

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
BY JOÃO PAULO CHARLEAUX – CONECTAS HUMAN RIGHTS	<b>11</b>	“We Did not Create Sur Journal Because We Had Certainties, But Because We Were Full of Doubts” – Profile of Pedro Paulo Popovic
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

# Voices

**FATEH AZZAM**

Why Should We Have to "Represent" Anyone?

**MARIO MELO**

Voices from the Jungle on the Witness Stand of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

**ADRIAN GURZA LAVALLE**

NGOs, Human Rights and Representation

**JUANA KWEITEL**

Experimentation and Innovation in the Accountability of Human Rights Organizations in Latin America

**PEDRO ABRAMOVAY AND HELOISA GRIGGS**

Democratic Minorities in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democracies

**JAMES RON, DAVID CROW AND SHANNON GOLDEN**

Human Rights Familiarity and Socio-Economic Status:  
A Four-Country Study

**CHRIS GROVE**

To Build a Global Movement to Make Human Rights and Social Justice a Reality for All

**INTERVIEW WITH MARY LAWLOR AND ANDREW ANDERSON**

"Role of International Organizations Should Be to Support Local Defenders"



JAMES RON

James Ron holds the Stassen Chair for International Affairs at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School and Department of Political Science. He directs the *Human Rights Perceptions Polls*, is an affiliated professor at Mexico's Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE) and founded the multilingual online forum for human rights strategists, openGlobalRights.

Email: jamesr@umn.edu



DAVID CROW

David Crow is *Profesor-Investigador* (Assistant Professor) at Mexico's Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE), where he directs the *Americas and the World* survey. He studies Mexican politics, democracy, human rights, migration and foreign relations. He teaches on those topics and on statistical research methods.

Email: david.crow@cide.edu



SHANNON GOLDEN

Shannon Golden received a PhD in Sociology from the University of Minnesota, where she focused on post-war community reconstruction in Uganda. She is now a postdoctoral Research Fellow with the *Human Rights Perceptions Project* at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota.

Email: golde118@umn.edu

## ABSTRACT

After decades of mobilization and advocacy, how familiar are ordinary people with human rights, and how is this familiarity shaped by socio-economic status? We explore these questions with new data from the *Human Rights Perception Polls*, representative surveys conducted in four countries. We find that public exposure to the term “human rights” is high in Colombia, Mexico and parts of Morocco, but more moderate in and around Mumbai, India. The public’s rate of personal contact with rights activists, workers and volunteers, however, is much more limited. For both indicators, moreover, socio-economic status is a meaningful statistical predictor. People who are more educated, wealthier, reside in urban areas and enjoy Internet access also tend to be more familiar with the term “human rights,” and to have met a human rights worker, activist, or volunteer. These findings should concern human rights strategists keen to promote ties with the poor. To address this challenge, human rights groups should develop more popularly oriented models of engagement and resource mobilization.

Original in English.

Received in April 2014.

## KEYWORDS

Survey data – Human rights – Public opinion – Morocco – Mexico – India – Colombia – Elites–Grassroots



This paper is published under the *creativecommons* license.

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

ARTICLE

## HUMAN RIGHTS FAMILIARITY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: A FOUR-COUNTRY STUDY

James Ron, David Crow and Shannon Golden

### 1 Introduction

Although there are no formal mechanisms linking human rights actors with specific constituencies, many rights-based actors believe they represent the interests, needs and aspirations of society's most disempowered and vulnerable. Up until now, however, these beliefs have been unsupported by much systematic evidence. For reasons of cost, inclination and feasibility, human rights researchers rarely ask ordinary people for their views on—and experience with—human rights language and organizations. This article addresses this knowledge gap with original public surveys in four countries. We asked thousands of people how much they had heard the term “human rights,” and whether they had ever met a self-identified human rights worker, activist, or volunteer. Armed with this data and aided by statistical analysis, we investigate the prevalence and correlates of public human rights familiarity.

We find that familiarity with human rights terms and representatives increases with socio-economic status. This finding is of concern, we believe, because familiarity with human rights is an indicator of the movement's representational success. Human rights organizations cannot persuasively claim to represent ordinary people if those individuals have neither heard their message, nor met their representatives. Rights groups cannot credibly claim to represent society's poorest sectors, moreover, if public outreach in these communities is systematically and meaningfully undermined by low socioeconomic status.

We conducted our *Human Rights Perceptions Polls* in 2012 in Colombia, India, Mexico and Morocco. We selected these countries for their diversity across multiple indicators, including distinct world regions (Latin America, North Africa and South Asia), colonial histories (Spain, France and Britain), world religions

---

Notes to this text start on page 351.

(Christianity, Islam and Hinduism) and linguistic traditions (Spanish, Arabic, French and Hindi). This diversity boosts the generalizability of our findings.

Conducting public surveys in these four countries also makes sense because, in each, significant numbers are exposed to human rights terminology and workers. Although all four countries have serious human rights problems, they all enjoy a modicum of political and civil liberties, including some freedom of speech, movement and association. Most importantly, each country has an active civil society and a vibrant domestic human rights sector.

### *1.1 Familiarity with human rights: how deep can it go?*

Human rights discourse is ubiquitous in global media, diplomatic and policy circles (MOYN 2010; RON; RAMOS; RODGERS, 2005), provoking comparisons with other transnational *lingua franca*, such as mathematics or statistics (CMIEL, 2004). Important questions remain, however, about the ability of human rights terms and activists to break out of elite circles and penetrate mass publics (HAFNER-BURTON; RON, 2009). Many worry that human rights, like other transnational and cosmopolitan ideas, are little more than the “class consciousness of frequent travelers,” destined to languish forever among the upper global crust (CALHOUN, 2002).

These concerns are intimately connected to questions of political representation. Which communities, and interests, do human rights organizations speak for? Whom do they really represent? The most “wretched of the earth” (FANON, 2005), as many hope, or the global middle class, as many fear? Public familiarity with human rights is not the only indicator of representation, of course, but it is important. No self-respecting Communist would ever have laid claim to representing the working class if laborers had never met Party members, and no self-respecting evangelist would claim success amidst popular ignorance of Christ or Muhammad. Familiarity both with the Word and its Messenger may not be *sufficient* for representation, but does seem rather *necessary*.

What, then, did we expect to find? On the one hand, the poorest and most disempowered are often likely to suffer most from all manner of human rights violations (KHAN; PETRASEK, 2009). As a result, they should, in theory, have the most incentive to acquire human rights knowledge and contacts. Human rights activists, for their part, should be keenly motivated to reach out to this demographic. As many advocates argue, the human rights movement’s most pressing task is to work with and alongside the poor, often through the rights-based approach to development. If true, then people situated at the lowest rung of society’s socioeconomic ladder should have more human rights familiarity than those located higher up.

Yet many observers would predict the precise opposite (AN-NA’IM, 2000; ENGLUND, 2006; HOPGOOD, 2013; ODINKALU, 1999; OKAFOR, 2006). The human rights movement’s stated aspirations aside, wealthier and better-educated people always have more access to resources and information and often find greater value in abstract, cosmopolitan ideas such as human rights. Historically, moreover, it

was often the urban, middle or organized working classes who expressed the most interest in individual rights, rather than the disorganized, under-educated or rural poor (HUBER; RUESCHEMEYER; STEPHENS, 1993; LIPSET, 1959; MAMDANI, 1996). Although human rights activists may *hope* the poor are more familiar with their work, some experts would argue that sociological and political realities suggest otherwise.

Happily, these different expectations can be adjudicated with the help of well-designed, statistically representative public surveys.

## 2 Data & methods

In the publication, we describe our *Human Rights Perception Polls* (RON; CROW, forthcoming). Briefly, we gathered our Mexican and Colombian data in collaboration with the *Americas and the World* survey team at the Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE) in Mexico City.<sup>1</sup> We collected our Moroccan and Indian data in collaboration with local survey companies.

**Mexico:** Our Mexican data includes a nationally representative sample of 2400 adults aged 18 and over, along with a smaller sample of 500 persons drawn from Mexico's "power elite" (MILLS, 2000), including business executives, elected officials, high-ranking bureaucrats, journalists and academics. This second poll of elites is illustrative, not statistically representative.

Mexico is a good case for investigating popular human rights familiarity. Systematic rights violations abound, but Mexico's growing democracy and socio-demographic profile afford opportunities for human rights debate and citizen involvement. Mexico's population is wealthier, better educated and more exposed to global ideas than many, its press and political system are relatively free and its population has strong ties to a U.S.-based diaspora. The country has had a vibrant domestic rights sector since the early 1990s and the government's policy rhetoric is favorable to human rights concerns (ANAYA MUÑOZ, 2009). Human rights are intensely topical, moreover, because of the country's brutal internal drug war (INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP, 2013). Criminals and security forces have killed over 70,000 and disappeared thousands more since 2006.

**Colombia:** Our Colombian data also includes a nationally representative sample of 1,700 adults. Like Mexico, Colombia is a strong case for investigating public human rights familiarity. Decades-old violence between security forces, leftist guerrillas and state-sponsored paramilitary groups—all variously tied to drug cartels—has generated multiple rights violations. The government frames the country's conflict as a war on terrorism, and many Colombians regard the government's security policies as effective. But these policies have also exacted a high civilian toll, including 30-50,000 forced disappearances and a series of "parapolitics" scandals linking politicians and military officers to right-wing paramilitaries (HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, 2012). Like Mexico, Colombia has an active domestic human rights community comprising many hundreds of groups organized in dense networks, along with strong transnational ties (BRYSK, 2009; ODHACO, 2013).

**Morocco:** Our Moroccan data includes a sample of 1,100 adults and is representative of the population residing in Rabat and Casablanca, the country's adjacent political and financial capitals, and of rural residents living up to 70 kilometers from either city. Morocco also offers fertile ground for investigating rights familiarity (RON; GOLDEN, 2013). The country's worst violations of civil and political rights occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, known as the "Years of Lead." Morocco began liberalizing in the 1990s, included human rights commitments in a new constitution and accelerated the liberalization process under a new king in the 2000s. Gender-based rights activists have made particular progress. Although restrictions and abuses continue against Islamist and Western Sahara activists, the domestic Moroccan rights sector is vocal, self confident and comparatively effective (SLYOMOVICS, 2005).

**India:** Our Indian data includes a sample of 1,600 adults and is representative of residents of Mumbai, the country's cultural and financial capital, and the adjoining rural areas of Maharashtra State.

India's population is similar to Morocco's in terms of income and education and poorer and less literate than Mexico's or Colombia's. India has the longest democratic tradition of all four, however, as well as a cacophonous domestic press and long history of rights-based activism, including path-breaking legal advances in social and economic rights (GUDAVARTHY, 2008; JHA, 2003; RAY, 2003). These include the 2005 Right to Information Act, the 2009 Right to Education Act and the 2013 National Food Security Act. Mumbai is home to India's first civil liberties groups and is a center for local efforts to protect the rights of women and slum dwellers, improve communal relations and advocate for housing and food security rights.

## *2.1 Our statistical variables*

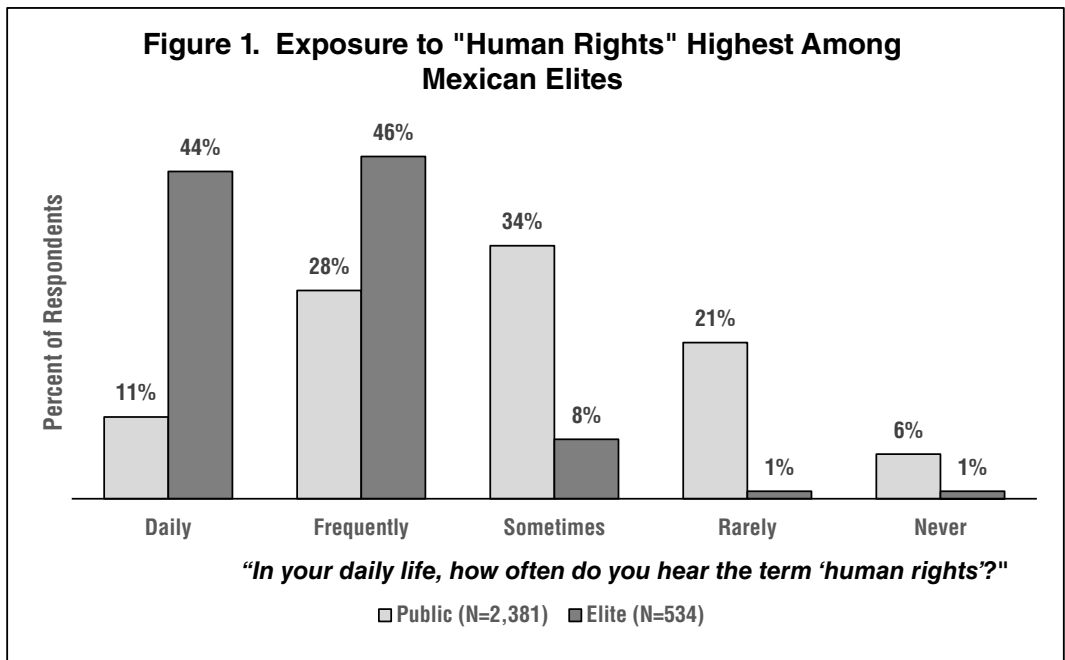
We use two variables to measure the public's familiarity with human rights. To assess **respondents' exposure** to human rights terminology, we ask, "In your daily life, how often do you hear the term 'human rights?'" [Daily; Frequently; Sometimes; Rarely; Never]. To assess **respondents' personal contact** with human rights workers/volunteers, we asked, "Have you ever met someone who works in a human rights organization?" [Yes; No].

We measure **respondents' socioeconomic status** by assessing their education, place of residence, income and Internet access. For **education**, we asked, "What is the highest level of education you have completed?"<sup>2</sup> For **urban residence**, we coded the area where respondents lived with accepted Moroccan census classifications. For **income**, we used a subjective perception of income relative to expenditures, asking, "With total family income, which statement best describes your income status?" ["My income allows me to cover expenses and save"; "My income can just cover expenses, without major difficulties"; "My income cannot cover expenses, and I have difficulties"; "My income cannot cover expenses and I have major difficulties"].<sup>3</sup> For **Internet use**, we asked, "Do you use the Internet?" [Yes; No]. We also include two control variables, **sex** and **age** [in years].

### 3 Findings

We begin with the Mexican case, as it is the only one of our four cases with both a public and an elite sample.

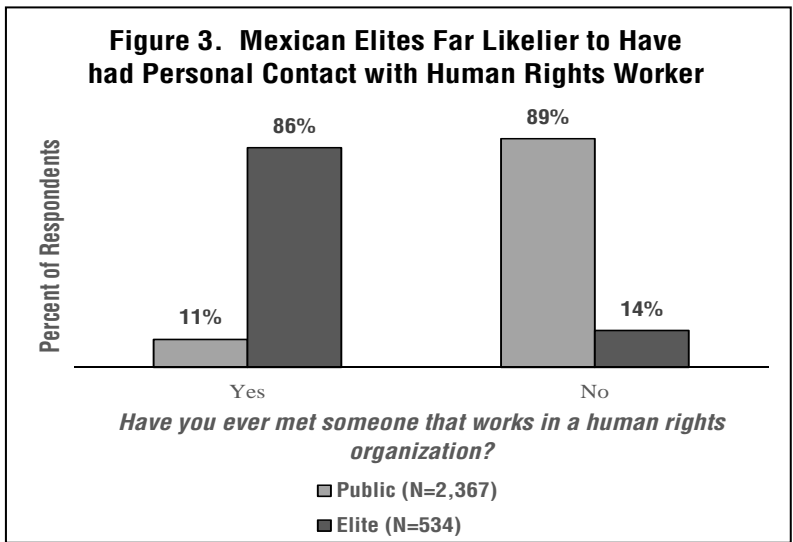
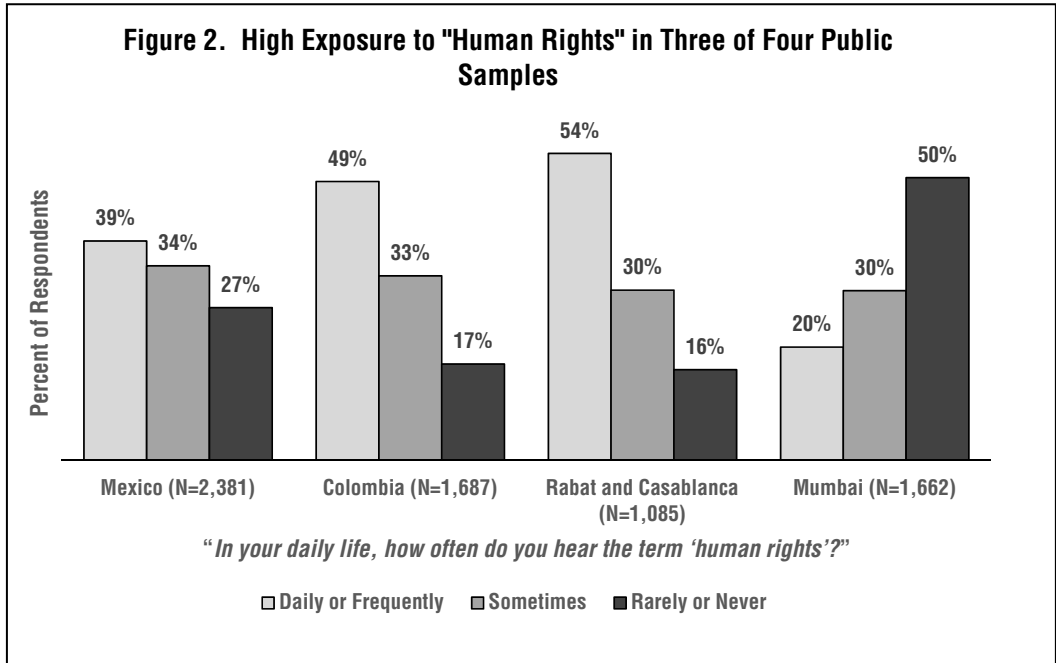
Figure 1 demonstrates that the prevalence of human rights terminology among both Mexican elites and general public is high, but that elite exposure is much higher. Some 90 percent of elite Mexicans told us they heard “human rights” (*derechos humanos*) either “daily” or “frequently,” compared to almost 40 percent among the general public. Yet even this figure of 40 percent seems extraordinarily large; extrapolating, it suggests that some 30 million Mexican adults are exposed to the words *derechos humanos* on a daily basis.



Remarkably, human rights exposure in Colombia and Morocco is even higher. As Figure 2 notes, 49 percent of Colombian adults say they routinely hear the term *derechos humanos* while 54 percent of adults living in and around Rabat and Casablanca reported regularly hearing the French, *droits de l'homme* or the Arabic *hukuk al insaan*. And while our Indian survey reveals lower rates of public exposure—only 20 percent of adults living in and around Mumbai reported regularly hearing either the Hindi *mānava adhikāra* or the Marathi *mānavī adhikāra*—even this comparatively low exposure rate seems high.

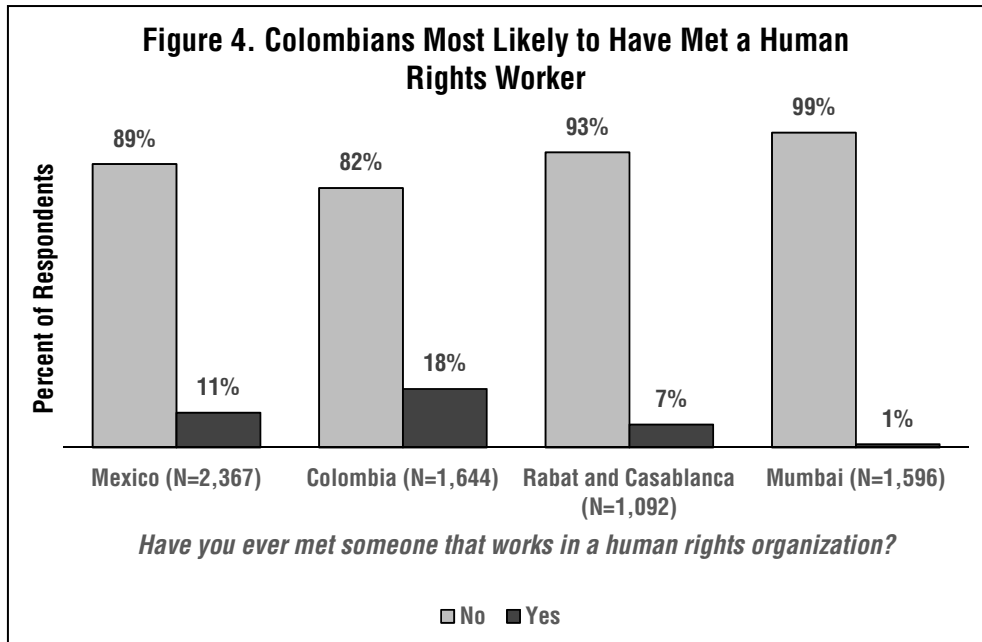
Personal contact with human rights workers, unsurprisingly, was much lower. In Mexico, moreover, our separate elite and mass samples were very different. As Figure 3 notes, 86 percent of Mexican elites report having met someone active with a human rights organization, compared to only 11 percent among the general public. Mexican human rights activists circulate far more frequently and intensively in their society's upper realms.





Yet here, too, the Mexican and Colombian glass is half full, since 11 and 18 percent of their general population *has* met a human rights worker. In Mexico, this would suggest an overall figure of eight million (see Figure 4). These high rates likely stem from the two countries' drug-related internal conflicts, population displacements, government rhetoric and strong activist outreach.

In Morocco and India, by contrast, the public's contact with human rights personnel is far lower. Only 7 percent of adults living in and around Rabat and Casablanca report having met a human rights worker, while in Mumbai and its rural environs, only one percent have.



**3.1 Statistical analysis: higher socioeconomic status, more human rights familiarity**

Our methodology allows us to assess the link between socio-economic factors and the public’s human rights familiarity. We find that in all four countries, higher socioeconomic status (SES) is correlated with more exposure to human rights terms and workers. Table 1 presents an overview of our findings. A plus sign (+) signifies a positive and statistically significant relationship between one of our four SES variables (education, urban residence, income and Internet use) and our two measures of human rights familiarity, namely: respondents’ exposure to human rights terminology, and respondents’ personal contact with human rights workers/activists/volunteers; a minus sign (-) signifies a negative relationship between SES and familiarity; and “n.f.,” or “no finding,” signifies no statistically significant relationship.

**Table 1. Summary of Findings: Relationships between SES and Familiarity with HR Discourse and Practitioners**

	Colombia		Mexico		Mumbai		Rabat/Casablanca	
	Exposure	Contact	Exposure	Contact	Exposure	Contact	Exposure	Contact
<b>Education</b>	+	+	+	+	n.f.	n.f.	+	+
<b>Urban Residence</b>	-	n.f.	+	+	+	n.f.	n.f.	n.f.
<b>Income</b>	+	+	+	+	-	n.f.	n.f.	n.f.
<b>Internet Use</b>	+	+	+	n.f.	+	+	n.f.	+

"+" = Positive relationship  
 "-" = Negative relationship  
 "n.f." = No finding

In all countries, *some* SES measures are meaningfully associated with greater human rights familiarity and in some countries, all four measures are associated with greater human rights familiarity. **Education** and **Internet use** were the leading correlates, as they enjoyed positive statistical associations with the public's human rights familiarity in six of eight possible cases. **Income** was next, with a positive association in four of eight cases, while **urban residence** had a positive association in three. Cumulatively, these findings suggest that higher social standing is reliably associated with human rights familiarity in all four countries.

Table 2 contains our full regression results. Since the dependent variable **respondent exposure** is ordinal – that is, arranged in a well-ordered set—we modeled its effects with ordinal logistic regression, a commonly used statistical technique that estimates the net effects of various independent factors, or variables, on a single, ordered, “outcome” factor, or variable. In these models, the coefficients should be interpreted as the strength of the effect an independent variable has on the odds of belonging to “higher” categories (e.g., hearing human rights “daily” or “frequently”), as opposed to the odds of belonging to “lower” categories (e.g., hearing human rights only “sometimes,” “rarely” or “never”). And since the dependent (or outcome) variable **respondent personal contact** is a dichotomous, or “yes/no” response, we used simple binary logistic regression. Here, coefficients should be interpreted as the effect of an independent variable on the odds of a respondent's having ever met a human rights worker.

Table 2. Determinants of Frequency of Exposure to Phrase "HR" (Ordinal Logit) and Contact with HRO Worker (Logit)

	Colombia		Mexico		Mumbai		Rabat/Casablanca	
	Exposure	Contact	Exposure	Contact	Exposure	Contact	Exposure	Contact
Education (Yrs.)	0.075*** (0.000)	0.052** (0.003)	0.078*** (0.000)	0.070*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.989)	-0.004 (0.921)	0.026† (0.068)	0.125*** (0.000)
Urban (Yes=1)	-0.316*** (0.020)	-0.266 (0.202)	0.176*** (0.038)	0.580*** (0.001)	0.492*** (0.000)	-0.065 (0.872)	0.008 (0.953)	-0.099 (0.746)
Income (Perceived)	0.228*** (0.000)	0.182*** (0.046)	0.089† (0.061)	0.226** (0.007)	-0.209*** (0.000)	0.050 (0.749)	0.007 (0.925)	-0.040 (0.780)
Uses Internet	0.541*** (0.000)	0.642*** (0.001)	0.181† (0.060)	-0.006 (0.973)	1.021*** (0.000)	1.000** (0.003)	-0.197 (0.218)	0.838** (0.006)
Sex (Male=1)	0.191*** (0.039)	0.187 (0.163)	0.036 (0.633)	0.162 (0.221)	0.461*** (0.000)	0.393 (0.198)	0.169 (0.141)	0.175 (0.448)
Age	0.015*** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.787)	0.004 (0.148)	0.010*** (0.023)	-0.004 (0.189)	-0.015 (0.163)	0.006 (0.187)	0.019*** (0.028)
N	1585	1567	2325	2309	1535	1562	1046	1059
Log-likelihood	-2156.33	-723.41	-3344.41	-806.37	-2271.96	-216.49	-1453.03	-287.52
$\chi^2$ LR Test	159.15	63.18	128.35	61.37	154.73	16.36	8.24	59.65
p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.012	0.221	0.000
Pseudo-R2	0.036	0.042	0.019	0.037	0.033	0.036	0.003	0.094

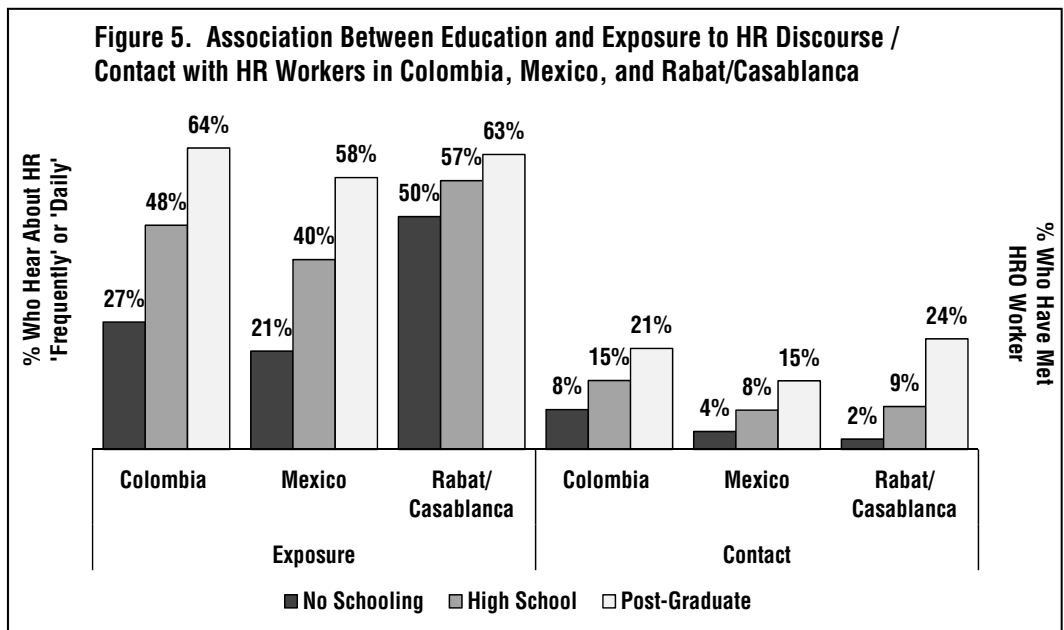
p-values in parentheses

†  $p < 0.10$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*  $p < .001$

### 3.2 Education

Better-educated respondents hear the phrase “human rights” far more frequently and are likelier to have met a human rights worker than their less-educated counterparts in Colombia, Mexico, and Rabat/Casablanca (see Figure 5).

To gauge the impact of education on **respondent exposure** to the words “human rights,” we combined the two highest responses, “frequently” and “daily.” The association between education and exposure is strongest in Colombia (shown by the three leftmost bars above the “Exposure” category label) and Mexico (the three middle bars in “Exposure”). Some 64 percent of Colombians with a doctorate or equivalent degree (21 years of education, white bars) hear often about *derechos humanos*, compared to only 48% of Colombians who have completed high school (light gray bars) and 27 percent with no formal education (dark gray bars). The same is true for Mexico, where about 58 percent of respondents with 21 years of schooling hear about human rights often, compared to only 40 percent who have completed high school and 21 percent with no schooling. The association with education is not as pronounced in Morocco (the three rightmost bars in “Exposure”), because a high proportion of Moroccans with no education (50 percent) already hear frequently about human rights.

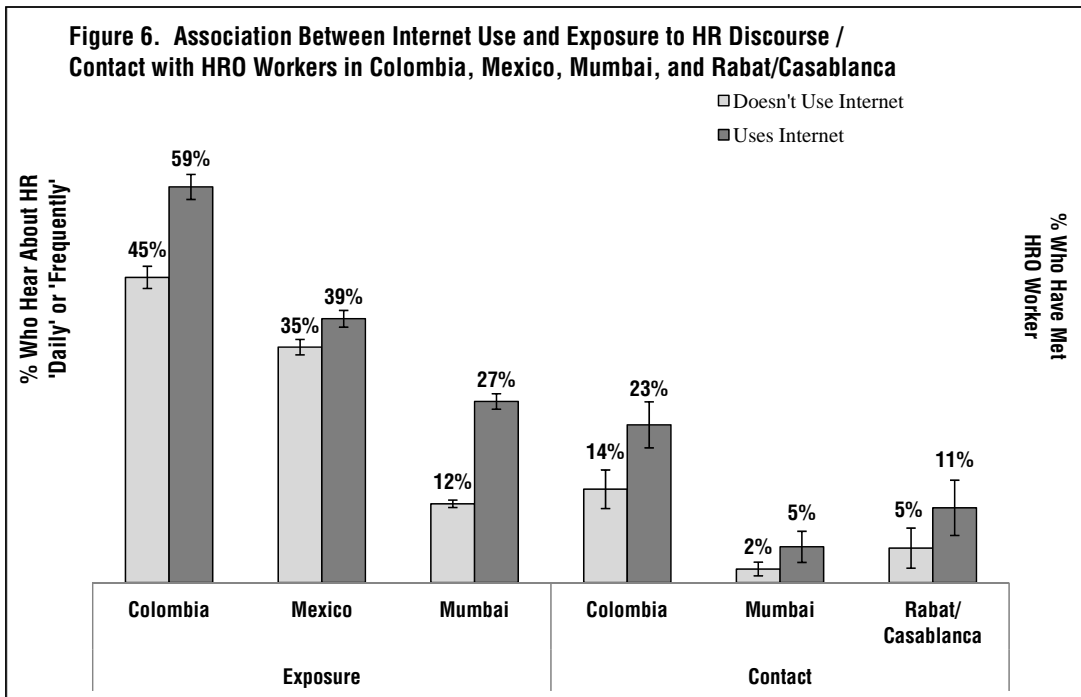


The three sets of bars to the right of Figure 5, above the “Contact” category label, track education’s association with the probability of **respondent contact** with a human rights worker. The link is most pronounced in Rabat/Casablanca (the three rightmost bars), where going from the minimum to the maximum of the education range is associated with an increase in the probability of **respondent contact** with a human rights worker from two to 24 percent. The association is more modest,

but still important, for Colombia (the three leftmost bars in “Contact,” rising from eight percent to about 21 percent) and Mexico (the three middle bars in “Contact,” which increase from four percent to about 15 percent).

### 3.3 Internet Use

Figure 6 depicts the estimated probabilities of **respondent exposure** and **contact** for Internet users (dark gray bars) and non-Internet users (light gray). The positive association with **respondent exposure** is strongest in Mumbai, where 27 percent of Internet users hear about human rights often, compared to only 12 percent of non-Internet users. In Colombia, 59 percent of Internet users are often exposed to human rights discourse, compared to 45 percent of non-Internet users. The difference in Mexico is smaller but still statistically significant, at 39 versus 35 percent. The difference in Mumbai is smaller but still statistically significant, at 39 versus 35 percent.

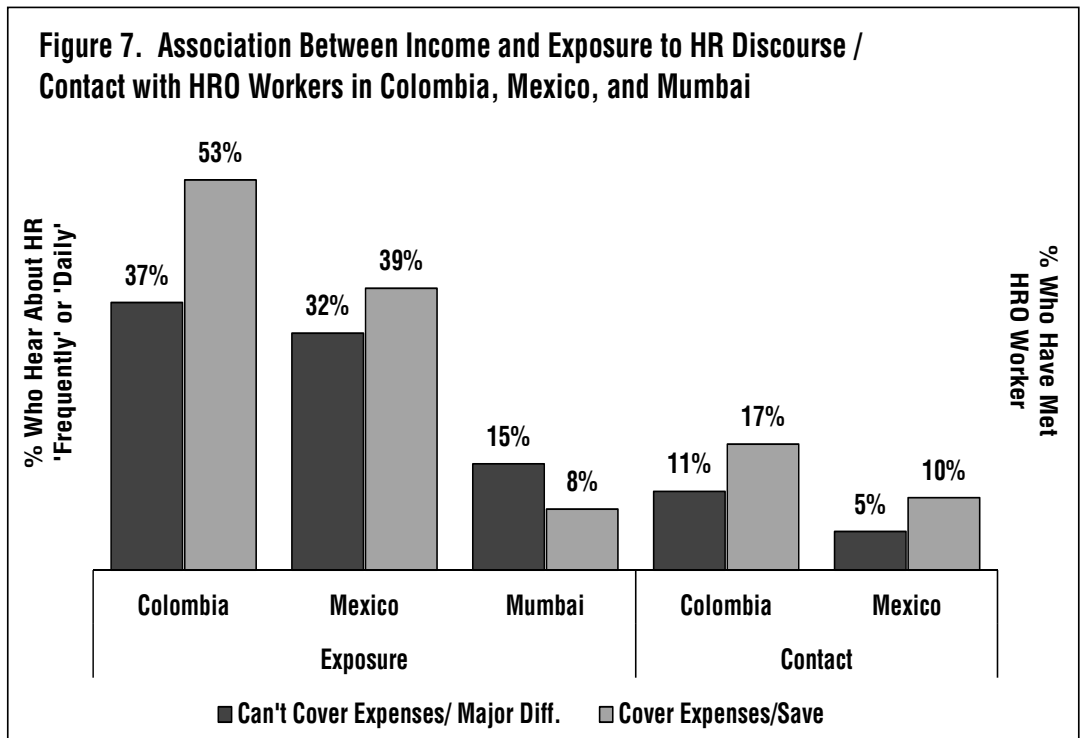


The data evince a similarly positive association between **Internet use** and **respondent contact** with human rights workers. In Colombia, the odds of a respondent having had **personal contact** with a human rights worker increase with Internet use from 14 to 23 percent, while in Rabat/Casablanca and Mumbai, it more than doubles.

### 3.4 Income

Figure 7 depicts the association of **respondent exposure** and **respondent contact** with income. We assess the size of these effects by comparing those at the

maximum and minimum of our perceived income scale. In Colombia, those who “cannot cover expenses” and have “major economic difficulties” (the dark gray bars) have about a 37 percent chance of hearing about human rights often (the leftmost, dark gray bar above the “Exposure” category label) and a 11 percent chance of having met a human rights worker (the leftmost, dark gray bar above the “Contact” category label)). These figures rise to 53 percent and 17 percent, respectively, for Colombians whose income allows them “to cover expenses and save” (light gray bars immediately to the right of the dark gray bars for “cannot cover expenses/major difficulties”).



In Mexico, these same associations are statistically significant, albeit less dramatically so. Poorer Mexicans have a **respondent exposure rate to human rights** of 32 percent (the second dark gray bar from left to right), as well as a 5 percent **personal contact rate** (the rightmost dark gray bar). Their wealthier counterparts, by contrast, have higher exposure and personal contact rates (39 and 10 percent, respectively, as shown by the second light gray bar from left to right and the rightmost light gray bar).

In Mumbai, however, exposure to the phrase “human rights” *decreased* with income (two bars above the “Mumbai” category label). The data suggest that wealthy people living in and around Mumbai hear human rights “often” about seven percentage points less than the poor. Intriguingly, human rights workers and messages circulate more heavily among the poor in this part of India. Although this individual finding does not undermine our overall argument, it does suggest that something rather different is going on in that context.

### 3.5 *Urban Residence*

Finally, city residence tends, overall, to be associated with greater **respondent exposure** and **contact**. Urban residents in Mexico, for example, are more likely to hear about human rights often (39 percent) and to have met a human rights worker (12 percent) than their rural counterparts (35 and 7 percent, respectively). Similarly, city-dwelling Mumbaikars have higher rates of **respondent exposure** (18 percent) than rural Marathis (12 percent).

Once again, however, there are some puzzling differences. In Colombia, for example, rural Colombians have more **respondent exposure** than urbanites (45 to 38 percent) and the explanation may be linked to Colombia's war on drugs, counterinsurgency campaigns and attendant rights violations, much of which occurred in rural zones. Once again, this counter-intuitive finding reminds us that careful, country-specific data collection is vital.

These two exceptions notwithstanding, the positive relationship between socioeconomic status and human rights familiarity is a strong general finding, robust to different measurements of familiarity (as **respondent exposure** and **respondent personal contact**) and socioeconomic status (**education, income, Internet use** and **urban residence**).

### 3.6 *Controls*

Our two control variables, age and sex, are also statistically significant, in some instances. Men are more likely than women to frequently hear the phrase, human rights, in Colombia and Mumbai (see Table 2), while rates of **personal contact** with human rights workers increase with age in Mexico and Morocco. **Respondent exposure**, moreover, increases with age in Colombia.

## 4 Discussion

Our *Human Rights Perception Polls* show that ordinary people across regions, linguistic divides, religions and colonial traditions often hear the phrase "human rights." Personal contact with human rights activists, however, is much less frequent. The data also show that both the human rights Word and its Messengers circulate more heavily among wealthier, better educated and more Internet-savvy respondents. Although this finding may disappoint human rights activists keen to stand in solidarity with the poor, it should not surprise. After all, many observers have long suspected as much, although none, until now, have provided systematic evidence.

There is no reason to suspect that higher human rights familiarity guarantees good deeds or intentions, of course. Although our study shows that elites are more exposed to human rights terms and activists than the poor, elites are also the source of many persistent human rights problems. Our study does not claim that human rights familiarity changes behavior for the better. The more important issue, in our view, is that of representation. If familiarity with

human rights terms and activists declines with socio-economic status, human rights organizations' claim to represent the poor and disempowered is dramatically weakened. One cannot claim to "represent" people whom one has never met, or who only rarely hear one's message.

Must human rights groups seek to represent the poor? The question cuts to the heart of many long-standing debates. Some view the human rights movement as appropriately elite-oriented, arguing that rights groups' chief mission is, and should be, supporting high level reform, often of a technical, policy or legalistic nature (GONZÁLEZ, 2013). If true, comparatively low human rights familiarity among those from lower socio-economic backgrounds offers little cause for concern; it is elites who are the true target audience. Still others suggest that human rights groups' chief contribution is serving as connectors between grassroots communities, activists and elites (ANSOLABEHRE, 2013; GALLAGHER, 2013). Human rights activity, in this view, is not a popularity contest but rather a back-stage networking effort that promotes the concerns of marginalized groups from a distance.

For many others, however, the proper role of human rights groups should be to represent and stand in solidarity with the poor. This, for example, is the view of those who write about the "rights-based approach to development," an approach that has gained much policy traction of late (KINDORNAY; RON; CARPENTER, 2012). It is also popular among those concerned with promoting human rights as a form of mass-based activism, rather than a professional practice of policy and legal advocacy (BANYA, 2013; BROWNE; DONNELLY, 2013; ZIV, 2013). Analysts and activists of this sort will be concerned by our results, and perhaps use them to press rights groups to make more and better contact with poorer and broader populations.

It is possible, of course, for human rights groups to play both roles, working both with elites *and* with people from more modest socio-economic backgrounds (AZZAM, 2014). Still, if they want their claims of representation to have legitimacy, human rights activists must expand their reach and engage more seriously, widely and genuinely with ordinary people. These outreach efforts must guard against the condescending, foreign-funded and top-down approaches described so alarmingly by critical anthropologists such as Harry Englund (ENGLUND, 2006). Outreach with the poor cannot be reduced to a development-style log-frame, in which useless visits to rural communities and poor neighborhoods are ticked off on spreadsheets to satisfy donors.

To ensure their engagement with ordinary people is positive and genuine, human rights groups must recruit more volunteers and dues-paying members and enhance their ability to mobilize resources among individuals and communities of modest means (ASHRAF 2014; SURESH 2014). Greater human rights representation and familiarity among the poor will be enhanced by a more popularly-oriented approach to resource mobilization (RON; PANDYA, 2013).



## REFERENCES

---

### Bibliography and Other Sources

- AN-NA'IM, Abdullahi. 2000. Problems of Dependency: Human Rights Organizations in the Arab World, An Interview with Abdullahi An-Na'im. **Middle East Report**, Washington, DC, v. 214, p. 20-47, Sept.
- ANAYA MUÑOZ, Alejandro. 2009. Transnational and Domestic Processes in the Definition of Human Rights Policies in Mexico. **Human Rights Quarterly**, Baltimore, v. 31, n. 1, p. 35-58, Feb.
- ANSOLABEHERE, Karina. 2013. Reforming and transforming: a multi-directional investigation of human rights. **openDemocracy**, openGlobalRights [online], 4 Dec. Available at: <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/karina-ansolabehere/reforming-and-transforming-multi-directional-investigation-of-h>>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar. 2014.
- ASHRAF, Ajaz. 2014. To raise funds, Indian rights groups must emulate the country's newest political party. **openDemocracy**, openGlobalRights [online], 28 Jan. Available at: <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/ajaz-ashraf/to-raise-funds-indian-rights-groups-must-emulate-country-s-newest-polit>>. Last accessed on: 4 Apr. 2014.
- AZZAM, Fateh. 2014. In defense of "professional" human rights organizations. **openDemocracy**, openGlobalRights [online], 13 Jan. Available at: <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/fateh-azzam/in-defense-of-professional-human-rights-organizations>>. Last accessed on: 4 Apr. 2014.
- BANYA, Moiyattu. 2013. Human Rights for Whom? A Closer Look at Elitism and Women's Rights in Africa. **openDemocracy**, openGlobalRights [online], 17 Jan. Available at: <<https://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/moiyattu-banya/human-rights-for-whom-closer-look-at-elitism-and-women-s-rights-in-a>>. Last accessed on: July 22, 2014.
- BROWNE, Nicola; DONNELLY, Dessie. 2013. Making Human Rights Matter to the Marginalised. **openDemocracy**, openGlobalRights [online], 17 Jan. Available at: <<https://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/nicola-browne-dessie-donnelly/making-human-rights-matter-to-marginalised>>. Last accessed on: July 22, 2014.
- BRYSK, Alison. 2009. Communicative action and human rights in Colombia: When words fail. **Colombia Internacional**, Bogotá, v. 69, p. 36-49, Jan./Jun.
- CALHOUN, Craig. 2002. The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travelers: Toward a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism. **South Atlantic Quarterly**. Vol. 101, p.871-897.
- CMIEL, Kenneth. 2004. The Recent History of Human Rights. **American Historical Review**. Vol. 109, p. 117-135.

- ENGLUND, Harri. 2006. **Prisoners of Freedom: Human Rights and the African Poor**. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- FANON, Franz. 2005. **The Wretched of the Earth**. Grove Press.
- GALLAGHER, Janice. 2013. Neither elites nor masses: protecting human rights in the real world. **openDemocracy**, openGlobalRights [online], 17 Dec. Available at: <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/janice-gallagher/neither-elites-nor-masses-protecting-human-rights-in-real-world>>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar. 2014.
- GUDAVARTHY, Ajay. 2008. Human Rights Movements in India: State, Civil Society and Beyond. **Contributions to Indian Sociology**, Thousand Oaks, v. 42, n. 1, p. 29-57, Apr.
- HAFNER-BURTON, Emilie.; RON, James. 2009. Seeing Double: Human Rights Impact through Qualitative and Quantitative Eyes. **World Politics**. Princeton, NJ, v. 61, p. 360-401.
- HOPGOOD, Stephen. 2013. **The Endtimes of Human Rights**. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- HUBER, Evelyne; RUESCHEMEYER, Dietrich; STEPHENS, John D. 1993. The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy. **Journal of Economic Perspectives**, Nashville, TN, v. 7, n. 3, p. 71-85, Summer.
- HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. 2012. **World Report 2012: Colombia**. New York. Available at: <<http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2012/colombia>>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar 2014.
- INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP. 2013. Peña Nieto's Challenge: Criminal Cartels and Rule of Law in Mexico. **Latin America Report**, Brussels, n. 48, 19 Mar. Available at: <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/-/media/Files/latin-america/mexico/048-pena-nietos-challenge-criminal-cartels-and-rule-of-law-in-mexico.pdf>>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar 2014.
- JHA, Munmun. 2003. Nehru and Civil Liberties in India. **International Journal of Human Rights**, London, v. 7, n. 3, p. 103-115, Oct.
- KHAN, Irene; PETRASEK, David. 2009. **The Unheard Truth: Poverty and Human Rights**. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- KINDORNAY, S.; RON, J.; CARPENTER, R.C. 2012. The Rights-Based Approach to Development: Implications for NGOs. **Human Rights Quarterly**, Baltimore, v. 34, n. 2, p. 472-506, May.
- LIPSET, Seymour M. 1959. Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy. **American Political Science Review**, Washington, DC, v. 53, n. 1, p. 69-105, Mar.
- MAMDANI, Mahmood. 1996. **Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism**. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- MILLS, Charles W. 2000. **The Power Elite**. New York: Oxford University Press.

- MOYN, Samuel. 2010. **The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History**. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- MUTUA, Makau. 1996. The Ideology of Human Rights. *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Charlottesville, VA, v. 36, p. 589-657.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. Savages, Victims and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights. *Harvard International Law Journal*, Cambridge, MA, v. 42, p. 201-245.
- GONZÁLEZ O., Ezequiel. 2013. Speaking with an elite accent: human rights and the “masses.” *openDemocracy*, openGlobalRights [online], 20 Nov. Available at: <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/ezequiel-gonzalez-ocantos/speaking-with-elite-accent-human-rights-and-masses>>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar. 2014.
- ODINKALU, Chidi A. 1999. Why More Africans Don't Use Human Rights Language. *Carnegie Council*, Human Rights Dialogue, v. 2, n. 1, 5 Dec. Available at: <[http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/archive/dialogue/2\\_01/articles/602.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/archive/dialogue/2_01/articles/602.html)>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar 2014.
- OIDHACO. 2013. International Office for Human Rights Action on Colombia. **Associated Platforms in Colombia**. Bruselas, Bélgica, Website. Available at: <<http://www.oidhaco.org/?cat=1006&lang=en>>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar 2014.
- OKAFOR, Obionara C. 2006. **Legitimizing Human Rights NGOs: Lessons from Nigeria**. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- RAY, Aswini K. 2003. Human Rights Movement in India: A Historical Perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Mumbai, v. 38, n. 32, p. 3409-3415, Aug.
- ROBINSON, Mary. 2005. What rights can add to good development practice. In: ALSTON, Philip; ROBINSON, Mary. (Org.). **Human Rights and Development: Towards Mutual Reinforcement**. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 25-44.
- RON, James; CROW, David. forthcoming. Who Trusts Local Human Rights Organizations? Evidence from Three World Regions. *Human Rights Quarterly*, Baltimore, 10 Mar.
- RON, James; GOLDEN, Shannon. 2013. **Growing Local Roots? The Human Rights Sector in Morocco**. Minneapolis, University Minnesota, Oct. Available at: <<http://jamesron.com/documents/FinalMoroccoReport.pdf>>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar 2014.
- RON, James; PANDYA, Archana. 2013. Universal values, foreign money: local human rights organizations in the Global South. *openDemocracy*, openGlobalRights [online], 13 Nov. Available at: <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/james-ron-archana-pandya/universal-values-foreign-money-local-human-rights-organiza>>. Last accessed on: 4 Apr. 2014.
- RON, James; RAMOS, Howard; RODGERS, Kathleen. Transnational Information Politics: NGO Human Rights Reporting, 1986-2000. *International Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 49, p.557-588.

SLYOMOVICS, Susan. 2005. **The Performance of Human Rights in Morocco**. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

SURESH, V. 2014. Funds and civil liberties. **openDemocracy**, openGlobalRights [online], 6 Jan. Available at: <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/v-suresh/funds-and-civil-liberties>>. Last accessed on: 4 Apr. 2014.

WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. 2008. **World Public Opinion and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights**. Washington, DC: Global Public Opinion on International Affairs, worldpublicopinion.org. Available at: <[http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/dec08/WPO\\_UDHR\\_Dec08\\_rpt.pdf](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/dec08/WPO_UDHR_Dec08_rpt.pdf)>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar 2014.

ZIV, Hadas. 2013. "Human Rights" must join activists in social struggle. **openDemocracy**, openGlobalRights [online], 11 Jul. Available at: <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/hadas-ziv/%E2%80%98human-rights%E2%80%99-must-join-activists-in-social-struggle>>. Last accessed on: 7 Mar. 2014.

## NOTES

---

1. The *Americas and the World* survey reports and data are available freely online at: <<http://lasamericasyelmundo.cide.edu>>. Last accessed on: 21 July 2014.

2. We adapted this question to the peculiarities of each country's system.

3. We have traditional monetary income measures, but these are prone to error.

## 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 Misallocated 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