

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	7	Introduction
PROFILE OF PEDRO PAULO POPPOVIC	11	“We Did not Create Sur Journal Because We Had Certainties, But Because We Were Full of Doubts”
MALAK EL-CHICHINI POPPOVIC OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA	17	Reflections On the International Human Rights Movement in the 21 st Century: Only the Answers Change
LANGUAGE		
SARA BURKE	27	What an Era of Global Protests Says about the Effectiveness of Human Rights as a Language to Achieve Social Change
VINODH JAICHAND	35	After Human Rights Standard Setting, What’s Next?
DAVID PETRASEK	45	Global Trends and the Future of Human Rights Advocacy
SAMUEL MOYN	57	The Future of Human Rights
STEPHEN HOPGOOD	67	Challenges to the Global Human Rights Regime: Are Human Rights Still an Effective Language for Social Change?
EMÍLIO ÁLVAREZ ICAZA	77	Human Rights as an Effective Way to Produce Social Change
INTERVIEW WITH RAQUEL ROLNIK	81	UN Special Procedures System is “Designed to Be Ineffective”
INTERVIEW WITH PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO	91	“Besides Human Rights, I Don’t See a Solution for Serving the Victims”
INTERVIEW WITH KUMI NAIDOO	97	“The Rule of Law Has Consolidated All the Injustices That Existed Before It”
THEMES		
JANET LOVE	105	Are we Depoliticising Economic Power?: Wilful Business Irresponsibility and Bureaucratic Response by Human Rights Defenders
PHIL BLOOMER	115	Are Human Rights an Effective Tool for Social Change?: A Perspective on Human Rights and Business
GONZALO BERRÓN	123	Economic Power, Democracy and Human Rights. A New International Debate on Human Rights and Corporations
DIEGO LORENTE PÉREZ DE EULATE	133	Issues and Challenges Facing Networks and Organisations Working in Migration and Human Rights in Mesoamerica
GLORIA CAREAGA PÉREZ	143	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 21st 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
PÉTALLA BRANDÃO TIMO | 375 | The Global Human Rights Movement in the 21 st Century: Reflections from the Perspective of a National Human Rights NGO from the South |
| MARTIN KIRK | 385 | Systems, Brains and Quiet Places: Thoughts on the Future of Human Rights Campaigning |
| ROCHELLE JONES, SARAH
ROSENHEK AND ANNA TURLEY | 399 | A 'Movement Support' Organization: The Experience of the Association For Women's Rights in Development (AWID) |
| ANA PAULA HERNÁNDEZ | 411 | Supporting Locally-Rooted Organizations:
The Work of the Fund For Global Human Rights in Mexico |
| MIGUEL PULIDO JIMÉNEZ | 419 | Human Rights Activism In Times of Cognitive Saturation:
Talking About Tools |
| MALLIKA DUTT AND NADIA RASUL | 427 | Raising Digital Consciousness: An Analysis of the Opportunities and Risks Facing Human Rights Activists in a Digital Age |
| SOPHEAP CHAK | 437 | New Information and Communication Technologies' Influence on Activism in Cambodia |
| SANDRA CARVALHO AND
EDUARDO BAKER | 449 | Strategic Litigation Experiences in the Inter-American Human Rights System |
| INTERVIEW WITH FERNAND ALPHEN | 461 | "Get Off Your Pedestal" |
| INTERVIEW WITH MARY KALDOR | 469 | "NGO's are not the Same as Civil Society But Some NGOs Can Play the Role of Facilitators" |
| INTERVIEW WITH LOUIS BICKFORD | 475 | Convergence Towards the Global Middle:
"Who Sets the Global Human Rights Agenda and How" |

MULTIPOLARITY

- | | | |
|--|------------|--|
| LUCIA NADER | 483 | Solid Organisations in a Liquid World |
| KENNETH ROTH | 491 | Why We Welcome Human Rights Partnerships |
| CÉSAR RODRÍGUEZ-GARAVITO | 499 | The Future of Human Rights: From Gatekeeping to Symbiosis |
| DHANANJAYAN SRISKANDARAJAH
AND MANDEEP TIWANA | 511 | Towards a Multipolar Civil Society |
| INTERVIEW WITH EMILIE M.
HAFNER-BURTON | 519 | "Avoiding Using Power Would Be Devastating for Human Rights" |
| INTERVIEW WITH MARK
MALLOCH-BROWN | 525 | "We Are Very Much A Multi-Polar World Now, But Not One Comprised Solely Of Nation States" |
| INTERVIEW WITH SALIL SHETTY | 531 | "Human Rights Organisations Should Have a Closer Pulse to the Ground" Or How We Missed the Bus |
| INTERVIEW WITH
LOUISE ARBOUR | 539 | "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 20th 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 20th 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 20th 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 21st 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 21st 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 21st 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"

ROCHELLE JONES, SARAH ROSENHEK AND ANNA TURLEY

Rochelle Jones, Sarah Rosenhek and Anna Turley: This article was co-authored by AWID's Writer and Editor; Acting Director of Programs, and Director of Information and Communications, respectively. AWID is an international, feminist, membership organization committed to achieving gender equality, sustainable development and women's human rights.

Email: contact@awid.org

ABSTRACT

Contemporary women's rights organizations and movements work in a challenging context of fewer resources, more risks, increasing violence and inequalities, and environmental uncertainty. As a 'movement support' organization, The Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) is responding to this context with a model of collaborative movement building - building our collective power, expanding the base of individuals and organizations engaged in women's rights struggles, and jointly articulating inclusive and transformative agendas for change both in the world around us and in our own practices. This article illustrates how AWID's 'movement support' model – based on collaboration and channels of dialogue with our membership and broader constituency – is helping to advance our shared goals of human rights, peace, gender justice and environmental sustainability worldwide.

Original in English.

Received in May 2014.

KEYWORDS

Women's rights – Human rights – Gender justice – Social movements – Movement building – Feminist movements – Collective power



This paper is published under the *creativecommons* license.

This paper is available in digital format at www.surjournal.org.

ESSAY

A 'MOVEMENT SUPPORT' ORGANIZATION: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN DEVELOPMENT (AWID)

Rochelle Jones, Sarah Rosenhek and Anna Turley

1 Introduction

A cursory glance at the history of human rights and its intersection with gender issues over the past 25 years elucidates the important role that social movements, and women's rights movements in particular, have played in continually expanding the framing and conceptualization of human rights and gender justice. These expansions of the human rights framework were not the result of a sudden enlightenment on the part of governments nor the United Nations – but rather of the concrete demands for recognition of claims emerging from the collective struggles of indigenous people, domestic workers, sex workers, Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Trans, Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI) movements, migrants, rural people, youth, ethnic and religious minorities, and others, and their consistent engagement with the human rights system at national, regional and international levels.

Few movements have changed the human rights framework more fundamentally and radically than women's rights movements¹ around the globe. Women's rights organizations play both a catalytic role in promoting women's rights and gender equality as well as in advancing other critical development and human rights goals, contributing to structural and legislative changes, sustaining communities, engendering institutions and normative structures, and transforming behaviour and attitudes. Enabling conditions that do not address the challenges faced by women's rights organizations, whose status in many respects serves as a bellwether for broader civil society, will undermine the progressive realization of human rights for all people.

Through 30 years of participation in women's rights organizing, we have

Notes to this text start on page 408.

learned that sustainable transformation to ensure that women's rights and gender equality are a lived reality for women and girls around the world is possible only when we work together through our organizations and movements and when these organizations obtain the meaningful funding they require. Recent research by AWID, for example, demonstrates the huge reach and transformation that is possible when organizations working to build women's collective power for change receive serious resources for an extended period of time (BATLIWALA; ROSENHEK; MILLER, 2013). As an 'infrastructure' organization, AWID is responding to this need to work together with a model of collaborative movement building – building our collective power, expanding the base of individuals and organizations engaged in women's rights struggles, and jointly articulating inclusive and transformative agendas for change, both in the world around us and in our own practices.

2 Context of women's rights organizing

Contemporary women's rights organizations and movements work in a challenging context of fewer resources, more risks, increasing violence and inequalities, and environmental uncertainty. In addition, valuable energy and resources are expended fighting regressive forces that seek to roll back hard-won rights. Several trends shape the context of work for women's rights organizations in general and AWID in particular:

The existing economic paradigm with its strong focus on market-based development, privatization and growth is increasingly recognized globally for its role in perpetuating inequality and poverty. This model often raises the costs of basic services, leading to clear gendered impacts and inequalities, while women's unpaid work, both in domestic subsistence, reproduction and in unwaged household production, continues to be exploited. Alongside this are multiple and concurrent systemic crises (energy, food, finance and climate), which continue to pose challenges for governments, donors, development practitioners, activists and policy-makers to reinvent the system in the long term, and mitigate the negative impacts in the short and medium terms.

Discussions and intergovernmental negotiations on a post-2015 development framework are well underway as we near the end of the Millennium Development Goals in 2015. The disappointing outcome of the Rio+20 conference and the agreement made there to develop a new set of 'sustainable development goals' (SDGs) marked the beginning of a complex process for a new development agenda at the UN post-2015. Women's rights groups² have expressed their concerns about the narrow set of goals outlined in the report from the High Level Panel of Eminent Persons to the UN Secretary General and continue the struggle to advocate for a rights-based approach with women's rights at the center of a post-2015 development agenda. Other UN intergovernmental negotiations are already making evident the complexity and challenges women's rights organizations and movements will face in the coming years to defend what has been achieved, avoid backlash and put new ideas and proposals on the agenda.

The private sector, particularly corporations and individual philanthropists, have become central players in the development and philanthropic sectors. We have seen an increase in funding from new private sector actors towards women and girls, often instrumentalizing their contributions to economic growth. ‘Investing in women and girls’ has been heralded as a new key strategy by diverse actors such as the World Bank, Newsweek and Walmart (THE WORLD BANK, 2012; VERVEER, 2012; WALMART, 2011) – but this rhetoric has not necessarily translated into real resources for women’s rights. AWID’s recent research (MILLER; ARUTYUNOVA; CLARK, 2013) illuminates key characteristics of 170 different partnership initiatives focused on women and girls, with 143 of them collectively committing USD 14.6 billion dollars. At the same time, the research finds that 27% of the 170 initiatives supporting women and girls engaged women’s organizations as partners, and only 9% directly funded them. The results illustrate a complex panorama of new actors and new resources for women and girls that defies simplistic categorizations and brings with it new opportunities and challenges.

Religious fundamentalist movements are continuing to gain power. Increasing violence by state and non-state actors towards the general population, and particularly against social movements and activists, undermines and seriously challenges democracy, peace and human rights. In many regions, this is directly linked to the growing influence of fundamentalisms with arguments based on religion (as well as culture, tradition and nationalism) used to violate and deny the rights of women, LGBTQI people, and religious, ethnic and cultural minorities. Fundamentalists and their supporters have also been successfully advancing arguments based on cultural relativism in multilateral processes as occurred at the 56th UN Commission on the Status of Women in 2012.

Violence against women human rights defenders (WHRDs) continues to grow. This increase in the number and severity of attacks on WHRDs by both state and non-state actors has serious impacts on the sustainability of women’s rights movements. In the past year, important advances have recognized WHRDs and the violence they face because of their role in defending women’s rights, the environment and their communities. This includes greater attention by international human rights mechanisms; in particular, the inclusion of WHRD language for the first time in the CSW57 agreed conclusions³ and the November 2013 adoption of the first-ever resolution on women human rights defenders by the United Nations General Assembly’s Third Committee⁴.

Despite the challenges this landscape presents, there are important opportunities, openings and signs of hope for advancing women’s human rights agendas. Progressive social movements have been organizing to withstand and respond to these trends. At the forefront have been women’s rights activists and young people demanding structural change, protecting their communities, opposing violence and holding the line on key achievements. Women’s rights movements and organizations however are facing significant challenges. Access to adequate financial resources continues to affect the sustainability of women’s rights organizations and their capacity to protect themselves if needed. Many women’s rights activists

and their organizations are also working within a context of increasing risks and security concerns. As highlighted above, attacks on women's rights defenders and activists are on the rise, with extreme forms of violence dramatically increasing. Against this backdrop of fewer resources and more risks, women's rights organizing remains fragmented with the diverse expressions of women's organizing still not coming together in the most strategic ways as movements to collectively address pressing challenges. Building our collective power and increasing our capacity to work together are key strategies to address this.

3 AWID as a 'movement support' organization

AWID seeks to be a driving force within the global community of feminist and women's rights activists, organizations and movements, strengthening our collective voice, influencing and transforming structures of power and decision-making and advancing human rights, gender justice and environmental sustainability worldwide.

As a 'movement support' organization, our work serves to support, resource and strengthen women's rights organizations and movements so that they in turn can be more effective in their work and struggles at different levels. We do this by filling strategic gaps (for example in knowledge production or information dissemination), by leveraging our access to key spaces and influence with relevant actors where few other women's organizations are present or where we have added value to contribute, and by providing different kinds of direct support (bridge-building, capacity development, strategic convenings, resource mobilization). AWID's commitment to building stronger and more effective women's rights organizations and movements is supported through our membership model. As an international feminist membership organization, we have 4,546 members from 156 countries (595 institutional members and 3,951 individual) – mostly from the global South. Having a large and diverse constituency is central to effectively advancing our mission and, at the same time, is integral to our identity, legitimacy and credibility as a global women's rights 'infrastructure' organization. Our members play an important role in our governance – nominating and voting for members of our Board of Directors. We also engage our members in our research, knowledge building and solidarity actions. We value and work towards building a broad constituency, including but not limited to AWID members, to strengthen collective awareness, action and solidarity on women's rights and gender equality. This includes bringing together organizations and activists from different social movements and different levels of organizing (local-global), further expanding and sharpening our analysis and agendas, and above all, exploring new ways of working together, bridging the divides of our issues, sectors, constituencies and movements.

AWID's experience and work priorities serve as examples of how we can create mechanisms for local participation in defining women's rights agendas – we play multiple 'movement building' roles, which are then brought to life through our various program areas⁵, combining strategies ranging from knowledge building and multilingual information dissemination, action-research, advocacy and engagement

with influential actors, fora and institutions, alliance building among women's organizations and movements and with other civil society sectors, convening strategic dialogues on specific issues, and resource mobilization to support women's rights organizing. Following is an outline of these primary movement building roles, with concrete examples from our programs that demonstrate how we engage our diverse members and broader constituency to meet our collective goals.

3.1 Knowledge-builder & agenda setter

With our members, AWID collectively builds knowledge from a feminist perspective of the forces, trends, processes and institutions undermining or impacting women's human rights as well as strategies and innovations used to counter these influences and advance our agendas. We contribute as a provocateur to putting new issues or analysis on the agendas of women's organizations and movements and other influential actors and provide an ongoing feminist critique of development and human rights trends – producing multilingual research publications and weekly analysis through our 'Friday Files'⁶. Responding to the need expressed by our members and broader constituency to build knowledge on how to counter the tactics and strategies used by religious fundamentalist actors, for example, AWID produced *Religion, Culture and Tradition: Strengthening Efforts to Eradicate Violence Against Women* (GOKAL; DUGHMAN MANZUR, 2013) – providing women's rights activists with key arguments and excerpts from human rights instruments that affirm that religion, culture and tradition cannot be used to justify non-compliance with international human rights standards. This briefing note was successfully used by AWID and its members at the 57th Commission on the Status of Women (CSW57), Commission on Population and Development (CPD46) and at the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean conference (ECLAC) to challenge the cultural relativist arguments of fundamentalist actors in these international human rights venues.

Our research on funding trends⁷ and actors influencing women's rights organizing has been built on participatory research and a dialogue with our members and constituency. AWID's 'Where is the Money for Women's Rights?' project has surveyed members and other women's organizations over the past eight years on their funding situation, with the resultant publications shared back with members for their own advocacy with donors. For instance, our report, *Watering the Leaves and Starving the Roots: The status of financing for women's rights organizing and gender equality* (ARUTYUNOVA; CLARK, 2013), is based on a survey of over 1,100 women's organizations in every region of the world. Since its launch in October 2013, the report has been widely disseminated amongst our members and constituency. AWID members have been specifically supported through convenings in this process. For example, three webinars in conjunction with Catapult⁸ were held in 2013 to introduce members to the results of our funding research and the concept of crowdfunding as a potential method of resource mobilization for their work.

3.2 Clearinghouse for global feminist information and analysis

Recognized as a key 'go-to' source for multilingual information and feminist analysis on current and emerging trends, AWID serves as a clearinghouse for information to and from our members and broader women's rights movements. In doing so, we contribute to increasing the visibility of women's rights groups, perspectives, places and issues that are commonly excluded in the work of mainstream organizations and encourage connection among issues and actors. AWID's trilingual website (<http://www.awid.org>) and e-newsletters feature information, analysis and resources produced by both AWID and our members and constituency, equipping a global subscribership of over 48,500 women's rights advocates with the latest information and analysis. AWID also disseminates members-only information and resources and increasingly engages our membership through social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter⁹.

AWID's partnership with the Guardian Online and Mama Cash and the launch of a new women's rights and gender equality in-focus section of the Guardian's global development website¹⁰ opens an important new channel of dialogue for women's rights organizations. AWID and Mama Cash aim to act as a bridge to a significantly larger and more diverse audience on the pressing issues affecting women, girls and trans people while also focusing a lens on the critical work being carried out by women's rights and feminist movements.

3.3 Convener & connector of diverse actors and constituencies within and outside women's movements

AWID's significant convening power is used to promote dialogue, build bridges, help overcome fragmentation and strategize on key issues. We organize and facilitate constructive spaces for our members and other diverse women's organizations, donors, development agencies, human rights and other CSOs to explore and strengthen connections within and across diversities of generations, issues, regions and sectors and to bring together groups that have not yet found common ground. For example, through our Young Feminist Activist (YFA) program, we connect our YFA members with other young women from around the world, raising awareness of their different forms of organizing and facilitating their meaningful engagement with key international processes and events.

AWID's International Forum on Women's Rights and Development is the largest recurring event of its kind, responding to emerging challenges, filling gaps and promoting stronger and more coordinated alliances. AWID's 2012 Forum, *Transforming economic power to advance women's rights and justice*, brought together 2,239 women's rights activists from 141 countries – 65% from the global South and 15% young women under 30. Members attend the Forum at reduced rates. The Forum convenes diverse groups to learn from each other and influence the agendas of women's movements and other related actors. Beyond the Forum space, follow up initiatives strengthen the connections and ideas created: for example, the 2012 Forum website (<http://www.forum.awid.org/forum12/>) was transformed into a resource and learning hub, which builds on content generated by participants.

We also supported 24 Forum Seed Grants¹¹ from 19 countries across all regions with \$5,000 each to implement innovative activities related to the Forum theme. Grantees represent both commonly excluded sectors from – and the diversity within – women rights movements, including sex workers, young women, garment worker trade unionists, home-care workers, environmentalists, rural agriculture and fisherfolk, grassroots, economists, Roma and trans people.

3.4 Advocate and Mobilizer

AWID is actively engaged in policy advocacy to collaboratively develop positions with members and other allies and advance those positions in relevant international spaces. In addition we use general influence strategies to transform the practices and agendas of powerful institutions such as large human rights and development organizations and other CSOs. We believe that women's organizations must have a stronger knowledge of and voice in development policy-making to ensure that it is responsive to their needs, rights and realities and that resources being allocated in the name of women and girls are effectively reaching those groups. AWID is active in processes such as the SDGs, the UN post-2015 development agenda, the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation, CSW and other fora, collectively strategizing with and amplifying the diverse perspectives of our members and broader constituency.

Given the increasing violence and severity of aggressions against WHRDs in most regions, we aim to improve the responses offered by international institutions, UN mechanisms, and human rights NGOs and work with regional and international networks to help strengthen protection mechanisms and responses to WHRDs at risk. For example, as a member and in coordination with other members of the Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition (WHRD IC) and the Norwegian government, AWID contributed to joint advocacy that resulted in the adoption of the first-ever resolution on protection of WHRDs¹² by the UN General Assembly's Third Committee. To mobilize our members in support of WHRDs, we use AWID-alerts¹³: an online urgent action alert that invites members to act in solidarity with WHRDs who are facing threats and violence. Online mobilization is an important way we engage with our diverse and global constituency. For this year's 58th session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW 58)¹⁴, AWID used its increasing social media presence to send a strong message that women's rights needs to be at the core of the new development agenda¹⁵. AWID members, partners and allies from over 50 countries joined our social media mobilization, reaching 1.7 million people through our Twitterthon.

4 Conclusion

AWID's multiple 'movement support' roles illustrate how a collaborative approach with our members and broader constituency is at the heart of our work and reflect our belief in the power of movements to create momentum for change. The current and upcoming UN processes (post-2015, +20 reviews, Sustainable Development

Goals – SDGs) will be key moments for women's rights movements, beyond the intergovernmental process, to come together to continue strategizing and debating new proposals and ideas on alternative economic and development models, and to ensure the integration of gender equality and women's rights as central to the agendas being developed. There is an urgent need, therefore, to build shared agendas across a broad array of actors and sectors, strengthening and deepening those connections in order to act together for a more just social order. We believe that deep, sustainable change for women's rights requires women's collective action and power, so to that end, supporting and strengthening diverse women's rights movements is essential.

REFERENCES

Bibliography and Other Sources

- ARUTYUNOVA, A.; CLARK, C. 2013. **Watering the Leaves, Starving the Roots:** The status of financing for women's rights organizing and gender equality. Toronto, Canada: AWID. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/Library/Watering-the-Leaves-Starving-the-Roots>>. Last accessed on: 22 Apr. 2014.
- ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN DEVELOPMENT. 2012. **Innovation Seed Grants.** Canada, AWID, 26 Oct. Available at: <<http://www.forum.awid.org/forum12/2012/10/innovation-seed-grants/>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- _____. 2013a. **AWID Statement to the 58th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women.** Canada, AWID, 30 Oct. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/News-Analysis/Special-Focus-Post-2015-Development-Agenda/AWID-Analysis-and-Publications/AWID-Analysis-and-Publications/AWID-statement-to-the-58th-session-of-the-Commission-on-the-Status-of-Women>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- _____. 2013b. **Special Focus Vienna +20.** Canada, AWID. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/News-Analysis/Special-Focus-Vienna-20/V20-Frontpages/Special-Focus-Vienna-20>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- _____. 2013c. **UN Adopts Landmark Resolution On Protecting Women Human Rights Defenders.** Canada, AWID, 28 Nov. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/Library/UN-adopts-landmark-resolution-on-Protecting-Women-Human-Rights-Defenders>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- _____. 2014. **Join Our Call To CSW58: Development With Women's Rights At Its Core!** Canada, AWID, 27 Feb. Available at: <<http://awid.org/Library/Join-our-Call-to-CSW58-Development-with-Women-s-Rights-at-its-Core>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- BATLIWALA, S. 2012. **Changing Their World: Concepts and Practices of Women's**

- Movements. 2nd ed. Toronto, Canada: AWID. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/Library/Changing-their-World-Concepts-and-practices-of-women-s-movements-2nd-Edition>>. Last accessed 30 April, 2014.
- BATLIWALA, S.; ROSENHEK, S.; MILLER, J. 2013. **Women Moving Mountains: Collective Impact of the Dutch MDG3 Fund**. Toronto, Canada: AWID. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/Library/Women-Moving-Mountains3>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- GOKAL, S.; DUGHMAN MANZUR, S. 2013. **Religion, Culture and Tradition: Strengthening Efforts to Eradicate Violence against Women**. Toronto, Canada: AWID. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/Media/Files/Religion-Culture-And-Tradition-Strengthening-Efforts-To-Eradicate-Violence-Against-Women>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- MILLER, J.; ARUTYUNOVA, A.; CLARK, C. 2013. **New Actors, New Money, New Conversations: A Mapping of Recent Initiatives for Women and Girls**. Toronto, Canada: AWID. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/Library/New-Actors-New-Money-New-Conversations>>. Last accessed on: 22 Apr. 2014.
- THE WORLD BANK. 2012. **World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development**. Washington, DC., The World Bank. Available at: <<http://www.worldbank.org/wdr2012>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- TOLMAY, S. 2012. The Post 2015 Development Agenda – What It Means And How To Get Involved. **Association for Women's Rights in Development**. Canada, AWID, 15 Nov. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/News-Analysis/Friday-Files/The-Post-2015-Development-Agenda-What-it-Means-and-How-to-Get-Involved>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- TOLMAY, S.; VIANA, M. 2013. First Resolution On Protecting Women Human Rights Defenders Adopted At The UN Amid Strong Conservative Opposition To Already Agreed Rights. **Association for Women's Rights in Development**. Canada, AWID, 6 Dec. Available at: <<http://www.awid.org/eng/News-Analysis/Friday-Files/First-Resolution-on-Protecting-Women-Human-Rights-Defenders-Adopted-at-the-UN-Amid-Strong-Conservative-Opposition-to-Already-Agreed-Rights>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- UNITED NATIONS. 2013. **The elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls**. Agreed conclusions. Available at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/CSW57_agreed_conclusions_advance_unedited_version_18_March_2013.pdf>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- VERVEER, M. 2012. Why the Global Economy Needs Businesses to Invest in Women. **Newsweek**, 30 Jan. Available at: <<http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2012/01/29/why-the-global-economy-needs-to-businesses-to-invest-in-women.html>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
- WALMART Launches Global Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative. 2011. **Walmart News**, 14 Sept. Available at: <<http://news.walmart.com/news-archive/2011/09/14/walmart-launches-global-womens-economic-empowerment-initiative>>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.

NOTES

1. For an understanding of how we define 'movements' please refer to our publication: Batliwala (2012).
2. The Women's Major Group (www.womenrio20.org) brings together 400 organizations and individuals working on sustainable development from a women's rights perspective at local, national, regional and global levels. Their critical analysis of the High Level Panel Report can be found here: <http://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/3767women3.pdf>. The High Level Panel Report can be accessed here: <http://www.post2015hlp.org/the-report/>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
3. Refer to the CSW Agreed Conclusions, Point A. Strengthening implementation of legal and policy frameworks and accountability, Paragraph (z) "Support and protect those who are committed to eliminating violence against women, including women human rights defenders in this regard, who face particular risks of violence" (UNITED NATIONS, 2013).
4. See AWID's article about the adoption of this resolution (TOLMAY; VIANA, 2013).
5. AWID's programs are divided into Core and Thematic areas. Core programs represent permanent priorities for the organization that are central aspects of our role as a 'movement support' organization, supporting and strengthening the infrastructure and capacity of women's rights organizations and movements globally:
 - 1) International Forum on Women's Rights & Development;
 - 2) Membership and Constituency Building;
 - 3) Bridging Knowledge and Practice;
 - 4) Women's Rights Information & Communication;
 - 5) Young Feminist Activism.Our thematic programs relate to themes that are closely linked to the dominant contextual trends mentioned earlier:
 - 1) Challenging Religious Fundamentalisms;
 - 2) Economic Justice & Financing for Women's Rights;
 - and 3) The Right to Defend Rights: Women Human Rights Defenders.
6. Friday Files are weekly analyses and interview pieces related to women's rights issues at the international, regional and national levels and on current trends and timely events from a feminist perspective, produced in English, French and Spanish. They are available at <http://www.awid.org/News-Analysis/AWID-s-Friday-Files>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
7. AWID's publications on funding for women's rights, spanning 2005 to 2014, are available at: <http://www.awid.org/AWID-s-Publications/Funding-for-Women-s-Rights>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
8. Catapult is an online crowdfunding platform specifically focusing on projects that benefit women and girls. See: <http://www.catapult.org/>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
9. AWID's Facebook page can be accessed at: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/AWID/351068122677> and Twitter: <https://twitter.com/AWID>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
10. The website can be accessed at: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/series/womens-rights-and-gender-equality-in-focus>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
11. The full list of 2013 Seed Grant winners can be found at: (ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN DEVELOPMENT, 2012).
12. Members of the Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition: AWID, Amnesty International, Just Associates and the International Service for Human Rights released a statement about the resolution (ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN DEVELOPMENT, 2013c).
13. See <http://www.awid.org/Get-Involved/Urgent-Actions>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
14. For more information about the fifty-eighth Session of the Commission on the Status of Women, see: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/csw/csw58-2014>. Last accessed on: 30 Apr. 2014.
15. See the original (ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN DEVELOPMENT, 2014).

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <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>.

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>.

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>.

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