### Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abidjan Accords</td>
<td>169, 171–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abolitionist movement</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abouharb, M. Rodwan</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Ghraib prison</td>
<td>159, 188–94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accountability</td>
<td>3–12, 319–31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>challenges to state sovereignty and</td>
<td>16–17, 277–8, 283–4, 319–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definition of</td>
<td>8–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deterritorialization of</td>
<td>5–6, 12–17, 321–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donor-driven gaps and</td>
<td>50–2, 285–90, 313–15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new impact of</td>
<td>6–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also external accountability;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal accountability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accountability dilemmas</td>
<td>278–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accountability once removed</td>
<td>6, 107, 184–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, Brad</td>
<td>132–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Procedures Act</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(APA), 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegis Defense Services</td>
<td>160n11, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Charter of Human Rights</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AirScan</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akashi, Yasushi</td>
<td>111, 113, 116–17, 122, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexseeva, Liudmila</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alien Tort Claims Act</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allende, Salvador</td>
<td>31n43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All People's Congress (APC)</td>
<td>162–3, 171n72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almond, Mark</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aman, Alfred</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Bar Association</td>
<td>132–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amnesty International (AI)</td>
<td>194, 280–1, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annan, Kofi</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apartheid</td>
<td>290, 323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collective bargaining in</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic neoliberalism in</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden program in</td>
<td>59, 62–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human rights campaigns in</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privatization of water systems in</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yacyretá dam project in</td>
<td>66, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)</td>
<td>169–70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms Export Control Act</td>
<td>183–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arun III dam project</td>
<td>59–60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia Foundation</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Development Bank (ADB)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic slave trade</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin, Reginald</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Authentic Labor Front (FAT), 99–100
Avaaz network, 328
Avant, Deborah, 157n3, 172, 180, 185–6, 216
Aylwin, Patricio, 30
Baguiya, Kaniba, 293
Bagum, Hazera, 313
Bangladesh, 76, 153, 313–14
Banjul Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, 223
Barber, Benjamin, 31n40
Barlow, Eebon, 173
Barnett, Michael, 44
Bazorkina, Fatima, 249–50
Bazorkina v. Russia, 248n121, 249–52
Bechtel Corporation, 83
Belgian Congo, 95
Bieber, Florian, 150n194
bilateral political aid, 106–7
Bildt, Carl, 147
Bio, Julius Maada, 168
Bitiyeva, Zura, 271n190
Blackwater, 138, 157–90, 195, 197–8
Bob, Clifford, 289
Boliev, Osman, 270
Bolivia, 83
boomerang effects, 281–3, 309, 318
Bosnia and Herzegovina, 18, 138–48, 179
accountability relationships in, 145–56
civil war in, 139
Dayton Peace Accords, 139–40, 142, 144
elections in, 144–145, 150, 152, 154
European Union in, 12, 141, 146–8
interethnic tension in, 144–145, 1461181
international administration through OHR of, 140–8
International Police Task Force in, 199–201
peacekeepers’ human rights violations in, 159
PMCs in, 215, 198–205, 218
sex-trafficking networks in, 198–205, 218
tripartite presidency of, 140, 143–4, 150
UNMIBH in, 140n153, 198–9, 204–5
war crimes trials from, 275
Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 112–13
Branch Energy Corporation, 167
Brazil
IMF agreement with, 48–9
Itaparica dam project in, 76
Rondonia Natural Resources Management Project, 79
Britain, 224, 226, 257
British Petroleum (BP), 89, 219
Brown, L. David, 317
Brown, MacAlister, 112–13, 122
Brown, Mark Malloch, 28
Brysk, Alison, 103, 316
Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party (BLDP), 114, 116
Bujagali Falls project, 67
Burkov, Anton Leonidovich, 263–5, 271–2
Burke, Susan, 189
Cambodia, 18, 107–38
accountability relationships in, 127–38, 148–56
civic education in, 153–5
civil society in, 119–20, 132–3
civil war in, 107–9
coalition government in, 124
Constituent Assembly of, 115–16, 117n151
CACI International, 189, 192
Cambridge University Press
© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org
constitutions of, 117–20
coup of 1997 in, 121–2, 149
economic aid to, 122
economic conditions of, 115
elections of 1998, 122–4, 149–50
elections of 2002 and 2003, 125
electoral authoritarianism in, 125–7
genocide trials in, 137–8
human rights in, 119, 126–7, 130–5
judicial system of, 135–8
Khmer Rouge, 108–9, 113–14, 118
Paris Agreements of 1991, 110–11, 113, 137n140
patronage and corruption in, 135–8
peacekeepers in, 159, 206–8
prostitution and HIV/AIDS in, 206–7
refugee repatriation in, 119–20
UN Human Rights Center programs, 131–5, 153–5
UNTAC in, 107–20, 319
Vietnamese-run dictatorship in, 108–9
Voice of Democracy radio in, 134–5
women’s political participation in, 128–9
Cambodian Center for Human Rights (CCHR), 126
Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC), 119, 133n127
Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO), 119, 126
Cambodian People’s Party (CPP), 107, 110–12
coup of 1997, 121–2, 149
elections of 1993, 116, 126, 138
elections of 1998, 122–4
elections of 2002 and 2003, 125
judicial corruption, 136–7
See also Hun Sen
Camdessus, Michel, 36–7
case study methodology, 17–18
Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), 192
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). See United States
Centre Djoliba, 292
Chad, 75–6
Chandler, David, 146
Chea Sim, 124
Chechnya, 266
harassment of ECHR applicants in, 270–1
human rights abuses in, 231–2, 246–52, 269
jury trials in, 233
Chernobyl nuclear power station, 240
Chevron, 88–9
Chile
antidemocratic policies in, 31–2
Biobio River dam project in, 63–4
economic neoliberalism in, 30
China, 19
antidemocratic policies in, 31
Fantasy Westward Journey MMORPG, 328
footbinding in, 278, 282–3
income inequality in, 26
labor rights in, 86
protectionist policies of, 23–4
Western Poverty Reduction Project, 59–62
Churkina, Liudmila, 265
Cichowski, Rachel, 226
Cingranelli, David, 26
citizenship, 100n330, 329–30
citizenship gaps, 103
civic globalization, 2–3, 17, 19, 277–9, 316–31
accountability relationships and, 7, 278–9, 283–4, 301–2, 304, 316–18
anti-apartheid movement, 290, 323
anti-FGM campaigns, 19, 278, 282–3, 290–9
civic globalization (cont.)
anti-footbinding campaigns, 278, 282–3
boomerang effects of, 281–3, 309, 318
communication in, 284, 327–8
cross-national citizen coalitions, 280–1, 316
demobilization dilemma in, 314–15
democratization movements, 278, 286–90
downward accountability in, 284, 304, 313–15
elite advocacy in, 318
foreign funding in, 285–90, 312–15
government role in, 290
human rights protections through, 279–84, 318
inequalities in access to, 284
internal accountability in, 278, 309–10, 318
legitimacy of, 317–18
monitoring roles in, 310n141
North-South power dynamics in, 296–8, 302, 306, 310, 315
protective accompaniment approach, 280
public education initiatives, 153–5, 293–5
service delivery in, 311–15
targeting international financial institutions, 299–311
transnational advocacy networks, 281–4
transnational identities, 322–31
transnational NGOs, 299–300
upward accountability in, 13, 312–15
vertical accountability in, 9–10
World Bank impact on, 77–9
Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM), 94

Coca-Cola, 100–1
Cochabamba water system, 83
Cold War, 106–7, 109
Colombia, 182–4, 219
combat PMCs, 157–8, 160, 174–8
Commission for Labor Cooperation, 93
Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, 226–7, 230–5, 262, 268
communications technology, 6–7, 327–8
Communications Workers of America (CWA), 92
corporate citizenship, 100n330
corporate codes of conduct, 96–9
corruption, 2, 69–73, 135–8
cosmopolitanism, 326–7, 329–30
Costa Rica, 167n49
Council of Europe, 225–7, 229, 236, 250, 257, 268, 273
See also European Court of Human Rights
courts. See judicial globalization
Covey, Jane, 309
CPP. See Cambodian People’s Party
Croatia, 18–19, 139, 178–82, 185
Croat-Muslim Federation, 140
See also Bosnia and Herzegovina
Cronin, Bruce, 619
cross-national citizen coalitions, 280–1, 316
cultural globalization, 5
Cumulative Economic Liberalization
Index, 261n21
Curtis, Grant, 120
Cyprus, 227
Dahl, Robert, 9–10, 14, 229–30
Danilenko, Gennady, 257
Index

Danilov, Valentin, 243
da Silva, Luiz Inacio, 49
Dayton Peace Accords, 139–40, 142, 144
Defense Systems Limited (DSL), 219
deficit spending, 22
Demeneva, Anna, 260, 265
democracy, 7–10, 229–30, 322–3
democracy promotion, 106–7
democratic deficits, 13–17, 39–41, 44–5
democratization, 2, 4–5
communications technology in, 327–8
global accountability relationships and, 278, 286–90
human rights obligations in, 279–84
in the neoliberal economic environment, 27–34
in Russia, 229–30
Department of Defense. See United States
deterritorialization, 5–6, 12–17, 321–2
See also transnational forces
development banks. See international financial institutions (IFIs)
diamond trade, 164–5, 170
disappearances, 77n242, 283
Dolgova, Valentina, 243–4
domestic violence, 313
Dominican Republic, 96–7
donor-driven accountability gaps, 50–1, 285–90, 313–14
downward accountability, 13, 149–53, 284, 304, 315–15
Doyle, Michael, 127–30
Dubnov, Vadim, 267–8
Durjoy Nari Sangha, 313
DynCorp, 178, 186
in Bosnia, 200–3, 218
in Colombia, 182–3
in Iraq, 188, 218
Easterly, William, 36–7, 127n104
East Timor, 18, 110n14
ECHR. See European Court of Human Rights
Economic Freedom Index (EFI), 26–7
economic globalization, 3, 5, 16–18, 20–3, 103–5, 320–1
accountability relationships and, 41–2, 44, 103–5, 278, 284
corporate accountability under, 29
democratization and, 27–34
growth of GDP under, 23–5, 36–8
income inequality under, 25–8, 38
informal labor sector under, 85–8
labor rights under, 65, 77, 85–8, 98–103
market accountability under, 31n40
multinational corporations under, 81–9, 103–4
neoliberalism of, 21–7, 103–5
privatization under, 22
protectionism under, 22–4
transnational manufacturing under, 21
transnational resistance movements under, 95–103, 321
transparency under, 43–6, 55, 71, 80–1
See also international financial institutions (IFIs); labor
education, 153–5
Edwards, Michael, 314–15
Einhorn, Jessica, 46
elections, 9–10, 148–9
accountability from above in, 149–53
in Bosnia, 141–4, 150, 152, 154
in Cambodia, 110, 115–28, 138, 149–50
monitoring of, 106–7, 152–3
postconflict timeframes of, 150–1
in Russia, 229–30
in Sierra Leone, 168–9, 171, 173
Index

electoral democracies, 33
England, Lynndie, 193
Environmental Defense Fund, 76
environmental justice, 321
Equatorial Guinea, 18–19, 178–81
Erinyς, 195
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), 65
European Convention on Human Rights, 221–6, 229, 257
European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), 2–3, 19, 220–2, 225–9, 320
accountability relationships and, 7, 226–9, 266–73
Chechen cases before, 246–52, 266
fines, 4, 245, 254–6, 267–8
global norms of, 6
impact on Russian judges of, 256–66
legitimacy of, 223
litigants of, 228–9, 274
on corporal punishment, 226
on duration of police custody, 226
on gay, lesbian, and transgender rights, 224, 227
Russian applications to, 236–9, 320
Russian Bulletin of, 268n156
Russian compliance with, 226–8, 250–62, 268–9, 271–2
Russian losses in, 239–46, 255
Russian retaliation against, 270–3
European Court of Justice (ECJ), 224
European Union, 225n16
administration of Bosnia by, 12, 141, 146–8
import bans in, 80
membership criteria of, 227
European Union Police Mission (EUPM), 204–5
Evans, Peter, 103–4
Eve Online, 327
executive branch accountability, 46–8
Executive Outcomes (EO), 160
Angolan operation of, 175
payment arrangement of, 167, 174
promotion of accountability by, 172–4
Sierra Leone operation of, 161–2, 166–9, 177, 319
export-led industrialization, 21
export processing zone (EPZ) labor, 86
external accountability, 11, 330–1
of the IMF, 41–4
of MNCs, 83
of UN peacekeeping missions, 212–14
of the World Bank, 54, 64–7
externalizing contention, 221n1
Fair Election Monitoring Alliance, 153
Fair Labor Association (FLA), 96, 98
Fantasy Westward Journey, 328
Fatale, Abel, 83
Fay report, 189
Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 140
See also Bosnia and Herzegovina
female genital mutilation (FGM), 19, 278, 282–3
banning of, 296
Kenya’s campaign against, 278, 282–3, 296n75
Mali’s campaign against, 290–9
Maputo Protocol to the African Charter of Human Rights, 291
Pledge Against Excision, 292–3
public education about, 293–5
feminism. See transnational feminist networks (TFN); women
Figueres, Jose, 167n49
Finnemore, Martha, 44
Fish, M. Steven, 26–7, 229–30
Flag of Convenience (FOC) campaign, 101
footbinding, 278
foreign direct investment (FDI), 87–8
Freedom House, 33, 231–2
Index

freedom of the press, 231–2
free trade, 22
Friedman, Thomas, 31
Frumkin, Peter, 317
Fujimori, Alberto, 30
FUNCINPEC. See National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia

Gambia, 165
Garrison, William Lloyd, 327
Glasnost Defense Foundation, 264–5
global consciousness, 325–31
global issues networks (GINs), 329–30
globalization, 3, 5–6
See also civic globalization;
deterritorialization;
economic globalization;
judicial globalization;
military globalization;
political globalization;
transnational forces
global warming, 328
Goetz, Anne-Marie, 12, 14, 28, 321–2
Goldblatt, David, 329
good governance measures, 105
local election monitoring and, 152–3
MNC support of, 89
World Bank policies on, 71–2
See also democratization
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 109
Gordy, Eric, 145–6
Gottessman, Evan, 118–20, 129–35, 138, 153
Graner, Charles A., 189, 193
Grant, Bruce, 183
Greenpeace, 309
Guatemala, 100–1
Gusinskii, Vladimir, 244
Guyana, 20, 153

Haiti, 49–50, 213n275
Halliburton, 186, 195–6
Hanson, Stephen, 34
Hashemi, Syed, 314
Healthy Tomorrow, 290–9
Heavily Indebted Poor Countries program, 53–4
Held, David, 329–30
Hobsbawm, Eric, 327
horizontal accountability, 9–10
Horowitz, Donald, 144n173
Horst, Karl, 197
Howe, Herbert, 176, 178
Hudson Trident, 160n11
Hulme, David, 314–15
Human Development Index (HDI), 26nin21–2
human rights, 2, 7, 17, 324
in Argentina, 283
in Cambodia, 119–20, 126–7, 130–5
in Chechnya, 246–52
death penalty, 225
EU membership criteria, 227
European Convention on Human Rights, 222, 225–9
freedom of the press, 231–2
gay, lesbian, and transgender rights, 224
grassroots involvement in, 290
in Mexico, 283
peacekeeper violations of, 159, 185, 198–215
physical integrity rights, 77
PMCs’ abuses of, 175–6, 188–98, 218–19
regional agreements on, 223–4
in Russia, 222, 231–3, 236–66, 269
states’ obligations toward, 279–84
torture, 77n243, 241–2, 267
transnational conscience, 322–31
women’s military service, 224
under World Bank programs, 77
See also civic globalization; judicial globalization; sexual abuse
Human Rights First, 193
Human Rights Watch (HRW), 96
on Chechnya, 247–8
on ECHR applications, 238–9
on maquiladoras, 90
on PMCs, 175–6, 200–2
on sex-for-protection arrangements, 215
Hun Sen, 109–10
authoritarian regime of, 125–7
as co-prime-minister, 116–21
coup of 1997, 121–2, 149
elections of 1993, 115–16
elections of 1998, 124
Khmer Rouge genocide trials, 137–8
patronage system of, 135–6
resistance to UNTAC by, 111–15
Sam Rainsy’s charges against, 125n99
UN Human Rights Center, 131
See also Cambodia; UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)
Ieng Sary, 137
Ieng Thirith, 137
income inequality, 25–8, 38
Independent Evaluation Office (IEO) of the IMF, 45–6, 48
India
all-women peacekeeping forces in, 213–14
economic protectionism in, 23–4
HIV drug sales in, 80
Sardar Sadovar (Narmada River) dam project in, 57, 74, 307–8
Singrauli coal-development project in, 79n251
indigenous peoples policies, 75
Indonesia, 153, 302–4, 309–11
Inspection Panel of the World Bank, 57–69, 105, 320
Integrated Safeguards Data Sheets (ISDS), 67–8
Inter-American Convention on Human Rights, 223
Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 223
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), 65
internal accountability, 11
of the IMF, 39–41
of transnational civic organizations, 278, 309, 318
of the World Bank, 56–7
Internal Security Unit (ISU), 162–3
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), 63–4
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), 101
International Criminal Court, 275n210, 325
International Development Association (IDA), 60n171, 63–4
International Finance Corporation (IFC), 63–5
international financial institutions (IFIs), 35–8, 320–1
accountability to citizens of, 57–69
accountability relationships of, 41–2, 44, 103–5, 278, 284, 288–9, 309
donor-driven accountability gaps, 50–2
Heavily Indebted Poor Countries program, 53–4
human rights records of, 77
resistance to, 95–103, 321
Structural Adjustment Programs of, 22, 29–30, 35–8, 45, 56–7, 62–3, 77
transnational civic campaigns targeting, 299–311
transparency of, 43–6, 55, 71, 80–1
World Trade Organization, 23, 42, 79–81
See also economic globalization; International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Bank
Index

International Labor Organization (ILO), 65
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 2–3, 35–8
accountability relationships of, 11, 23, 38–46, 103
client base of, 35
democratic deficits of, 39–41, 44–5
external accountability of, 41–4
governance of, 39–43
impact on growth of, 36–8
Independent Evaluation Office of, 45–6, 48
internal accountability of, 39–41
neoliberal policies of, 22
Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility of, 38
in Sierra Leone, 164
social safety net provisions of, 38, 52–4
state accountability under, 46–54
transnational civic campaigns targeting, 299–300
transparency of, 43–6, 48
voluntary membership in, 41–2
International NGO Group on Indonesia (INGI), 304
international opportunity structure, 286
international organizations (IOs), 14
See also transnational forces
International Police Task Force (IPTF), 199–203
International Protection Center (IPC), 272–4
international public sphere, 329–30
International Rivers, 67
International Transfer of Arms Regulations (ITAR), 183–4
International Transport Workers’ Federation (ITF), 101
International Union of Food and Allied Workers’ Associations (IUF), 100–1
International War Crimes Tribunal for Yugoslavia, 180
Internet communication, 7, 327–8
Iraq, 18–19, 188–98
Abu Ghraib prison scandal, 159, 188–94
Nisour Square massacre, 197–8
PMCs in, 158, 186–98, 218
Isayeva, Yusupova, and Bazayeva v. Russia, 251–2
Israel, John, 189
Itaparica dam project, 76
Ivanov, Sergei, 266
Jamaica, 49, 86
Japan Bank for International Cooperation, 65
Jelavic, Ante, 143–4
Jenkins, Rob, 12, 14, 321–2
Johnston, Ben, 202
Jordan, Bill, 101
Jordan, Pamela, 268
Jordan, Steven, 189
judicial globalization, 3, 17, 19, 221–9, 273–6
accountability relationships and, 222–9, 273–6
European Court of Justice (ECJ), 224
externalized contention of, 221
human rights protections through, 222
International Criminal Court, 275n10
international legalization under, 274
under U.S. Alien Tort Claims Act of, 1789, 274–5
See also European Court of Human Rights
Kabbah, Ahmed Tejan, 168–72, 174
Kaing Guek Eav (Duch), 137
Kalashnikov, Valery, 240–1, 255–6, 267
Index

Kalashnikov v. Russia, 240–1, 255–6, 262n153
Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Party. See Cambodian People’s Party
Karadžić, Radovan, 275
Karl, Terry Lynn, 8
Karpinski, Janis, 194
Kassie Neou, 122–3, 149, 154
Keck, Margaret, 278, 281, 296n75, 309
Kedung Ombo Dam, 302–4, 309–11
Kellogg, Brown & Root (KBR), 195–6
Kem Sokha, 126, 132, 134
Kenya, 19
   anticorruption programs in, 72
   anti-FGM campaigns in, 278, 282–3, 296n75
   local election monitoring in, 153
   pro-democracy movement in, 278, 286–7
Keohane, Robert O., 11, 16, 41n82, 228
Khagram, Sanjeev, 317
Khassiyev and Akayeva v. Russia, 251–2
Khieu Samphan, 137
Khmer Nation Party, 121, 123n87, 125n99
Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF), 110n12
Khmer Rouge, 108–9, 113–14, 137–8
Khodorkovskii, Mikhail, 244, 272
Knight, Phil, 97
Kohler, Horst, 36–7
Koné, Saly, 292
Koroma, Johnny Paul, 174
Kovler, Anatolii, 239–40
Kozachenko, Vladislav, 235
Kreil, Tanja, 224
Kudeshkina, Olga, 234
Kuwait, 181

L3 Communications, 186
   labor cheap, 88n287
   citizenship gaps, 103
   collective bargaining rights, 86
   corporate codes of conduct, 96–9
   foreign direct investment (FDI)
      impact on, 87
   in the informal economy, 85–6
   international labor standards, 65, 77, 102, 105
   under MNCs, 85–8
   under NAFTA, 89–95
   transnational resistance movements, 95–103
   union organizing, 93–4, 98–103
See also economic globalization
Lajcak, Miroslav, 147
Laptev, Pavel, 241, 267
legal globalization. See judicial globalization
liberal internationalism, 329–30
Liberia
   civil war in, 162, 164
   diamond exports of, 165, 170
   rates of rape in, 215
   UNMIL human rights violations in, 206–8, 212–14
Libya, 164
LICADHO, 133n127
Lohman, Diederik, 238–9, 247–8, 250–1, 266, 269–70
Lome Agreement, 169–70
Lon Nol, 108
Luitingh, Lafras, 173
Malaysia, 31
Mali, 19, 278, 290–9
Malian Network of Struggle Against Female Genital Mutilation,
   292n61
Manley, Michael, 49
Index

Maputo Protocol to the African Charter of Human Rights, 291
maquiladoras. See Mexico
Margai, Albert, 162
Margai, Milton, 162
Martin, Sarah, 211, 214
Martin, Steve, 1
massively multiplayer on-line role-playing games (MMORPGs), 327–8
Matuszeski, Janina, 127n104
Mbасого, Teodor Obiang Nguema, 181
McCargo, Duncan, 137–8
McGrew, Anthony, 329
McLucas, Susan, 290–9
Media-MOST, 244
media technology, 6–7, 327–8
Memorial organization, 247, 271
Mendelson, Sarah, 204
Menem, Carlos, 30
Menesheva, Olga, 241–2
mercenaries. See private military contractors (PMCs)
Merzliaikova, Tat’iana, 255
Mexico, 19
Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, 94
human rights campaigns in, 283
labor rights in, 86, 90–4
Sierra Madre Forestry project, 304, 309, 311
Sony factory complaint, 93
Sprint labor standards case, 92
union organizing in, 99–100
Mikhayev, Alevsei, 241, 267
Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act (MEJA), 190–8, 202–3
military globalization, 3, 18–19, 157–61, 216–20
accountability relationships and, 174–87, 216–20
in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 185, 198–205
in Cambodia, 206–8
in Sierra Leone, 161–74
social control of force under, 216–18
See also peacekeeping missions;
private military contractors (PMCs)
Military Professional Resources International (MPRI)
in Croatia, 178–82, 185
in Equatorial Guinea, 178, 180–1
licensing of, 182
profit motive of, 186
war crimes indictments of, 180
Milosevic, Slobodan, 139
MINUSTAH in Haiti, 213n275
Mittleman, James, 50–1
modern political democracy, 8–10, 229–30
Moghadam, Valentine, 323n15
Mohanty, Chandra, 324
Moi, Daniel arap, 286–7
Moiseyev, Valentin, 272–3
Moomh, Joseph, 163–5
Moore, Barrington, 311
Moore, Mark H., 317
Moravcsik, Andrew, 14, 228
Morse Commission report, 57
Moscow Helsinki Group, 273
Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, 283
Mount Apo Geothermal Plant, 305–7, 309–10
Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), 288–9
Mozambique, 50–1
Mukhaev, Metkhi, 270–1
Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), 64–5
multilateral trade agreements, 22
Index

multinational corporations (MNCs), 2, 22, 81–9, 103–4, 320–1
accountability relationships of, 23, 82–4, 103–4
corporate citizenship, 100n330
labor rights under, 85–8, 105
negative publicity for, 96–9
oil companies, 88–9
size and clout of, 82
state accountability under, 84–5, 88–9
supraterritorial role of, 6
transnational mobility of, 86–7
transnational resistance movements to, 95–103, 321
See also NAFTA
multiple citizenships, 329
Myanmar, 16n53

NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement), 320
accountability relationships under, 23, 89–95
labor protections under, 89–93, 105
labor responses to, 99–101
labor suppression under, 93–5
name and shame methods, 96–9
Narmada River dam, 57, 74, 307–8
National Administrative Offices (NAOs), 89–95, 105, 320
National Convention Executive Council (NCEC), 286–7
national governance. See states
National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), 153
National Program of Struggle Against the Practice of Excision (PNLE), 292n61
National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), 165–6
National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC), 79n251
National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC), 110n12, 114
coup of 1997, 120–2
elections of 1993, 116, 126, 138
elections of 1998, 123–4
elections of 2002–2003, 125
power-sharing arrangement of, 116–20
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
Partnership for Peace program, 179
SFOR in Bosnia, 200–1
Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs), 210n261
negative publicity, 96–9
neoliberal institutionalism, 21n5
neoliberalism, 21–34, 103–5
democratization under, 27–34
economic growth under, 23–5
income inequality under, 25–8
transnational decision making under, 29–30
See also economic globalization
Nepal, 59–60
Network of Sex Work Projects, 313
NFD, 160
Nigeria, 19
IMF agreement with, 52
Ogoni minority in, 288–9
oil industry in, 88–9
pro-democracy movement in, 278, 287–90
Nike, 96–7
Nisour Square massacre, 197–8
noncombat PMCs, 158, 178–87
nongovernmental organizations. See civic globalization
Norman, Hinga, 174
Norris, Pippa, 29–30, 326n28
North America Free Trade Agreement. See NAFTA
North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC), 89–95, 105
Index

political globalization (cont.)
bilateral political aid, 106–7
civic education, 153–5
cosmopolitan approach to, 329–30
elections under, 106–7, 148–53
good governance measures, 71–2, 89, 105, 153
international public sphere of, 329–30
multi-ethnic political parties, 144
of neoliberal economic environments, 27–34
Paris’s institutionalization before liberalization, 151, 154
rule of law, 2, 71n214, 151, 199
supraterritorialization, 5–6, 321–2
transnational election monitoring, 106–7, 152–3
women’s participation in, 128–9
See also Bosnia and Herzegovina; Cambodia; democratization
political imprisonment, 77n243
Politkovskaya, Anna, 232
polyarchy, 9–10
Ponyatovsky v. Government, 259
Poplasen, Nikola, 143
Posner, Paul, 32
Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International Federation, 91–2
Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), 53–4
press freedoms, 231–2
private military contractors (PMCs), 2–3, 6, 18–19, 157–61
Abu Ghraib prison scandal, 159, 188–94
accountability relationships of, 216–20
casualty reports of, 196
combat PMCs, 157–8, 160, 174–8
financial costs of, 167, 174–5
human rights abuses by, 175–6, 188–98, 218–19
immunity from prosecution of, 196–8, 203–4, 219–20
in Iraq, 158, 186–98, 218
market control of, 216–18
under Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act, 190–8, 202–3
noncombat PMCs, 158, 178–87
operational support roles, 158
oversight of, 178–87
in peacekeeping missions, 198–205
personnel and subcontractors of, 195–6
market control of, 216–18
under Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act, 190–8, 202–3
noncombat PMCs, 158, 178–87
operational support roles, 158
oversight of, 178–87
in peacekeeping missions, 198–205
personnel and subcontractors of, 195–6
profit motivation of, 174, 186
training programs of, 185, 218–19
war crimes indictments of, 180, 198
See also Blackwater; Executive Outcomes; Military Professional Resources International
privatization, 22
accountability relationships in, 15–16, 32, 83
antidemocratic policies in, 31–2
informal labor sector, 85–8
regulatory oversight of, 83
Project Information Documents (PIDs), 55
protectionism, 22–3
protective accompaniment, 280
Putin, Vladimir, 230–1, 246
racism, 14
Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act, 192
railroad technology, 327
Rakevich v. Russia, 244–5, 255
Rakhmankov, Vladimir, 231
Ramses II, 159
Ranariddh, Norodom, 110
as co-prime-minister, 116–21
elections of 1998, 122
as head of National Assembly, 124–5
Sam Rainsy’s charges against, 125n99
UN Human Rights Center, 131
Index

Rede Brazil, 79
Reebok, 96–7
Rees, Madeleine, 218n295
Refugees International, 212–14
Reno, William, 104n346
Reporters Without Borders, 232
Republika Srpska, 140

See also Bosnia and Herzegovina
research methodology, 17–18
resistance movements, 95–103, 321

See also civic globalization
Revolutionary Armed Forces of
Colombia (FARC), 182
Revolutionary United Front (RUF), 161–70, 171n73, 172

See also Sierra Leone
Robertson, James, 192
Rokhlin, Lev, 242–3
Rokhлина, Tamara, 242–3
Rosenau, James, 321
Ross, Robert J. S., 98–9
Royo, Antoinette, 306
Rucht, Dieter, 323–4
rule of law, 2, 71n214, 151, 199
Runmansara, Augustinus, 304
Rumsfeld, Donald, 193
Russia, 19, 221–2, 236–73
accountability relationships in, 255, 266–73
Chechen wars of, 246–52, 266, 269
compliance with domestic court decisions in, 259–60, 269–70
compliance with ECHR decisions by, 226–8, 250–62, 268–9
Constitutional Court of, 258–60
Council of Europe membership of, 229, 236, 250, 257, 273
decline of democracy in, 229–30, 258, 269
domestic legal system of, 230–6
ECHR applications from, 236–9, 320
ECHR impact on judges in, 256–66

ECHR losses by, 239–46, 255
economic control in, 229–30
elections of public officials in,
229–30
enforcement-of-judgment failures in,
254–5
Federal Registration Service, 272
harassment of ECHR applicants in,
270–3
human rights in, 222, 232–3, 236,
256–8, 269
lack of judicial independence in,
233–5, 257–60, 271
monetary compensation from, 245,
254–6, 267–8
new Criminal Procedure Code in,
234–5, 253, 258–9, 268n279
press freedoms in, 231–2
pretrial detention centers (SIZOs) in,
255–6
supervisory review (nadzor) in,
253–4, 271–2
Supreme Court decisions of, 263
women’s movement of, 283n38, 313

Russian Bulletin of the ECHR, 263n156
Russian-Chechen Friendship Society,
231
Russian Union of Journalists, 231

Ryabykh v. Russia, 253

Sam Rainsy, 121, 123–5
Sam Rainsy Party (SRP), 123, 125
Sanchez, Ricardo, 193
Sanderson, John, 111–13, 122
Sandline, 160, 175
Sankoh, Foday, 164, 168–70, 171n73
Sardar Sadovar dam, 57, 74, 307–8
Saro-Wiwa, Ken, 288–9
Saudi Arabia, 103, 181, 183–4
Save the Children, 208
Schakowsky, Janice, 188
Schmitter, Philippe, 8
Index

Schmitz, Hans Peter, 286–7
Scholte, Jan Aart, 619, 299
school user fees, 52
Schwarz-Schilling, Christian, 147
Seidman, Gay, 323
Sen, Amartya, 32–3
Senegal, 296n74, 297n77
Serbia, 139, 179
sexism, 14

See also female genital mutilation (FGM); transnational feminist networks (TFNs); women sexual abuse

definition of, 205n142
immunity from prosecution for, 196–8, 208–15
sex-for-protection arrangements, 215
sex-trafficking networks, 198–205, 218, 313
by UN peacekeepers, 205–15
UN’s zero-tolerance policies of, 205–6, 208–10
Zeid report on, 213–14
sex worker assistance projects, 313
Shafir, Gershon, 103, 316
Shearer, David, 157n3
Shell Oil, 289
Sierra Leone, 18–19, 161–74
Abidjan Accords, 169, 171–2
accountability relationships in, 172–4
British intervention in, 170, 171n69
civil society in, 173
civil war in, 162–72
democratization in, 173
diamond exports from, 164–5, 170
economic basis of, 163–6, 170
elections of 1996, 168–9, 173
elections of 2002, 171
elections of 2007, 171n71
Executive Outcomes in, 166–72, 177, 319
human development ranking of, 171
kidnappings of peacekeepers in, 170

Lome Agreement, 169–70
Mende Kamajors of, 168–9, 173–4
military juntas in, 165–6, 168–70, 174
Strategic Resources Commission of, 169–70
war crimes trials in, 171
Sierra Leone People’s Party (SLPP), 162, 171n72
Sierra Madre Forestry project, 305, 309, 311
Sihanouk, Norodom, 108–10, 116–17, 124, 137
Sikkink, Kathryn, 278, 296n75, 309
Silverstein, Ken, 184–5
Singer, P. W., 157nn2–3, 160, 183, 187, 190n175
Singrauli coal-development project, 79n251
Sini Sanuman, 290–9
Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 228
Smith, Adam, 21
Smith, Michael J., 189, 193
Snyder, Jack, 144n173
social control of force, 216–18
Social Forums, 12
social movements. See civic globalization
Sok An, 125
Sony, 93
South Africa, 290, 323–4
Southern Cross Security, 195
South Korea, 31, 49
sovereignty, 16–17, 277–8, 283–4, 319–23
Soviet Union, 109
Soyster, Harry E., 179, 186
Spicer, Tim, 160, 195
Sprint, 91–2
Sri Lanka, 182
states, 1–2
accountability relationships of, 6–8, 12–13
Index

authoritarian rule of, 88–9
challenges to sovereignty of, 16–17, 277–8, 283–4, 319–23
citizenship in, 329–30
deficit spending of, 22
deficit spending of, 22
democracy deficits of, 13–17, 39–41, 44–5
donor-driven accountability gaps in, 50–2
donor-driven accountability gaps in, 50–2
executive power in, 46–8, 233–5, 257–60, 271
expansion of militaries in, 177
human rights protections of, 279–84
IMF’s impact on, 46–54
labor rights protections by, 105
MNCs’ impact on, 84–9
Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers of, 53–4
social welfare responsibilities of, 312–13
state capacity measures, 104
Weber’s definition of, 157
World Bank impact on, 69–79
World Bank Inspection Panel, 57–69, 105
Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs), 210
Stefanowicz, Steven, 189
Stevens, Siaka, 162–3, 165
Stichting Russian Justice Initiative (SRJI), 247–8, 272, 274
Stiglitz, Joseph, 37n68, 42–3, 49
Strasser, Valentine, 165–8, 173
Strategic Consulting International (SCI), 160
Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), 22, 29–30, 35–8, 56–7
human rights under, 77
impact on growth of, 36–8
impact on populations of, 62–3
income inequalities under, 38
performance criteria of, 45
in Sierra Leone, 164
subsidiarity principle, 13
Suharto, 303–4
supraterritorialization, 5–6, 12–17, 321–2
Sutiazhnik, 238, 259, 263, 271–2, 274
Sutyagin, Igor, 243
Switzerland, 160
Sylla, Sadio, 292
Taguba report, 188–90
Taiwan, 31
Tarrow, Sidney, 94, 221n1
Taylor, Charles, 162, 164, 171n73
Teamsters union, 99–100
Tibet, 60–2
Tilly, Charles, 413, 177, 316
Titan Corporation, 189, 192
torture, 77n243, 241–2, 267
Trafficing Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA), 202–3
transnational advocacy networks (TANs), 281–4
See also civic globalization
transnational corporations (TNCs). See multinational corporations
transnational feminist networks (TFNs), 282–3, 323n15, 324
See also civic globalization
transnational forces, 2–4
democracy deficits, 13–17, 39–41, 44–5
for democratization, 4–5
political elites, 29
as targets of accountability, 13–14
upward accountability among, 12–13
See also civic globalization;
economic globalization;
judicial globalization;
military globalization;
political globalization
transnational identities, 322–31
transnational social activity, 327–8
Index

transnational social movements. See
civic globalization

transparency
of IMF practices, 43–6, 299
of World Bank practices, 55, 71, 299
of WTO practices, 80–1

Transparency International, 69–70, 76

Traoré, Siaka, 296

Trident Maritime, 160n11

Tripp, Aili Mari, 298

Tudjman, Franjo, 180

Turkey, 226

Uganda, 52, 67

Uniform Code of Military Justice
(UCMJ), 190–1

unions, 93–4
labor standards, 98–102, 105
obstacles to transnational work, 102–3
See also labor

United Arab Emirates (UAE), 103

United Electric, Radio, and Machine
Workers of America (UE), 99

United Kingdom (UK), 224, 226, 257

United Nations (UN), 2–3
election monitoring by, 106–7
NGO relationships with, 299–300
peacekeeping by, 161, 204–15
policies against sexual exploitation, 205–6, 208–10
supraterritorial role of, 6

UN Climate Change Conference, 328

UN Convention on Eliminating All
Forms of Discrimination Against
Women (CEDAW), 300

UN Department of Peacekeeping
Operations (DPKO)
Peacekeeper Code of Conduct of, 208–10
sexual misconduct database of, 214
sexual misconduct investigations by, 209–10, 212
Status of Forces Agreements of, 210

UN Development Fund for Women
(UNIFEM), 128–9

UN Development Program (UNDP), 23, 28

UN Division for the Advancement of
Women, 128

UN High Commission for Human
Rights (Cambodia), 131

UN Human Rights Center (Cambodia), 131–5, 153–5

UN Mission in Bosnia and
Herzegovina, 140n153, 198–9, 204–5

UN Mission in Liberia, 206–8, 212–14

UN Peacebuilding Commission, 155

UN Transitional Authority in
Cambodia (UNTAC), 107–20, 122, 319
accountability relationships of, 127–33, 148–56
civic education programs of, 153–5
economic aid by, 115
elections of 1993, 115–20, 127–8, 138
human rights programs of, 119–20, 130–2, 136–8, 153–5
judicial reform efforts of, 136–7
mandate of, 111, 113–14
obstacles to success of, 111–15
Paris Agreements, 110–11, 113, 136–7
refugee repatriation by, 119–20
sexual exploitation by, 206–8
women’s participation in, 128–9

United States
abolitionist movement in, 280
Abu Ghraib prison scandal, 159, 188–94
Administrative Procedures Act, 15
civil rights movement in, 290
clothing imports to, 87
Dayton Peace Accords, 139–40, 142, 144
income inequality in, 26
Index

International Transfer of Arms Regulations, 183–4
Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act, 190–8, 202–3
PATRIOT Act, 191
private military contractors from, 158–9, 178–98
Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act, 192
Sprint labor standards case, 91–2
Taguba report, 188–90
Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, 202–3
Uniform Code of Military Justice, 190–1
on World Bank programs, 60n171
See also Iraq
U.S. Alien Tort Claims Act of 1789 (ACTA), 274–5
U.S. National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 92
U.S. President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), 313
United Students Against Sweatshops (SAS), 96–8
upward accountability, 12–13, 153–5, 284, 312–15
Urals Center for Constitutional and International Protection of Human Rights, 264–5
van den Bergh, Nick, 160n11
Venice, 159
vertical accountability, 9–10, 48–9
Vietnam, 108–9
Village Empowerment Program, 297n77
Vinnell Corporation, 178, 181, 183–4, 188
virtual communities of conscience, 327–8
Voice and Accountability index, 27–8
Vreeland, James
on economic growth under the IMF, 36–7, 47
on IMF accountability chains, 41–2
on safeguards for the poor, 52–3
Wade, Robert, 24–5
Walker, Alice, 331
Walmart, 82n262
Washington Consensus, 21n6, 29–30
water privatization, 83
Watson, Lila, 323n9
Weber, Max, 157
Western Poverty Reduction Project, 59–62
West Papua, 110n14
Wilkhaber, Luzius, 256
Wilkin, Peter, 51–2
Williamson, John, 21n6, 29–30
Windsor, Jennifer, 33
Wirth, David, 302, 309
Wolfensohn, James, 60, 69–70
Wolfowitz, Paul, 70–2
women
all-women peacekeeping forces, 213–14
anti-domestic violence campaigns, 280–1
bans in combat units of, 224
civic globalization and, 277, 300–1
exploitation by PMCs of, 198–205
exploitation by UN peacekeepers of, 205–15
footbinding of, 278, 282–3
genital mutilation of, 278, 282–3, 290–9
illegal pregnancy screenings of, 90
in informal labor sector, 85–8
leadership in Sierra Leone of, 173
participation in UNTAC by, 128–9
Russian women’s movement, 285n38
transnational feminist networks, 282–3, 323n15, 324
See also sexual abuse
Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLULM), 282
Woolf, Virginia, 277
workers’ rights. See labor
World Bank, 2–3, 35–8
accountability relationships of, 11, 19, 23, 54–69, 288–9
anticorruption policies of, 69–73
civil society strengthening under, 77–9
Compliance Advisor and Ombudsman, office of, 64
on economic integration and growth, 24–5
environmental policies of, 74–5
external accountability of, 54, 64–7
goals of, 56–7
governance of, 54–5, 58
human rights declines under, 77
Inspection Panel of, 57–69, 105, 320
Integrated Safeguards Data Sheets of, 67–9
internal accountability of, 56–7
International Development Association, 60n171
Kedung Ombo Dam project, 302–4, 309–11
labor standards of, 65, 77
lending agencies of, 63–4
Mount Apo Geothermal Plant, 305–7, 309–10
Narmada River dam, 57, 74, 307–8
neoliberal policies of, 22
Operational Directive on Indigenous Peoples, 74–5
poverty reduction programs of, 310n141
Project Information Documents, 55
resettlement policies of, 74
rule-of-law programs of, 71n214
safeguard policies of, 73–6
in Sierra Leone, 164, 305, 309, 311
social safety net provisions of, 38, 62–3
state accountability under, 69–79
transnational civic campaigns targeting, 299–311
transparency of, 55, 71
Voice and Accountability index, 27–8
World Bank Group, 64n189
World of Warcraft, 328
World Press Freedom index, 232
World Social Forums, 12
World Trade Organization (WTO), 23, 42, 79–81
World Values Surveys, 326–7
Yacyretá dam project, 66, 78
Yandiyev, Khadzhi-Murat, 249–50
Yugoslavia, 139, 179
See also Bosnia and Herzegovina; Croatia
Zasloff, Joseph, 112–13, 122
Zeid al-Hussein, Zeid Ra’ad, 213
Zimbabwe, 324
Zimenko v. Russia, 255
Zisk, Kimberly, 155
Zorkin, Valery, 258