strategic support to frontline human rights organizations in eighteen countries around the world. Founded on the core belief that on-the-ground activism is the bedrock on which respect for human rights is built, the Fund started with the simple but pioneering approach of directing financial resources to locally-rooted rights groups, and since 2003, we have awarded more than \$45 million in grants to more than 200 groups. When the Fund was launched, few resources were making their way to frontline groups. Most of our first grants were awarded to relatively established, capital-based organizations that lacked the necessary resources to implement their programs. In response to emerging needs and opportunities, we quickly expanded our portfolio to reach more grassroots and community-based groups, many of which had little to no experience applying for funding. Both types of organizations are critical to moving human rights forward, but while flagship organizations can access resources with relative ease, grassroots groups struggle to secure the funding necessary to expand their efforts and impact.

As the entire sector of those grassroots groups remains severely under-resourced, it is urgent that we move to address this need. When the Fund began its grant program in Mexico in 2003, the country already had a vibrant human rights community that had first emerged in the late 1980s. By the early 2000s, the movement was challenged to adapt to an unprecedented opening for engagement with the government after an opposition party, the National Action Party (*Partido Acción Nacional* - PAN), won the presidency following seventy-one years of single party rule by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional* - PRI). Many of our first grants were awarded to relatively established organizations, the majority based in Mexico City, which were well positioned to use unrestricted, general support grants from the Fund to press for legislative reform and improved human rights policies.

Early in the development of our grants program, the Fund placed the same importance on local organizations, expanding our portfolio to reach smaller,

grassroots and community-based groups based outside Mexico City in states that suffered particularly high rates of human rights abuses like Guerrero, Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Chihuahua. One of the many reasons to support these organizations is to break the cycle in which groups fail to adequately demonstrate a track record of impact for donors that would otherwise position them for institutional growth.

Above all, however, we have incorporated local groups in our grant-making strategy because of the vital role they play in three aspects: first, in identifying and responding to community needs; second, in enabling affected communities to advocate on their own behalf, and, finally, in bolstering national and international policy campaigns by mobilizing a grassroots constituency and monitoring the implementation of human rights protections. In the next sections, I will develop separately each of those roles, although they are extremely intertwined in practice.

### **3 Identifying and Responding to Community Needs: the experience of the Tlachinollan Human Rights Center**

Locally-rooted organizations have direct and ongoing contact with the communities affected by human rights violations. Their proximity to and relationships with local communities provides them with an accurate assessment of the situation as well as the ability to identify the most pressing needs. Recently in the state of Guerrero, a tropical storm combined with a hurricane devastated the already marginalized Mountain Region of the state, home to the country's two poorest municipalities with a population that is 90 percent indigenous. The destruction of houses, roads, schools, and clinics will take many years to repair, but the greatest devastation involved the destruction of thousands of hectares of crops on which over 20,000 families depend for survival.<sup>1</sup> As the federal and state governments focused relief efforts on reconstruction of the tourist center of Acapulco, they continued a pattern of diverting attention and resources from the Mountain Region.

Fund grantee Tlachinollan Human Rights Center<sup>2</sup> is a locally-rooted organization that has been working to promote and defend indigenous rights in the municipality of Tlapa de Comonfort, located in the heart of the Mountain Region of Guerrero. Following the storm, its staff walked for days to assess the damage, to see conditions in the communities, and to begin formulating immediate and long-term plans to address the emergency. Tlachinollan's team mounted an ambitious media campaign to bring attention to the devastation of the Mountain Region; this outreach succeeded in attracting significant national and international attention to this often overlooked area. In the months since the storm hit, they have been working with sixty communities, helping them come together to form the Council of Affected Communities of the Mountain Region. Tlachinollan quickly realized that the most imminent threat to the region was hunger and starvation due to the destruction of the crops. The Council, with Tlachinollan's mentoring and assistance demanded that the government guarantee their right to food and negotiated a special program to provide these families with sufficient corn, the basic staple of their diet, for the next six months.

#### **4 Enabling affected communities to advocate on their own behalf: the experience of the Comprehensive Processes for the Self Determination of Peoples (PIAP)**

Frontline organizations are also positioned to strengthen communities fighting for their own livelihoods, health, and security. Such organizations enable communities to become the key stakeholders in this process, therefore allowing greater possibilities for these communities to maintain their unity in litigation processes or political struggles that often take many years to produce any tangible results. As the Fund has increased its support to the defense of land and resource rights, which are increasingly violated not only by states but also by private sector actors, including huge multinational companies, the importance of supporting locally-rooted organizations that have direct and ongoing contact with the communities has become even more evident.

Canadian company Goldcorp has operated the Los Filos gold mine in the state of Guerrero since 2005, which has impacted the health and livelihood of the local community of Carrizalillo. Fund grantee Comprehensive Processes for the Self Determination of Peoples (PIAP), a small organization working directly with communities in the states of Guerrero and Oaxaca, has provided technical assistance to the community and agrarian authorities of Carrizalillo for the past five years. They formulated a community development plan through a participatory process with the authorities and community members that allowed them to form the basis for their contract with Goldcorp, establishing not only fair prices for the rent of their lands, but other aspects such as ensuring community members would be hired to work on the mine with full guarantee of their labor rights. Soon community members started falling ill and blamed the open pit mining operations that pollute the water, soil, and air. The community now suffers from unusually high rates of premature deaths, skin lesions, and respiratory and eye problems.<sup>3</sup>

Last year, PIAP's staff spent months in Carrizalillo training community members how to document these health hazards. They worked with the community agrarian assembly, the decision making authority for all agrarian affairs in the community that is officially recognized by Mexican Law, to establish the right to health as a priority in its negotiations with Goldcorp over contract renewal. In April 2014, the assembly demanded that Goldcorp recognize the health hazards of its operations, work with the community to prevent future damages and pay for those it had already caused, and appropriately increase payment of rent on their lands.<sup>4</sup> When the company refused, they blocked the entrance of the mine and temporarily shut down operations. If the company refuses to accept the terms presented by the community, they will proceed to legally demand that Goldcorp return the lands to the community and begin the implementation of its closure plan for the mine.

The capacity building, technical assistance, and mentoring provided by PIAP has been key in empowering this community to defend its lands and demand its rights despite the overwhelming economic power of the private actor they are facing. As the Fund accompanies similar processes not only in Mexico but also in other countries in the region including Guatemala and Honduras, it is clear that in the defense of land and resources it is essential for communities to know their rights and have a common voice regarding the future development they want for their population. This

is key in maintaining unity in the face of threats, harassment, defamation campaigns, and the use of bribes to attempt to divide the community and buy the support of its authorities, all of which are common strategies local activists have seen employed by mining companies throughout Mesoamerica.

## **5 Bolstering national and international policy campaigns: the experience of the Fund's Corporate Accountability Project (CAP)**

The work of these front line organizations is vital, but often can be limited in scope precisely because of its local focus. To have the broadest possible impact, this work can be amplified by organizations with national, regional, and international reach. This is one of the reasons the Fund continues to support a number of the large, flagship organizations that were some of the first to be included in our portfolio. In the past year for example, the Comprehensive Processes for the Self Determination of Peoples (PIAP), mentioned above, has partnered with another Fund grantee PODER,<sup>5</sup> a Mexico City-based organization with vast experience in corporate research, to educate community members about Goldcorp's corporate practices and establish patterns of human rights abuse that could be useful in the negotiation of greater rights' protection. Moreover, the Fund has supported PIAP to participate in the Mesoamerican Movement against the Extractive Mining Model (M4), a coalition catalyzed two years ago by the Fund's Corporate Accountability Project (CAP).

Since its inception, CAP has sought to increase the impact of frontline human rights advocates working on the ground to defend their land and resources that are threatened by corporate-led development projects, particularly the extraction of natural resources. The challenge facing affected communities is enormous given the tremendous economic power of these industries and the strong support they receive from governments that have aligned national legislation to favor them. At the outset, the Fund recognized that human rights organizations and local groups have been fighting these battles community by community.

Two important strands of work were being developed. First, locally-rooted and community-based organizations were educating communities on the effects of mining and empowering them to demand they be consulted and have the opportunity to make informed decisions regarding mining projects on their lands – the clearest example being over 60 community consultations that took place in Guatemala, where over 1 million people said they did not want mining on their lands. Second, larger organizations with regional and international reach were employing a range of legal and international strategies – such as taking cases to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and advocating with the companies' shareholders - to hold mining companies accountable. While there were some successful cases, frontline activists could not easily transform community awareness and empowerment into binding decisions, rights-respecting standards, and accountability for abuses. Likewise, regional and international organizations were unable to ensure that successes were effectively implemented and had a positive effect in the struggles on the ground communities were leading against the companies.



With this project, the Fund sought to connect these strands of work and reinforce important, ongoing efforts by providing resources for groups working at different levels to develop joint actions. We engaged activists at the local and community levels as well as national and international organizations to work together to identify and implement comprehensive solutions, campaigns, and tactics that combat abuse on the ground and build rights-respecting standards at the global and national levels. The Fund began the project in Mexico and Guatemala, and the work quickly and organically grew to include Panama, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Honduras, resulting in the creation of the Mesoamerican Movement against the Extractive Mining Model (M4), mentioned above. Over the past two years, the project has evolved from the Fund driving the process to the frontline groups taking the lead in managing a coalition that supports members' work across borders, so that national successes could bear fruit internationally. Presently, the members are working together within the formal coalition to engage in joint activities and support each other's work.

Last year the M4 focused its efforts on a campaign to hold Goldcorp accountable for violations of the right to health in communities where three of its mines are located: the San Martin Mine in Honduras, the Los Filos Mine in Mexico, and the Marlin Mine in Guatemala.<sup>6</sup> To generate media coverage and create awareness of massive health rights violations associated with these three Goldcorp mines, the M4 organized a public "tribunal" with over 600 people in which human rights luminaries from the region served as "judges," hearing testimonies from community members and reviewing evidence of pollution and health effects. The panel of judges found Goldcorp, Canada, and the states in which the mines operated guilty, and recommended that the participants peacefully organize to stop Goldcorp's operations, through both community action and the utilization of national and international law.<sup>7</sup>

In 2014 the M4 will develop common tools to document health harms in the communities surrounding these three mines to gather solid evidence that could support a legal claim against Goldcorp. In this regard and through its participation in the M4, PIAP's training of community promoters in Carrizalillo to document health harms is not only aimed at negotiating the renewal of the community's contract with Goldcorp, but of working with Fund grantees that will document health harms in Honduras and Guatemala. Together, the group will develop strategies to use the information to hold Goldcorp accountable for violations to the right to health. They will work closely with Canadian organization Mining Watch,<sup>8</sup> an important ally to the M4 since its inception, in exploring strategies with shareholders and investors and the use of mechanisms contained in commercial and free trade agreements. They will also explore innovative strategies before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) with the Due Process of Law Foundation (DPLF),<sup>9</sup> which in 2013 spearheaded the first ever thematic hearing before the IACHR on the "Human Rights of Peoples Affected by Mining in the Americas and Mining Companies' Host and Home States' Responsibility."<sup>10</sup> Hopefully, the hearing will be an initial step toward the IAHR admitting a concrete case on this issue. In the future, the M4 will explore possibilities with DPLF to examine if this case of health violations perpetrated by Goldcorp at its mines in Mexico, Honduras and, Guatemala, could be presented before the IACHR.

The M4 provides a powerful example of what can be achieved when a diverse civil society working on many levels has the resources to coordinate community-level, national, and international campaigns. The work in Mesoamerica has been even more successful than anticipated precisely because it takes advantage of existing momentum and provides the resources and guidance necessary to take the campaign to the next level. We believe this has successfully broadened and organized the frontline response to hold corporations accountable for abuses related to resource rights and environmental justice while also connecting those efforts to regional and global coalition advocacy.

## 6 Conclusion

The development of the Fund's CAP program, as well as the other experiences explained above, have highlighted the importance of aligning the Fund's grant-making and technical assistance with the priorities and strategies of on-the-ground activists and affected communities. As funding becomes ever more scarce, it is vital for funders to remember the key role locally-rooted organizations play in identifying and responding to community needs and enabling affected communities to advocate on their own behalf. Most importantly, it is these organizations that can ensure the effectiveness of work to establish and strengthen standards at the regional and international levels, bolstering it through grassroots constituencies that can press for their passage and meaningful implementation. Diversifying funding and ensuring resources reach front-line activists as well as larger organizations both contributes to a stronger civil society and brings us closer to the critical social change our institutions were created to support.

## NOTES

1. See: <[http://www.tlachinollan.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=2295%3Apara-que-llueva-maiz-en-la-montana&catid=350%3AAdesastre-natural-2013&Itemid=663&lang=es](http://www.tlachinollan.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2295%3Apara-que-llueva-maiz-en-la-montana&catid=350%3AAdesastre-natural-2013&Itemid=663&lang=es)>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.
2. See: <[www.tlachinollan.org](http://www.tlachinollan.org)>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.
3. Through a census conducted with local medical staff and health promoters in Carrizalillo, PIAP has documented that 27% of the population suffers from nausea, diarrhea, and parasites; 39% from headaches and exhaustion; 45% from pain, irritation and/or inflammation in their throats; 57% from colds, coughs, bronchitis, asthma or pneumonia and an indefinitely high number of cases of skin lesions and diseases due to the hydrocyanic acid produced as a result of the evaporation of cyanide used in the cyanide leach mining for gold extraction. Data on file with the author.
4. See: <<http://www.miningwatch.ca/blog/local-community-shuts-down-goldcorps-los-filos-mine-mexico-company-claims-it-was-suspended-purp>>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.
5. See: <[www.rindocumentos.org](http://www.rindocumentos.org)>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.
6. See: <<http://www.movimientom4.org/gold-corp-me-enferma> and <http://www.movimientom4.org/wp-content/docs/accion-denuncia-goldcorp-ingles.pdf>>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.
7. See: <<http://tribunaldesalud.org/veredicto>>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.
8. See: <[www.miningwatch.ca](http://www.miningwatch.ca)>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.
9. See: <[www.dplf.org](http://www.dplf.org)>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.
10. See: <[http://www.dplf.org/sites/default/files/informe\\_audiencia\\_mineria.pdf](http://www.dplf.org/sites/default/files/informe_audiencia_mineria.pdf)>. Last accessed on: 12 Aug. 2014.

## PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <[www.surjournal.org](http://www.surjournal.org)>.

### **SUR 1**, v. 1, n. 1, Jun. 2004

EMILIO GARCÍA MÉNDEZ  
Origin, Concept and Future of Human Rights: Reflections for a New Agenda

FLAVIA PIOVESAN  
Social, Economic and Cultural Rights and Civil and Political Rights

OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA AND A. SCOTT DUPREE  
Reflections on Civil Society and Human Rights

JEREMY SARKIN  
The Coming of Age of Claims for Reparations for Human Rights Abuses Committed in the South

VINODH JAICHAND  
Public Interest Litigation Strategies for Advancing Human Rights in Domestic Systems of Law

PAUL CHEVIGNY  
Repression in the United States after the September 11 Attack

SERGIO VIEIRA DE MELLO  
Only Member States Can Make the UN Work Five Questions for the Human Rights Field

### **SUR 2**, v. 2, n. 2, Jun. 2005

SALIL SHETTY  
Millennium Declaration and Development Goals: Opportunities for Human Rights

FATEH AZZAM  
Reflections on Human Rights Approaches to Implementing the Millennium Development Goals

RICHARD PIERRE CLAUDE  
The Right to Education and Human Rights Education

JOSÉ REINALDO DE LIMA LOPES  
The Right to Recognition for Gays and Lesbians

E.S. NWAUCHE AND J.C. NWOBIKE  
Implementing the Right to Development

STEVEN FREELAND  
Human Rights, the Environment and Conflict: Addressing Crimes against the Environment

FIONA MACAULAY  
Civil Society-State Partnerships for the Promotion of Citizen Security in Brazil

EDWIN REKOSH  
Who Defines the Public Interest?

VÍCTOR E. ABRAMOVICH  
Courses of Action in Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Instruments and Allies

### **SUR 3**, v. 2, n. 3, Dec. 2005

CAROLINE DOMMEN  
Trade and Human Rights: Towards Coherence

CARLOS M. CORREA  
TRIPS Agreement and Access to Drugs in Developing Countries

BERNARDO SORJ  
Security, Human Security and Latin America

ALBERTO BOVINO  
Evidential Issues before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

NICO HORN  
Eddie Mabo and Namibia: Land Reform and Pre-Colonial Land Rights

NLERUM S. OKOGBULE  
Access to Justice and Human Rights Protection in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects

MARÍA JOSÉ GUEMBE  
Reopening of Trials for Crimes Committed by the Argentine Military Dictatorship

JOSÉ RICARDO CUNHA  
Human Rights and Justiciability: A Survey Conducted in Rio de Janeiro

LOUISE ARBOUR  
Plan of Action Submitted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

### **SUR 4**, v. 3, n. 4, Jun. 2006

FERNANDE RAINE  
The measurement challenge in human rights

MARIO MELO  
Recent advances in the justiciability of indigenous rights in the Inter American System of Human Rights

ISABELA FIGUEROA  
Indigenous peoples versus oil companies: Constitutional control within resistance

ROBERT ARCHER  
The strengths of different traditions: What can be gained and what might be lost by combining rights and development?

J. PAUL MARTIN  
Development and rights revisited: Lessons from Africa

MICHELLE RATTON SANCHEZ  
Brief observations on the mechanisms for NGO participation in the WTO

JUSTICE C. NWOBIKE  
Pharmaceutical corporations and access to drugs in developing countries: The way forward

CLÓVIS ROBERTO ZIMMERMANN  
Social programs from a human rights perspective: The case of the Lula administration's family grant in Brazil

CHRISTOF HEYNS, DAVID PADILLA AND LEO ZWAAK  
A schematic comparison of regional human rights systems: An update

BOOK REVIEW

### **SUR 5**, v. 3, n. 5, Dec. 2006

CARLOS VILLAN DURAN  
Lights and shadows of the new United Nations Human Rights Council

PAULINA VEGA GONZÁLEZ  
The role of victims in International Criminal Court proceedings: their rights and the first rulings of the Court

OSWALDO RUIZ CHIRIBOGA  
The right to cultural identity of indigenous peoples and national minorities: a look from the Inter-American System

LYDIAH KEMUNTO BOSIRE  
Overpromised, underdelivered: transitional justice in Sub-Saharan Africa

DEVIKA PRASAD  
Strengthening democratic policing and accountability in the Commonwealth Pacific

IGNACIO CANO  
Public security policies in Brazil: attempts to modernize and democratize versus the war on crime

TOM FARER  
Toward an effective international legal order: from co-existence to concert?

BOOK REVIEW

### **SUR 6**, v. 4, n. 6, Jun. 2007

UPENDRA BAXI  
The Rule of Law in India

OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA  
Inequality and the subversion of the Rule of Law

RODRIGO UPRIMNY YEPES  
Judicialization of politics in Colombia: cases, merits and risks

LAURA C. PAUTASSI  
Is there equality in inequality? Scope and limits of affirmative actions

GERT JONKER AND RIKA SWANZEN  
Intermediary services for child witnesses testifying in South African criminal courts

## PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <[www.surjournal.org](http://www.surjournal.org)>.

SERGIO BRANCO

Brazilian copyright law and how it restricts the efficiency of the human right to education

THOMAS W. POGGE

Eradicating systemic poverty: brief for a Global Resources Dividend

### SUR 7, v. 4, n. 7, Dec. 2007

LUCIA NADER

The role of NGOs in the UN Human Rights Council

CECÍLIA MACDOWELL SANTOS

Transnational legal activism and the State: reflections on cases against Brazil in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights

#### **TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE**

TARA URS

Imagining locally-motivated accountability for mass atrocities: voices from Cambodia

CECILY ROSE AND

FRANCIS M. SSEKANDI

The pursuit of transitional justice and African traditional values: a clash of civilizations – The case of Uganda

RAMONA VIJEYARASA

Facing Australia's history: truth and reconciliation for the stolen generations

ELIZABETH SALMÓN G.

The long road in the fight against poverty and its promising encounter with human rights

INTERVIEW WITH JUAN MÉNDEZ

By Glenda Mezarobba

### SUR 8, v. 5, n. 8, Jun. 2008

MARTÍN ABREGÚ

Human rights for all: from the struggle against authoritarianism to the construction of an all-inclusive democracy - A view from the Southern Cone and Andean region

AMITA DHANDA

Constructing a new human rights lexicon: Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

LAURA DAVIS MATTAR

Legal recognition of sexual rights – a comparative analysis with reproductive rights

JAMES L. CAVALLARO AND STEPHANIE ERIN BREWER

The virtue of following: the role of Inter-American litigation in campaigns for social justice

#### **RIGHT TO HEALTH AND ACCESS TO MEDICAMENTS**

PAUL HUNT AND RAJAT KHOSLA

The human right to medicines

THOMAS POGGE

Medicines for the world: boosting innovation without obstructing free access

JORGE CONTESSE AND DOMINGO LOVERA PARMO

Access to medical treatment for people living with HIV/AIDS: success without victory in Chile

GABRIELA COSTA CHAVES, MARCELA FOGAÇA VIEIRA AND RENATA REIS

Access to medicines and intellectual property in Brazil: reflections and strategies of civil society

### SUR 9, v. 5, n. 9, Dec. 2008

BARBORA BUKOVSKÁ

Perpetrating good: unintended consequences of international human rights advocacy

JEREMY SARKIN

Prisons in Africa: an evaluation from a human rights perspective

REBECCA SAUNDERS

Lost in translation: expressions of human suffering, the language of human rights, and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

#### **SIXTY YEARS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO

Sixty years after the Universal Declaration: navigating the contradictions

FERNANDA DOZ COSTA

Poverty and human rights from rhetoric to legal obligations: a critical account of conceptual frameworks

EITAN FELNER

A new frontier in economic and social rights advocacy? Turning quantitative data into a tool for human rights accountability

KATHERINE SHORT

From Commission to Council: has the United Nations succeeded in creating a credible human rights body?

ANTHONY ROMERO

Interview with Anthony Romero, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

### SUR 10, v. 6, n. 10, Jun. 2009

ANUJ BHUWANIA

"Very wicked children": "Indian torture" and the Madras Torture Commission Report of 1855

DANIELA DE VITO, AISHA GILL AND DAMIEN SH-ORT

Rape characterised as genocide

CHRISTIAN COURTIS

Notes on the implementation by Latin American courts of the ILO Convention 169 on indigenous peoples

BENYAM D. MEZMUR

Intercountry adoption as a measure of last resort in Africa: Advancing the rights of a child rather than a right to a child

#### **HUMAN RIGHTS OF PEOPLE ON THE MOVE: MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES**

KATHARINE DERDERIAN AND LIESBETH SCHOCKAERT

Responding to "mixed" migration flows: A humanitarian perspective

JUAN CARLOS MURILLO

The legitimate security interests of the State and international refugee protection

MANUELA TRINDADE VIANA

International cooperation and internal displacement in Colombia: Facing the challenges of the largest humanitarian crisis in South America

JOSEPH AMON AND KATHERINE TODRYS

Access to antiretroviral treatment for migrant populations in the Global South

PABLO CERIANI CERNADAS

European migration control in the African territory: The omission of the extraterritorial character of human rights obligations

### SUR 11, v. 6, n. 11, Dec. 2009

VÍCTOR ABRAMOVICH

From Massive Violations to Structural Patterns: New Approaches and Classic Tensions in the Inter-American Human Rights System

VIVIANA BOHÓRQUEZ MONSALVE AND JAVIER AGUIRRE ROMÁN

Tensions of Human Dignity: Conceptualization and Application to International Human Rights Law

DEBORA DINIZ, LÍVIA BARBOSA AND WEDERSON RUFINO DOS SANTOS

Disability, Human Rights and Justice

JULIETA LEMAITRE RIPOLL

Love in the Time of Cholera: LGBT Rights in Colombia

#### **ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS**

MALCOLM LANGFORD

Domestic Adjudication and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Socio-Legal Review

## PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <[www.surjournal.org](http://www.surjournal.org)>.

ANN BLYBERG

The Case of the Misplaced Allocation: Economic and Social Rights and Budget Work

ALDO CALIARI

Trade, Investment, Finance and Human Rights: Assessment and Strategy Paper

PATRICIA FEENEY

Business and Human Rights: The Struggle for Accountability in the UN and the Future Direction of the Advocacy Agenda

### INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COLLOQUIUM

Interview with Rindai Chipfunde-Vava, Director of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) Report on the IX International Human Rights Colloquium

### SUR 12, v. 7, n. 12, Jun. 2010

SALIL SHETTY

Foreword

FERNANDO BASCH ET AL.

The Effectiveness of the Inter-American System of Human Rights Protection: A Quantitative Approach to its Functioning and Compliance With its Decisions

RICHARD BOURNE

The Commonwealth of Nations: Intergovernmental and Nongovernmental Strategies for the Protection of Human Rights in a Post-colonial Association

### MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Combating Exclusion: Why Human Rights Are Essential for the MDGs

VICTORIA TAULI-CORPUZ

Reflections on the Role of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in relation to the Millennium Development Goals

ALICIA ELY YAMIN

Toward Transformative Accountability: Applying a Rights-based Approach to Fulfill Maternal Health Obligations

SARAH ZAIDI

Millennium Development Goal 6 and the Right to Health: Conflictual or Complementary?

MARCOS A. ORELLANA

Climate Change and the Millennium Development Goals: The Right to Development, International Cooperation and the Clean Development Mechanism

### CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY

LINDIWE KNUTSON

Aliens, Apartheid and US Courts: Is the Right of Apartheid Victims to Claim Reparations from Multinational Corporations at last Recognized?

DAVID BILCHITZ

The Ruggie Framework: An Adequate Rubric for Corporate Human Rights Obligations?

### SUR 13, v. 7, n. 13, Dec. 2010

GLENDIA MEZAROBBA

Between Reparations, Half Truths and Impunity: The Difficult Break with the Legacy of the Dictatorship in Brazil

GERARDO ARCE ARCE

Armed Forces, Truth Commission and Transitional Justice in Peru

### REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS

FELIPE GONZÁLEZ

Urgent Measures in the Inter-American Human Rights System

JUAN CARLOS GUTIÉRREZ AND SILVANO CANTÚ

The Restriction of Military Jurisdiction in International Human Rights Protection Systems

DEBRA LONG AND LUKAS MUNTINGH

The Special Rapporteur on Prisons and Conditions of Detention in Africa and the Committee for the Prevention of Torture in Africa: The Potential for Synergy or Inertia?

LUCYLINE NKATHA MURUNGI AND JACQUI GALLINETTI

The Role of Sub-Regional Courts in the African Human Rights System

MAGNUS KILLANDER

Interpreting Regional Human Rights Treaties

ANTONIO M. CISNEROS DE ALENCAR

Cooperation Between the Universal and Inter-American Human Rights Systems in the Framework of the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism

### IN MEMORIAM

Kevin Boyle – Strong Link in the Chain  
By Borislav Petranov

### SUR 14, v. 8, n. 14, Jun. 2011

MAURICIO ALBARRACÍN CABALLERO

Social Movements and the Constitutional Court: Legal Recognition of the Rights of Same-Sex Couples in Colombia

DANIEL VÁZQUEZ AND DOMITILLE DELAPLACE

Public Policies from a Human Rights Perspective: A Developing Field

J. PAUL MARTIN

Human Rights Education in Communities Recovering from Major Social Crisis: Lessons for Haiti

### THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

LUIS FERNANDO ASTORGA GATJENS

Analysis of Article 33 of the UN Convention: The Critical Importance of National Implementation and Monitoring

LETÍCIA DE CAMPOS VELHO MARTEL

Reasonable Accommodation: The New Concept from an Inclusive Constitutional Perspective

MARTA SCHAAF

Negotiating Sexuality in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

TOBIAS PIETER VAN REENEN AND HELÉNE COMBRINCK

The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in Africa: Progress after 5 Years

STELLA C. REICHER

Human Diversity and Asymmetries: A Reinterpretation of the Social Contract under the Capabilities Approach

PETER LUCAS

The Open Door: Five Foundational Films That Seeded the Representation of Human Rights for Persons with Disabilities

LUIS GALLEGOS CHIRIBOGA

Interview with Luis Gallegos Chiriboga, President (2002-2005) of the Ad Hoc Committee that Drew Up the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

### SUR 15, v. 8, n. 15, Dec. 2011

ZIBA MIR-HOSSEINI

Criminalising Sexuality: *Zina* Laws as Violence Against Women in Muslim Contexts

LEANDRO MARTINS ZANITELLI

Corporations and Human Rights: The Debate Between Voluntarists and Obligationists and the Undermining Effect of Sanctions

INTERVIEW WITH DENISE DORA

Former Ford Foundation's Human Rights Officer in Brazil (2000-2011)

**IMPLEMENTATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL OF THE DECISIONS OF THE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS SYSTEMS**

MARIA ISSAEVA, IRINA SERGEEVA AND MARIA SUCHKOVA

Enforcement of the Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights in Russia: Recent Developments and Current Challenges

CÁSSIA MARIA ROSATO AND LUDMILA CERQUEIRA CORREIA

The *Damião Ximenes Lopes* Case: Changes and Challenges Following the First Ruling Against Brazil in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

DAMIÁN A. GONZÁLEZ-SALZBERG

The Implementation of Decisions from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Argentina: An Analysis of the Jurisprudential Swings of the Supreme Court

MARCIA NINA BERNARDES

Inter-American Human Rights System as a Transnational Public Sphere: Legal and Political Aspects of the Implementation of International Decisions

**SPECIAL ISSUE: CONECTAS HUMAN RIGHTS - 10 YEARS**

The Making of an International Organization from/in the South

**SUR 16, v. 9, n. 16, Jun. 2012**

PATRICIO GALELLA AND CARLOS ESPÓSITO

*Extraordinary Renditions* in the Fight Against Terrorism. Forced Disappearances?

BRIDGET CONLEY-ZILKIC

A Challenge to Those Working in the Field of Genocide Prevention and Response

MARTA RODRIGUEZ DE ASSIS MACHADO, JOSÉ RODRIGO RODRIGUEZ, FLAVIO MARQUES PROL, GABRIELA JUSTINO DA SILVA, MARINA ZANATA GANZAROLLI AND RENATA DO VALE ELIAS

Law Enforcement at Issue: Constitutionality of Maria da Penha Law in Brazilian Courts

SIMON M. WELDEHAIMANOT

The ACHPR in the Case of *Southern Cameroons*

ANDRÉ LUIZ SICILIANO

The Role of the Universalization of Human Rights and Migration in the Formation of a New Global Governance

**CITIZEN SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

GINO COSTA

Citizen Security and Transnational Organized Crime in the Americas: Current Situation and Challenges in the Inter-American Arena

MANUEL TUFRÓ

Civic Participation, Democratic Security and Conflict Between Political Cultures. First Notes on an Experiment in the City of Buenos Aires

CELS

The Current Agenda of Security and Human Rights in Argentina. An Analysis by the Center for Legal and Social Studies (CELS)

PEDRO ABRAMOVAY

Drug policy and *The March of Folly*

Views on the Special Police Units for Neighborhood Pacification (UPPs) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Rafael Dias — Global Justice Researcher

José Marcelo Zacchi — Research Associate, Institute for Studies on Labor and Society — IETS

**SUR 17, v. 9, n. 17, Dec. 2012**

**DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

CÉSAR RODRÍGUEZ GARAVITO, JUANA KWEITEL AND LAURA TRAJBER WAISBICH

Development and Human Rights: Some Ideas on How to Restart the Debate

IRENE BIGLINO, CHRISTOPHE GOLAY AND IVONA TRUSCAN

The Contribution of the UN Special Procedures to the Human Rights and Development Dialogue

LUIS CARLOS BUOB CONCHA

The Right to Water: Understanding its Economic, Social and Cultural Components as Development Factors for Indigenous Communities

ANDREA SCETTINI

Toward a New Paradigm of Human Rights Protection for Indigenous Peoples: A Critical Analysis of the Parameters Established by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

SERGES ALAIN DJOYOU KAMGA AND SIYAMBONGA HELEBA

Can Economic Growth Translate into Access to Rights? Challenges Faced by Institutions in South Africa in Ensuring that Growth Leads to Better Living Standards

INTERVIEW WITH SHELDON LEADER

Transnational Corporations and Human Rights

ALINE ALBUQUERQUE AND DABNEY EVANS

Right to Health in Brazil: A Study of the Treaty-Reporting System

LINDA DARKWA AND PHILIP ATTUQUAYEFIO

Killing to Protect? Land Guards, State Subordination and Human Rights in Ghana

CRISTINA RĂDOI

The Ineffective Response of International Organisations Concerning the Militarization of Women's Lives

CARLA DANTAS

Right of Petition by Individuals within the Global Human Rights Protection System

**SUR 18, v. 10, n. 18, Jun. 2013**

**INFORMATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

SÉRGIO AMADEU DA SILVEIRA

Aaron Swartz and the Battles for Freedom of Knowledge

ALBERTO J. CERDA SILVA

Internet Freedom is not Enough: Towards an Internet Based on Human Rights

FERNANDA RIBEIRO ROSA

Digital Inclusion as Public Policy: Disputes in the Human Rights Field

LAURA PAUTASSI

Monitoring Access to Information from the Perspective of Human Rights Indicators

JO-MARIE BURT AND CASEY CAGLEY

Access to Information, Access to Justice: The Challenges to Accountability in Peru

MARISA VIEGAS E SILVA

The United Nations Human Rights Council: Six Years On

JÉRÉMIE GILBERT

Land Rights as Human Rights: The Case for a Specific Right to Land

PÉTALLA BRANDÃO TIMO

Development at the Cost of Violations: The Impact of Mega-Projects on Human Rights in Brazil

DANIEL W. LIANG WANG AND OCTAVIO LUIZ MOTTA FERRAZ

Reaching Out to the Needy? Access to Justice and Public Attorneys' Role in Right to Health Litigation in the City of São Paulo

OBONYE JONAS

Human Rights, Extradition and the Death Penalty: Reflections on The Stand-Off Between Botswana and South Africa

ANTONIO MOREIRA MAUÉS

Supra-Legality of International Human Rights Treaties and Constitutional Interpretation

## PREVIOUS NUMBERS

---

Previous numbers are available at <[www.surjournal.org](http://www.surjournal.org)>.

### **SUR 19**, v. 10, n. 19, Dec. 2013

---

#### **FOREIGN POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

---

DAVID PETRASEK

New Powers, New Approaches?  
Human Rights Diplomacy in the 21st  
Century

ADRIANA ERTHAL ABDENUR AND  
DANILO MARCONDES DE SOUZA  
NETO

Brazil's Development Cooperation  
with Africa: What Role for Democracy  
and Human Rights

CARLOS CERDA DUEÑAS

Incorporating International Human  
Rights Standards in the Wake of  
the 2011 Reform of the Mexican  
Constitution: Progress and Limitations

ELISA MARA COIMBRA

Inter-American System of Human  
Rights: Challenges to Compliance with  
the Court's Decisions in Brazil

CONOR FOLEY

The Evolving Legitimacy of  
Humanitarian Interventions

DEISY VENTURA

Public Health and Brazilian Foreign  
Policy

CAMILA LISSA ASANO

Foreign Policy and Human Rights in  
Emerging Countries: Insights Based on  
the Work of an Organization from the  
Global South

INTERVIEW WITH MAJA

DARUWALA (CHRI) AND SUSAN  
WILDING (CIVICUS)

Emerging Democracies' Foreign Policy:  
What Place for Human Rights? A Look  
at India and South Africa

---

DAVID KINLEY

Finding Freedom in China: Human  
Rights in the Political Economy

LAURA BETANCUR RESTREPO

The Promotion and Protection  
of Human Rights through Legal  
Clinics and their Relationships with  
Social Movements: Achievements  
and Challenges in the Case of  
Conscientious Objection to Compulsory  
Military Service in Colombia

ALEXANDRA LOPES DA COSTA

Modern-Day Inquisition: A Report  
on Criminal Persecution, Exposure  
of Intimacy and Violation of Rights  
in Brazil

ANA CRISTINA GONZÁLEZ VÉLEZ  
AND VIVIANA BOHÓRQUEZ  
MONSALVE

Case Study on Colombia: Judicial  
Standards on Abortion to Advance  
the Agenda of the Cairo Programme  
of Action