UW CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
2017-2018 ANNUAL REPORT

EDUCATION FOR TRANSFORMATION

A few days ago, a neighbor thanked me for my work in human rights. She shook her head as she said it, as if to convey the impression that our work is a depressing act of service performed amid challenging times—but I told her it's quite the opposite. The energy and enthusiasm and creativity of our students, the insights of our faculty, and the unfailing commitment of our staff make the UW Center for Human Rights one of the most optimistic places I know.

In 2018-19, we will celebrate our tenth anniversary year. We formally came into being in June 2009 when Gov. Gregoire signed the bill mandating our creation, but as it was an unfunded mandate, our earliest months were spent imagining ourselves into existence. Since then, our model of education for transformation has garnered growing support on and beyond campus—support that we translate into unparalleled opportunities for our students to engage in hands-on human rights work.

True to the mission inscribed in that founding legislation, we conduct research to produce knowledge enabling real-world human rights gains, in partnership with frontlines advocates. Today, we boast three engaged projects, each of which has notched important gains in the past year:

- Our "Unfinished Sentences" project seeking justice for crimes against humanity committed in El Salvador settled our lawsuit against the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency after obtaining hundreds of pages of relevant documents. We also launched a second, similar lawsuit against the Department of Defense, and began a psychosocial project supporting survivors' healing processes.
- In collaboration with the Public Defender Association, UWCHR's "Rethinking Punishment" project helped birth a new initiative exploring the possibilities for restorative justice by working to foster accountability and promote healing among incarcerated men and women in our state. The program offers an alternative to conventional punishment, which for too long has failed to address victims' needs while overcrowding prisons, and exacerbating inequality.

- Our "Human Rights at Home" project launched, exploring the human rights consequences of immigration enforcement in our state. Working with immigrant rights organizations, this project deploys student researchers to obtain and analyze data about enforcement practices and their impact.

In addition to involving students in the aforementioned opportunities, over the years we've distributed almost $650,000 to support students' own human rights engagements. Some of these funds support undergraduates who join our research teams; others help Ph.D. students complete dissertations. Still others support students who design new projects and carry them out in partnership with communities struggling for their rights.

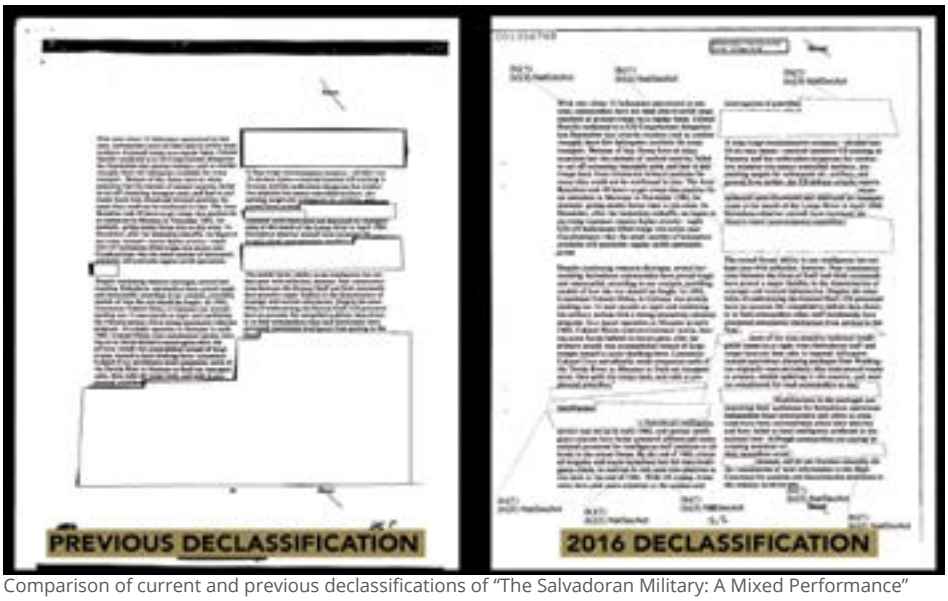
It's this incessant work to make our world better that brings a palpable energy to our Center. As we approach our tenth anniversary, I invite you to learn more about what we do, and to join with us in striving to expand our reach in the years ahead.

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy
Helen H. Jackson Chair in Human Rights
Director, Center for Human Rights
Professor of International Studies and
Law, Societies, and Justice

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Cover image: Team meeting where Director Angelina Godoy shares massive dataset received from public records requests. Photo: Corinne Thrash.

UWCHR CELEBRATES SUCCESS OF FOIA LAWSUIT AGAINST CIA



Comparison of current and previous declassifications of "The Salvadoran Military: A Mixed Performance" highlighting a newly-revealed section on U.S.-Salvadoran intelligence collaboration. Read this and other declassified documents at the UW Libraries: https://tinyurl.com/declassdocs

In May 2018, after more than two years of discussions, the University of Washington settled its 2015 Freedom of Information lawsuit brought by the UWCHR against the CIA. As reported by The Seattle Times, the UWCHR's lawsuit resulted in the declassification of 139 documents regarding Sigifredo Ochoa Pérez, a former Salvadoran Army officer implicated in human rights violations, including the 1981 Santa Cruz massacre and the 1982 El Calabozo massacre. We are pleased with this outcome, and are continuing our work to further struggles for truth, justice, and accountability through access to information.

NEW DOCUMENTS, NEW INFORMATION

The documents obtained through this lawsuit have already been useful for justice purposes. One CIA cable released as a result of the lawsuit was cited by the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court of El Salvador in a 2017 ruling, ordering a new investigation of the forced disappearance of children during an August 1982 military operation in the department of San Vicente. The cable credits the "planning and leadership" of then-Lieutenant Colonel Ochoa Pérez for the success of a large-scale counterinsurgency operation, which is infamous for the massacre of hundreds of fleeing civilians at El Calabozo.

Some of the documents released through this lawsuit, including those from the CIA's operational files—its most closely-guarded collections—had never before been released. Others had been declassified pursuant to earlier requests, but were now released with fewer redactions. As part of our commitment to the right to truth, the UWCHR shares all the declassified documents we obtain with the general public, free of charge. To access these records, visit the UW Libraries collection.

BUILDING THE CASE

The lawsuit against the CIA was the result of years of preparation, starting with the UWCHR's first FOIA requests in 2012. Since then, our undergraduate and graduate student researchers have filed more than 500 requests to a wide range of federal and state agencies. In every case, our information requests are based on the strategic priorities of our partners on the front lines of human rights struggles at home and abroad.

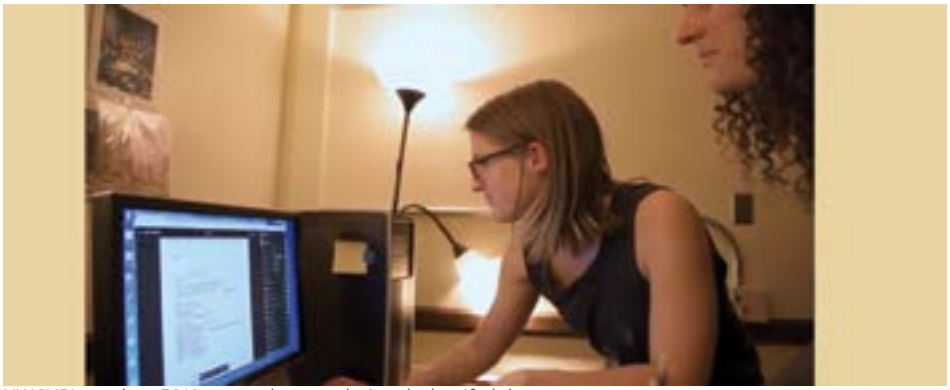
In 2017, UWCHR's research regarding Ochoa Pérez's command of Salvadoran Army units implicated in war crimes was chronicled by journalist Jonathan Blitzer in the New York Review of Books at: https://tinyurl.com/chrnyreview

In the case of the UWCHR's Unfinished Sentences project, those partners include organizations, communities, and individuals working for justice for crimes against humanity committed during the armed conflict in El Salvador. In 2015, the Unfinished Sentences project published "God Alone Was With Us," a short documentary and accompanying report detailing a November 1981 "cleansing" operation commanded by Ochoa Pérez. Survivors of the operation joined the UWCHR in Seattle in October 2015, for the announcement of the Center's lawsuit against the CIA.

The University of Washington and the UWCHR's lawsuit followed the CIA's refusal to release any documents on Ochoa Pérez, alleging that to do so would threaten U.S. national security. However, UWCHR researchers identified 20 previously-declassified CIA documents including information about Ochoa. The CIA's failure to release even these documents showed the agency was not complying with its legal obligations under the FOIA, and eventually gave rise to the lawsuit.

ONGOING WORK FOR ACCESS TO INFORMATION

Last year, the UWCHR filed a new FOIA lawsuit against the U.S. Department of Defense and two of its subagencies seeking documents about three separate wartime atrocities in El Salvador; that lawsuit remains pending. Meanwhile, UWCHR continues our day-to-day work to bring about greater understanding of the



UWCHR's student FOIA researchers analyzing declassifed documents.

human rights abuses committed during the armed conflict in El Salvador. Our team continues to file and monitor FOIA requests to the CIA and other agencies, to

> "ONE CIA CABLE RELEASED AS A RESULT OF THE LAWSUIT WAS CITED BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHAMBER OF THE SUPREME COURT OF EL SALVADOR IN A 2017 RULING, ORDERING A NEW INVESTIGATION OF THE FORCED DISAPPEARANCE OF CHILDREN DURING AN AUGUST 1982 MILITARY OPERATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SAN VICENTE."

share the documents we obtain with partner organizations, and to contribute to evolving dialogues about truth, justice, and reparations for survivors of crimes against humanity.

Since 2016, the UWCHR has broadened its freedom of information research to include its new "Human Rights at Home" project. Through a focus on immigrant rights in Washington state, researchers are using both the federal FOIA and state public records laws to examine the human rights implications of federal immigration enforcement. Working with partners including grassroots immigrant-led organizations and legal advocacy groups, our researchers have helped shed light on issues including Border Patrol checks on buses; collaboration between local police and ICE; and apparent retaliation by ICE against immigrant rights advocates in our community.

No state funds are employed in the UWCHR's litigation efforts. The work is made possible by the generous support of private donors, including especially the Puffin Foundation, and pro bono representation provided by Thomas Burke of Davis Wright Tremaine. ■

GREEN WARS: A CONVERSATION WITH PROF. MEGAN YBARRA

Phil Neff

Megan Ybarra is an Associate Professor in the UW Department of Geography, and a faculty associate of the UW Center for Human Rights. Her new book, *Green Wars: Conservation and Decolonization in the Maya Forest*, published by University of California Press, examines how environmental projects have contributed to the criminalization and displacement of Q'eqchi' Maya communities in lowlands Guatemala. Ybarra demonstrates how international conservation efforts reinforce narratives stigmatizing indigenous communities as "migrants," "invaders," and even "narcos" on their own territories.

Prof. Megan Ybarra in Seattle. Photo courtesy of Prof. Ybarra.

Ybarra's focus on these issues began during her time as a Peace Corps volunteer during 2003-2005, when she first worked in the "Zona Reyna" region of Guatemala's Quiché department. The Zona Reyna, like much of Guatemala's northern lowlands, is cast as a frontier of settlement, a redoubt for guerrillas and narcos, or a wilderness. What has not been widely recognized is the region's history as traditional territory of Q'eqchi' Maya communities:

> "That was what really sparked me thinking about why K'iche Maya are read as having a homeland, and having territoriality; whereas Q'eqchi Maya are read as not having a homeland, and not having territoriality, even though it's clear that in the Zona Reyna they preexisted a number of newer settlements."

Ybarra aims to use her research to destabilize these dichotomies:

> "Many of the people who I knew who were very active in human rights and understand Maya peoples as genocide survivors, but were still taking for granted this binary system in which you have a set of peoples who clearly have territoriality that needs to be recognized, defined and understood and legalized; and you have another set of other indigenous peoples who don't have territoriality. And they haven't necessarily thought about where that system came from, what kinds of dispossession it enables, and the kinds of conversations that people don't then have to engage in that are particularly important around archaeology and conservation."

It was unasked questions like these that prompted Ybarra to shift her research focus from an initial interest in land-titling processes to broader questions.

> "When I first came to know Guatemala, there was a lot of emphasis on having people gain legal recognition of the rights they already had. The premise of the World Bank project in Petén, Guatemala, for example, was the classic Hernando de Soto neoliberalism: give people legal recognition of what they own and they can use it as collateral, they can build, they can become entrepreneurs. We ran a survey in 2009 that replicated the structure of a survey in 1999, and one of the things that was left unquestioned in 1999 was how many of the people surveyed believed that they would ever be able to formalize their land rights. How many of them were owners, versus how many are in a situation that's much closer to sharecropping? And they know that they're never going to have title to the land. Instead, as the land becomes more valuable, they are more likely to be displaced."

Current inequalities, Ybarra

demonstrates, are part of an ongoing legacy of displacement:

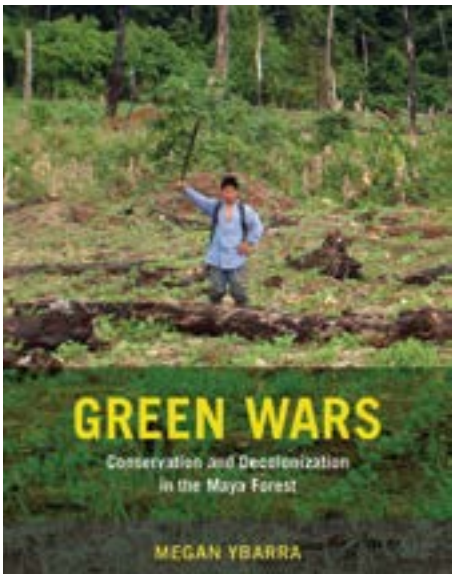
> "This notion that people have land rights and we just need to formalize them was a way of eliding the massive structures of unequal land tenure that had happened over and over again. For Q'eqchi's in the lowlands, this history dates to 200 years ago, when the liberal regime gave all this land to what they call 'the Germans'—really Germans, Belgians, a few Dutch, and lot of British folks—even though other people were living on it and considered themselves owners."

Ybarra notes how international development initiatives have reinforced these historical dynamics of erasure of indigenous territory:

> "What was really key for me in understanding the land-titling project was that the World Bank project administration knew that there were enough Q'eqchi' Maya living in the Department of Petén to trigger the indigenous safeguard, but they said that those people weren't indigenous to Petén. That's the moment at which the entire project is rendered, I would say, morally and legally invalid."

Ybarra examines the history of the "Maya Forest," a massive conservation project spanning Guatemala, Mexico, and Belize to show how international conservation NGOs are also implicated in the dispossession of indigenous territory:

> "I started going back and looking at annual reports and seeing how openly Washington D.C.-based conservation project managers were openly advocating for the dispossession of indigenous people while they were still in the midst of a genocidal civil war. I consider myself cynical,



> but it was shocking to me, that it was folks like Conservation International who were first claiming 'land-grabbing'—not by the state, the military, not by cattle-ranchers, not by oil companies, but rather by the people who in fact lived on the land and were simply claiming that they lived on the land and it was theirs."

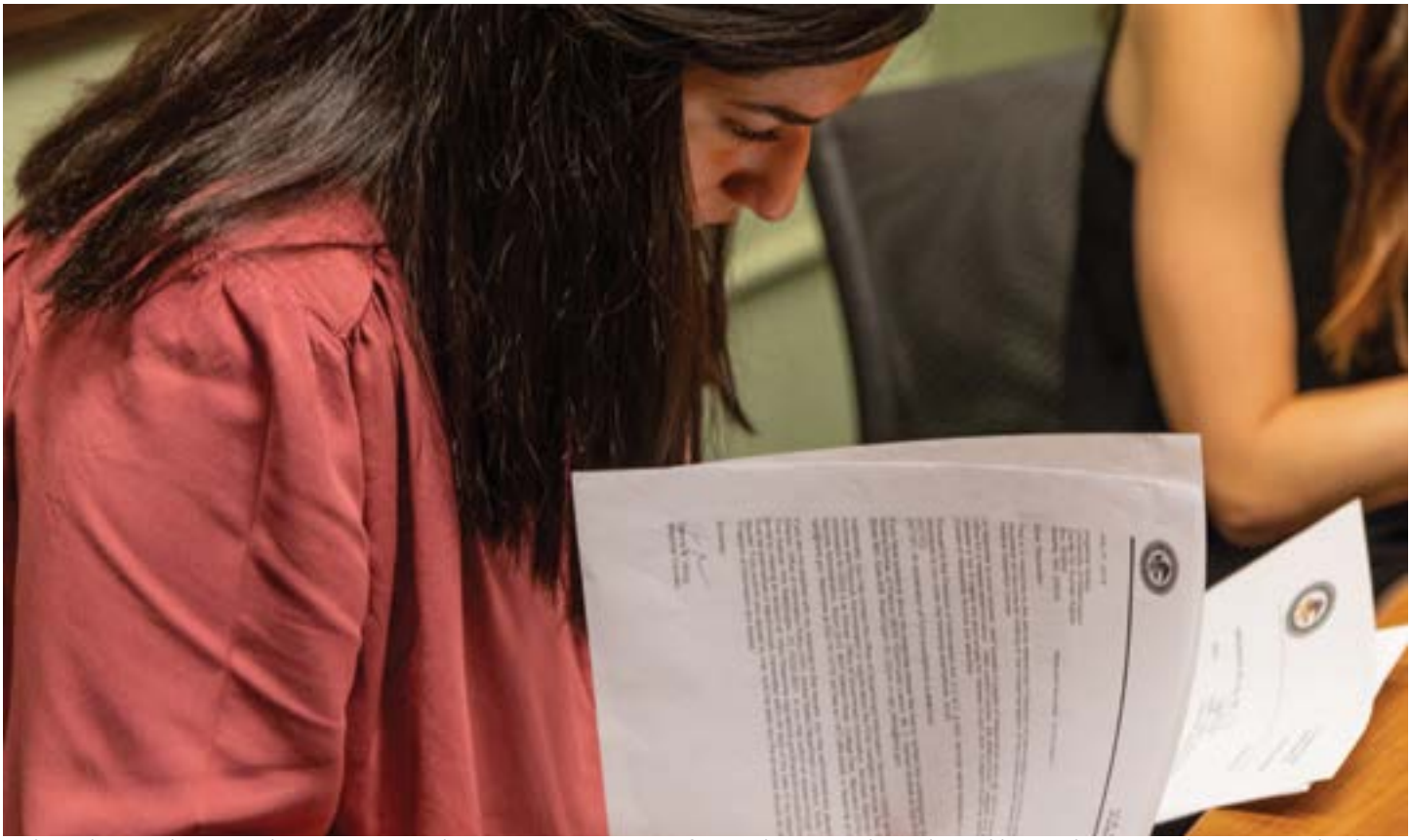
Ybarra hopes that by documenting these conflicts, those responsible for directing such projects will no longer be able to claim that they are unaware of such impacts:

> "Oftentimes what you hear is, 'Oh, well, no one told me, I didn't know.' It's the classic wielding of ignorance in a way that fails to acknowledge the systematic advantages that privilege brings. So I hope that doing this research makes it harder for people to say, 'I didn't know,' and makes it easier for people like me to call them to account."

Green Wars concludes with a call to critical solidarity and material decolonization. But Ybarra is reluctant to offer easy answers to the question of how to engage with accountability:

> "I'm not always comfortable telling other settlers, or settlers of color, what to do. I am comfortable in the Latinx community, where we have a lot of work to do to reckon with the ways celebrating an indigenous past with things like quote-unquote 'Aztec dance' and claiming an indigenous heritage is a kind of cultural appropriation. Sometimes what I find is that most people aren't actually doing enough work to be accountable in solidarity. To me, I can't learn about Q'eqchi' territoriality without learning about the Treaty of Medicine Creek here, and all of the current work of Coast Salish peoples in our region. I'm embarrassed to say that it hadn't occurred to me to do that work until indigenous peoples in Guatemala asked me to. I'm grateful that they asked. I hope that we all take on accountability, but what that looks like—there is no easy solidarity."

Megan Ybarra's research and organizing offer an example of how to ask hard questions and hold both ourselves and others to account. Her ongoing commitments include solidarity with Q'eqchi' communities in Guatemala and local indigenous-led movements; as well as local work around immigrant rights and resistance to the Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma. ■



Undergraduate student researcher Cristina Gamundi, reviews U.S. Department of Justice documents obtained via public records requests. Photo: Corinne Thrash.

DEEPENING OUR ENGAGEMENT WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy

Last year, in response to requests for partnership from local immigrant rights organizations, our research team began examining the human rights implications of contemporary immigration enforcement in Washington state. This work continues to grow, in both depth and urgency: at a time of heightened concern about immigration, it is more important than ever to understand the policies our government has implemented, at the local, state, and federal level to handle immigration, and to examine the effects of these policies on the lives and liberties of all Washingtonians.

We began this work by building on skills we developed in our longstanding research on crimes against humanity committed in 1980s El Salvador. Despite the gulf in space and time between these two research areas, we found that grassroots organizations in both contexts asked similar questions: Where are our people being taken, and why? Which specific agencies are behind the patterns of government conduct we're seeing on the streets? And how can policy address the human rights concerns raised by such practices?

Since 2017, the UWCHR has filed hundreds of requests for public information useful to understanding the human rights consequences of federal immigration enforcement in our state. Under the U.S. Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), we've

sought records from federal agencies involved in immigration enforcement (predominantly Immigrations and Customs Enforcement and Customs and Border Protection); under Washington state's Public Records Act, we've requested records from dozens of state and local government agencies. While we've obtained valuable information, unfortunately, in many cases both ICE and CBP have responded to these requests in ways that thwart, rather than advance, understanding of how our government works. We're deepening our commitment to finding out, and sharing, the truth of what our government is doing to enforce its borders.

Our research has also uncovered many ways that contemporary immigration enforcement raises concerns about due process—the idea that the government cannot arbitrarily deprive people of their lives, liberty, or property without ensuring a fair judicial process. Our ongoing work examines various practices that may skirt or subvert the core fairness protections inscribed in the U.S. Constitution and international human rights law.

For example, we are interested in understanding how, within the immigration system, individuals can be deported and families separated without recourse to the courts. Within one hundred miles of the border—a zone that includes most of Washington state—in many cases immigration authorities can subject a person to various forms of express deportation, without a chance to see a judge, to meet with a lawyer, or to appeal the decision. We are still seeking data on the extent of these summary removals in our state. Other researchers have found that many of these deportations happen within 24 hours—and sometimes they occur because an ICE agent's suspicion that a person's tattoo or appearance suggests he has engaged in criminal activity, rather than because a court has found him to be guilty of any crime.

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Relatedly, there is broad reason to be concerned that ICE and CBP may be engaging in racial profiling in Washington state—and that local and state government agencies, in their efforts to collaborate with federal law enforcement, are aiding in this discrimination. Recently, working with the ACLU, our researchers obtained information about an incident in which the Auburn Police Department detained a driver simply because of his racial identity, assuming he was of interest to immigration authorities. He was later deported. Such practices are troubling because in our state, local police departments have no legal authority to enforce immigration law—yet our own research has shown that some local law enforcement agencies rely on policy manuals that encourage the use of race or language as a basis for detaining an individual on "reasonable suspicion" that s/he entered the country illegally.

From a human rights point of view, states are entitled to use immigration laws to regulate entry of foreigners; our concern, therefore, is not with the fact that federal immigration law limits entry for some people under some circumstances. However, the U.S. Constitution and international human rights agreements require that all laws be written and implemented in a manner that respects the core rights of all people; real or imagined security concerns should not override core liberties. While our research is still ongoing, we have uncovered troubling indications that in the context of the contemporary immigration crackdown, such principles are not always being upheld in our state. We look forward to deepening our engagement with these issues in the years to come. For project updates: **HTTPS://JSIS.WASHINGTON.EDU/HUMANRIGHTS/PROJECTS/HUMAN-RIGHTS-AT-HOME/** ■

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE:
AN ALTERNATIVE TO LONG PRISON SENTENCES

Katherine Beckett and Martina Kartman

Restorative Justice graphic.

Mass incarceration is increasingly recognized as a major source of both inequality and human rights violations in the United States. The U.S. incarceration rate is now five to ten times higher than those found in comparable countries, and mass incarceration very disproportionately impacts young and poor people, particularly those of color. For example, an estimated one-third of all adult black men have been convicted of a felony offense, and nearly 60 percent of young black men without a high school degree have spent time behind prison bars.

At the same time, violence remains a pervasive public health problem, one that causes a good deal of trauma and suffering. Sadly, the conventional criminal justice response to crime does little to mitigate or ameliorate this suffering. This is especially true for crime survivors who live in communities that are disproportionately impacted by both violence and mass incarceration. In fact, research shows that most prisoners are themselves victims of violence and abuse.

Advocates are increasingly turning to restorative justice as a possible means of addressing survivors' needs while also reducing reliance on prisons and jails. UW faculty and students have studied alternatives to mass incarceration such as restorative justice—and have been working to implement them in Washington state with the support from the Center for Human Rights. Several years ago, Martina Kartman, an LSJ and UW School of Law alum, received support from UWCHR for a research fellowship with the Rethinking Punishment project.

In June 2016, Kartman and UW Professor Katherine Beckett published the results of this research in a report, *Violence, Mass Incarceration and Restorative Justice: Promising Possibilities*. The report concludes that anti-violence strategies rooted in restorative justice principles are a constructive but under-utilized response to interpersonal harm, one that can avoid over-reliance on prisons and jails while taking accountability seriously and addressing the needs of harmed parties.

Last year, Kartman was awarded a Soros Justice Fellowship to develop restorative justice-based alternatives to incarceration. In collaboration with the Insight Prison Project and the Public Defender Association, Kartman and Beckett have commenced work on two components of this effort. The first involves the implementation of a novel circle facilitation process aimed at fostering healing and accountability at the Washington State Reformatory (WSR). In September of 2017, six volunteers who went through a UWCHR-supported circle-process training began facilitating three restorative justice circles that include approximately 30 incarcerated participants at WSR. This work involves the training and leadership development of currently incarcerated facilitators and survivors to run the circles themselves. Future circles offered at WSR and other prisons will

involve trained "inside" as well as "outside" facilitators.

The second prong of the work involves building a survivor-led movement in King County to transform the criminal legal system and promote policies that support the people most impacted by violence. This effort is premised on recognition of the fact that "tough on crime" sentencing does not deliver the safety it promises, nor does it support the healing that is necessary for individuals and communities to move forward after experiencing harm. Instead, punitive policies exacerbate the very conditions that lead to crime: conviction and incarceration result in barriers to occupational opportunities, student loans, public assistance, housing, isolation and shame, and increase prisoners' exposure to violence and trauma. Moreover, the same marginalized communities (Black, Indigenous, Latinx, LGBTQ, poor, and immigrant) that are overrepresented in the carceral system are also the most likely to be victimized by violence and least likely to access victim services.

Kartman's survivor-support and leadership effort initiative is the result of conversations with, and is supported by, survivors. To sustain a broad community of crime survivors who are well positioned to engage in shaping public policy, Kartman is developing a series of community-based trainings. The goal is to support survivors in their trauma-healing efforts and to elevate the voices of survivors who are traditionally left out of the policy process to begin advocating for policies that will better reflect their needs and prioritize investments in community-based and restorative responses to harm.

> "...ANTI-VIOLENCE STRATEGIES ROOTED IN RESTORATIVE JUSTICE PRINCIPLES ARE A CONSTRUCTIVE BUT UNDER-UTILIZED RESPONSE TO INTERPERSONAL HARM, ONE THAT CAN AVOID OVER-RELIANCE ON PRISONS AND JAILS WHILE TAKING ACCOUNTABILITY SERIOUSLY AND ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF HARMED PARTIES."

In the future, Kartman and Beckett also hope to design and implement a restorative justice diversion process for young adults who are arrested for violent felonies and those they harmed. Some local leaders have also expressed interest in the idea. The time is ripe for such an initiative, as marginalized crime survivors are leading the call for community-based and restorative responses to harm that address the root causes of crime and violence and serve as an alternative to long prison sentences.

Katherine Beckett is a Professor of Law, Societies, and Justice and Sociology. She received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the U.C.L.A. in 1994. Her research analyzes the causes and consequences of legal changes and penal practices. She is the author of numerous articles and several books on these topics, including, most recently, Banished: The New Social Control in Urban America, published in 2010.

Martina Kartman is a Soros Justice Fellow at the Public Defender Association. Martina partners with community leaders in Seattle-King County, and the UW Center for Human Rights' Rethinking Punishment Project to support community based responses to interpersonal and state violence. Her focus is on moving away from imprisonment as a frontline approach to addressing violence, and building responses to harm that uphold the needs, humanity and dignity of all impacted people. ■

CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS STUDENT RESEARCHERS FROM 2017–2018

NICK DEMURO

Nick is a class of 2018 Political Science and International Studies student. At UWCHR, he focused on how county jails and sheriff's offices feed into, and become an integral part of, the federal immigration enforcement system. He is a soccer fanatic and loves to read novels and history.

GUILLERMO MOGOLLAN

Guillermo is a class of 2018 Political Science major. He has been a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) intern with UWCHR on both the El Salvador and Human Rights at Home projects since Autumn 2015. Guillermo enjoys watching and playing soccer during his time off.

MARI RAMIREZ

Marí is a junior majoring in Psychology. She joined UWCHR in spring 2017 and is researching the implications of ICE and other U.S. agencies' immigration enforcement practices. She enjoys reading and creating comics, being in the outdoors, and eating arepas.

ANGIE TAMAYO

Angie graduated from the Master of Social Work program in 2018. She has been involved with UWCHR since October 2015. This past year she worked on a psychosocial support strategy to be used by partners in El Salvador. Angie enjoys being a student activist and dancing.

CRISTINA GAMUNDI

Cristina is a senior majoring in Law, Societies and Justice. She joined UWCHR in fall 2017 and assists with the Human Rights at Home project drafting FOIAs and researching the impact of local policy on immigration rights. In her free time she likes to read, paint, and garden.

CLARE MORRISON

Clare is a second-year Masters of Library and Information Science student. She became involved with UWCHR as an undergraduate in 2013 and is now supporting our Human Rights at Home project, constructing an archive. In her free time, she enjoys traveling, and playing ukulele.

GRACE SORENSEN

Grace is a senior, majoring in International Studies and Spanish. She is currently interning with the UWCHR, drafting FOIA requests and conducting research about the Salvadoran civil war. In her spare time, she enjoys hiking, skiing, and traveling.

EMILY WILLARD

Emily is a doctoral candidate at the Jackson School of International Studies. She is a research fellow at the UWCHR, conducting research on El Salvador and supervising the Center's freedom of information work. In her spare time, Emily cooks, paints, creates with clay and writes.

Award winners recognized at the spring symposium and awards reception in May 2018. From left to right: Emily Willard, Gabriela Ocampo, Bree Bang-Jensen, Medhanit Abebe, Clare Morrison and Erica Tucker. Students' activity summaries will be posted at: https://jsis.washington.edu/humanrights/funds/.

2018 RECIPIENTS OF ENDOWED AWARDS

Emily Willard (Jackson School of Int'l Studies) received the *Benjamin Linder Justice Award*. She returned to the town of Nuevo Amanecer, Guatemala to conduct follow-up interviews for her dissertation on the involvement of women in the Guatemalan Civil War and attended the community's 20th anniversary celebration. July 27, 2018 marked the anniversary of their return from 15 years of exile in Mexico, where they fled to escape genocidal violence of the early 1980s Guatemala.

Bree Bang-Jensen (Political Science) received the *Dr. Lisa Sable Brown Award*. Ms. Bang-Jensen used the funds from the award to support her dissertation research on the way countries decide to exit international treaties establishing norms against slavery and other grievous rights abuses. Her interest in this project stems from her personal experience as she grew up in a town that was a refugee resettlement center and spent her teen years volunteering at refugee resettlement agencies.

Julia ("Clare") Morrison (Information School) received the *Jennifer Caldwell Award*. Along with research for UWCHR, Ms. Morrison planned to travel to Nicaragua to continue her previous work teaching English and managing education programs in an underserved community center. Unfortunately, due to the political situation in Nicaragua, it was no longer safe for her to travel; she remained in Seattle to work on a UWCHR-Northwest Detention Center Resistance project.

Diana Gabriela Ocampo Ucha (School of Law) received the *Abe Osheroff and Gunnel Clark Award*. The funds allows Gabriela to continue her work with the Law School's International Human Rights Clinic, to defend the rights of immigrants against abuses perpetrated by the U.S. government and private prisons who profit from immigration incarceration. For example, she will be documenting conditions and human rights violations in detention centers.

Medhanit Abebe, (School of Law) co-recipient of the *Peter Mack and Jamie Mayerfeld Award*, plans to conduct fieldwork in Kenya on the ways in which laws fail to take into account the vulnerabilities faced by women encountering land acquisitions. She aims to illustrate "why adopting vulnerability as a conceptual pillar may have an edifying effect on human rights interpretation by unfolding structural forms of discrimination and societal disadvantage."

Erica Tucker, (Jackson School of Int'l Studies) co-recipient of the *Peter Mack and Jamie Mayerfeld Award*, intends to construct an archive based on her family's experiences as Native Americans. She conducted archival research and interviews of her family in New Mexico. Ms. Tucker writes, "My family's oral histories include stories of my great-great grandparents, whose land and livelihood in Canyon de Chelly were stolen when they were forced to participate in the Long Walk."

REFRAMING THE NARRATIVES: STUDENT REFLECTION FROM EL MOZOTE DECLASSIFIED DOCUMENT WORKSHOPS

Grace Sorensen

Victims of human rights violations are often robbed of the opportunity to define their own narrative. For the survivors of the 1981 massacre of El Mozote and surrounding areas in Morazán, El Salvador, this reality has thwarted efforts for truth and justice for over three decades, as long-standing government impunity, systematic neutralization of political opposition, and a culture of fear have silenced the voices of victims. Despite these circumstances, individuals continue fighting for accountability of the atrocity in which at least 978 people, a majority of them children under the age of 12, were killed at the hands of the Salvadoran Armed Forces. Moreover, victims are exercising inspiring agency: they fight to heal, build solidarity, and to denounce the narrative of the oppressors that has sought to institutionalize impunity and invalidate their lived experiences.

In May of 2018, myself and a small team from the University of Washington Center for Human Rights traveled to Northeastern Morazán to meet with massacre survivors and their family members from El Mozote, La Joya, Cerro Pando, and other impacted communities. In a series of psychosocial workshops, our team presented a selection of declassified U.S. government documents from the Department of Defense, Defense Intelligence Agency, and Department of State, which we believe help to illuminate key details, actors, and motives of the U.S.-backed Salvadoran military's "scorched earth" operations that targeted civilian populations in Morazán during the Salvadoran civil war. Our goal was not only to share our access to potentially empowering information, but also to facilitate an active dialogue with survivors in which they could react to the documents, counter the claims of military officials, and provide their own accounts of the truth.

Director Angelina Godoy shares a declassified U.S. government report in a workshop with survivors of the massacre of El Mozote and surrounding villages. Photo: Grace Sorensen.

As an undergraduate researcher in the international human rights field, it is rare to receive the opportunity to have first-hand interactions of this nature. Perhaps as a consequence, it can be easy to separate oneself from victims during the investigation process, as geographical and historical distance often make it challenging to contextualize the experiences of victims in one's own life. As a result of these factors, I found it difficult to anticipate how the various communities impacted by the massacres of El Mozote and surrounding areas would react to the cold, mechanical discourse of unfamiliar documents in which powerful government officials recount their version of military planning and operations to

eliminate "insurgents".

While some of the initial reactions of victims such as the sudden evocation of strong emotions and painful memories were unsurprising, several responses stood out to me as particularly harrowing and powerful: the victims' lack of hesitation to denounce lies and exemptions, to provide their experiences of profound loss as a counter to the narratives of perpetrators (that described massacres as armed confrontations), to analyze and speculate about the motives of the U.S. and Salvadoran government to hide the truth, and to connect the massacres with contemporary violence and government impunity in El Salvador.

Overall, victims expressed feelings of empowerment upon learning this information, and demonstrated an overwhelming desire to set the record straight and continue discovering the truth. As I listened to victims bravely recount their harrowing stories of the execution, violation, and forced disappearance of their family members, the burning of their homes, and the fear, anger, and despair that burdens them more than 30 years later, I found myself emotionally moved and inspired by the endurance and determination of the massacre survivors to carry on with their lives.

However, many participants also illustrated disturbing realities that I had underestimated or overlooked, such as the degree to which fear has been institutionalized as a strategy of civilian repression, both on a domestic and international scale; for example, a woman expressed fear that if she discussed the events that occurred in December of 1981 with our research team, her family in the United States may face deportation to El Salvador.

It was also illuminating to hear victims connect the injustice surrounding the massacres to what they described as a "new war" in El Salvador: many victims who lost entire generations of their families to the massacres are now witnessing their own children fall victim to violence and forced disappearances. From their perspective, the silence and impunity that have followed the civil war are largely to blame, as they have distorted the historical record and have thus prevented that nation from rebuilding, reducing violence, and addressing human rights violations in general.

"OVERALL, VICTIMS EXPRESSED FEELINGS OF EMPOWERMENT UPON LEARNING THIS INFORMATION, AND DEMONSTRATED AN OVERWHELMING DESIRE TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT AND CONTINUE DISCOVERING THE TRUTH."

Perpetrators of crimes against humanity often use their power to dominate the historical narrative. As demonstrated by the case of the massacres of El Mozote and surrounding communities in El Salvador, powerful domestic and international actors go to great lengths to prevent reconciliation and reparation, to institutionalize impunity, and to instill fear into victims. However, despite these efforts to silence the voices of survivors and impede their rights to learn the truth, seek justice, and heal, victims of human rights violations exercise agency. They seek access to information, work to rebuild their lives, form relationships with other survivors, and define their own historical narratives. The creation of safe dialogue spaces and access to information are fundamental to this process.

While institutional barriers prevent Salvadorans, and human rights victims in general, from gaining access to official information relevant to their lived experiences, the creative use of laws such as the Freedom of Information Act can help to establish a threshold of accountability, fulfill victims' right to the truth, and educate future generations. Although providing information and dialogue spaces may seem insignificant in the broader context of international justice and accountability, these efforts are ultimately crucial to providing survivors the opportunity to correct the historical record and to support them in their tireless pursuit for truth and justice. ■

INNOVATIONS IN NATIVE HEALTH CARE ACCESS

Left to right: Celia McTigue, Maya Magarati, Ali Desautel, Kim Thompson, Bonnie Duran and Aaron Katz during the UWCHR spring sympsium in May 2018.

Across the United States, recent years have seen growing recognition of the need to explore new models to expand access to health care. While the movement toward fulfilling the promise of health as a human right may have stalled among politicians, Native communities in the Pacific Northwest are forging innovative models, in ways that may offer valuable insights to the national discussion.

In recent decades, various Native health care systems throughout Washington have transformed how they deliver care by expanding their patient population to include not just tribal members, but the surrounding non-Native community as well. In order to successfully broaden the scope of their health care services, these systems have had to employ creative techniques to address the medical, financial, and administrative issues that come along with expanded services. As a result, many have become the sole providers of care in their communities, and therefore offer a chance to evaluate the potential efficacy of single-provider systems in non-urban areas.

This research project, led by UWCHR Faculty Associate Aaron Katz and Master of Public Health student Celia McTigue, is conducted in partnership with the Northwest Portland Area Indian Health Board with support from the UWCHR and other sources. Research from this past year yielded an analysis revealing important lessons about the role of expanded patient populations, public funding mechanisms, and tribal accountability in Washington tribal health clinics serving Native and non-Native patients.

Project collaborators, including Kimberly Thompson (Executive Director, Shoalwater Bay Wellness Center) and Alexandria "Ali" Desautel (Executive Director, Lake Roosevelt Community Health Centers), were featured participants in the UWCHR's spring symposium, "NW Tribal Leadership: Re-envisioning Access to Healthcare" on May 10, 2018. Other participants included Prof. Stephanie Fryberg (UW American Indian Studies & Psychology) and moderator, Aaron Katz. Special thanks to Celia and Prof. Bonnie Duran (Social Work & IWRI) for their assistance and guidance with this panel event. Sponsors for the event included: Center for Global Studies of the Jackson School, Indigenous Wellness Research Institute, American Indian Studies, American Indian Student Commission, Native American Law Center and wəɬəbʔaltxʷ-Intellectual House. ■

IN MEMORY OF HELEN HARDIN JACKSON

Helen H. Jackson. Photo courtesy of the Henry M. Jackson Foundation.

All of us at the Center for Human Rights are saddened by Helen Jackson's passing on February 24, 2018. Helen was known for her kindness, generosity, and commitment to public service, and her dedication to human rights helped give lead to the founding of our Center. In 2008, the Henry M. Jackson Foundation endowed the Helen H. Jackson Chair in Human Rights at the University of Washington, an extraordinary gift which sparked enthusiasm for the creation of a new Center for Human Rights at UW. In 2009, with bipartisan support, the Washington State legislature passed a bill to establish our Center, naming the Helen Jackson Chair its director. We've grown by leaps and bounds since then, but consider Helen's lifelong commitment to public engagement for human rights core to our mission. We are honored to uphold this dimension of her legacy. ■

UWCHR FACULTY ASSOCIATE WINS DISTINGUISHED RETIREE AWARD

Prof. Robert Crawford. Photo courtesy of University of Washington.

Congratulations to Professor Emeritus Rob Crawford, of the School of Interdisciplinary Arts & Sciences at UW Tacoma, who received the Distinguised Retiree Excellence in Community Service Award this past June 2018. As the founder of the Washington State Religious Campaign Against Torture, Rob has worked tirelessly to advance human rights for all people. His thoughtful and principled scholarship, combined with a talent for building alliances and effective advocacy, reflect his own values and the values of our University. His enormous compassion, respect for human life and dignity, and ability to mobilize others in service of the cause are a credit to this institution. The annual award, first presented in 2015, has until this year recognized retirees from only UW's Seattle campus. Crawford is the first retiree to be honored whose career was centered at a campus other than Seattle. ■

MANY THANKS!

The UW Center for Human Rights would like to thank the individuals and organizations that made contributions to our Center. Your monetary donations and your gifts of time help make our work possible. Thank you! Please refer to the facing page for a brief report of our revenues and expenditures. To make a contribution today, please see below for more information.

TRANSFORMING EDUCATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

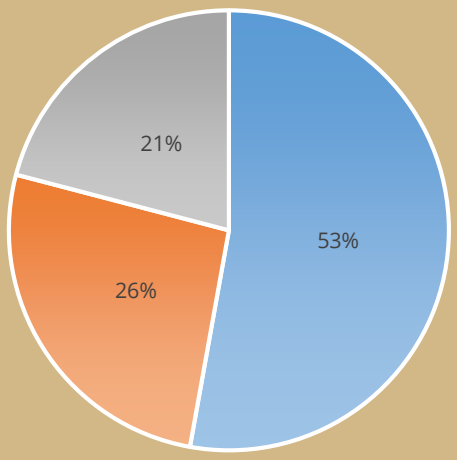
Your tax-deductible donation helps support events, programs, and projects like the ones in this report. Please consider making a gift in one of the following ways:

- **Check:** Make checks payable to "University of Washington Foundation" and indicate "Center for Human Rights" in the memo line. Mail to UW Center for Human Rights, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, Box 353650, Seattle, WA 98195.
- **Online:** Using your credit or debit card, you can make a gift at giving.uw.edu/chr.
- **Phone:** Call the UW Foundation at 1-877-894-4387 and indicate that your gift is intended to benefit UWCHR.

Thank you!

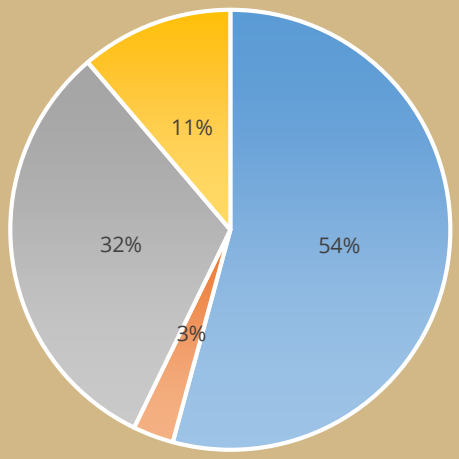
FINANCIAL REPORT 2017-2018

UWCHR 2017-2018 REVENUE



**UW additionally provides UWCHR with operational support including office space, IT, and utilities.*

UWCHR 2017-2018 EXPENDITURES



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The University of Washington Center for Human Rights is committed to interdisciplinary excellence in the education of undergraduate and graduate students in the field of human rights; promoting human rights as a core area of faculty and graduate research; and engaging productively with local, regional, national, and international organizations and policymakers to advance respect for human rights.

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Photos from UWCHR's spring event in May 2018.