

Contents

Acknowledgements	9
Abstract	11
List of Abbreviations	15
Introduction	17
Theoretical Starting Point and Research Question	18
Analytical Framework	20
Research Design, Case Selection and Main Findings.....	20
Basic Assumptions and Normative Relevance.....	22
My Contributions	23
1 Human Rights Accountability as a minimum threshold of MDB Legitimacy	25
1.1 Multilateral Development Banks – A Definition.....	26
1.2 The Growing Responsibilities of Multilateral Development Banks.....	28
1.3 Conceptions of Accountability	32
1.4 Human Rights as the relevant Standard of Accountability	36
1.4.1 Human Rights as the Protection of Basic Human Interests	36
1.4.2 Legal Arguments for the Human Rights Obligations of MDBs	43
1.4.3 MDB Obligations in light of larger Empirical Trends in Global Governance	45
2 Transnational Social Movements as agents of change in World Politics	49
2.1 Transnational Social Movements – A Definition.....	50
2.2 The Transnationalization of Social Movement Activity.....	53
2.3 Social Movement Tactics	55
2.4 Socialization and the Outcomes of Social Movements	61
3 Analytical Framework	65
3.1 MDB Socialization through Human Rights Accountability	67
3.2 Scope Conditions of Movement Influence	72

3.2.1	Properties of the actor seeking change	75
3.2.2	Properties of the targeted organization	76
3.2.3	Properties of the issue	78
3.2.4	Properties of the discursive opportunity structure	79
3.3	Counter Mobilization as continuous MDB - TSM interaction	81
3.4	Two Logics of Action and Organizational Change	83
3.5	A Causal Mechanism of Movement influence	86
3.5.1	The Power of Disruptive Tactics (Part I).....	86
3.5.2	The Power of Conventional Tactics (Part II).....	89
3.5.3	Member State Incentives, Sanctions and Coercion (Part III)	92
4	Research Design	95
4.1	Process-Tracing: Uncovering Causal Mechanisms.....	95
4.1.1	Underlying understandings of causality.....	96
4.1.2	Theory Testing Process Tracing.....	97
4.1.3	Methodological Limitations	98
4.1.4	Process Tracing in Comparative Case Study Designs	98
4.2	Case Selection	99
4.3	Operationalization	102
4.3.1	Socialization Outcome: Human Rights Accountability	102
4.3.2	The Cause: Joint Transnational Social Movement Activism	103
4.3.3	Disruptive Movement Tactics towards the MDB (Part 1).....	104
4.3.4	Conventional Tactics toward Member States (Part 2).....	106
4.3.5	Member State Incentives Toward the MDB (Part 3)	108
4.3.6	Rules of Aggregation	110
4.4	Data Collection and Analysis	111
4.4.1	Data Collection.....	111
4.4.2	Data Analysis.....	114
5	Human Rights Accountability at the World Bank	117
5.1	The World Bank – A short introduction.....	117
5.2	Human Rights and Transparency in World Bank “Safeguards”	119
5.3	Sanctions in cases of non-compliance: The World Bank Inspection Panel	120
5.4	Summary of Case Study Outcomes	121
6	Case 1: A Revolution of World Bank Accountability (1988 – 1994)	123
6.1	Cause: Joint Transnational Social Movement activity	124
6.2	Part 1: Disruptive TSM tactics causing MDB Crisis	128
6.3	Part 2: Conventional TSM tactics through the state channel	141
6.4	Part 3: Member states incentivize MDB reform	150
6.5	Socialization Outcome: Comprehensive Human Rights Accountability	154
7	Case 2: The Dilution of World Bank	157
7.1	Cause: Joint Transnational Social Movement activity.....	158
7.2	Part 1: Disruptive TSM tactics causing MDB crisis.....	162

7.3	Part 2: Conventional TSM tactics through the state channel	180
7.4	Interruption and breakdown of the Mechanism	187
7.5	Outcome: The Dilution of World Bank Safeguards.....	193
7.5.1	Obligation and Scope 1.....	193
7.5.2	Precision	196
7.5.3	Delegation and Scope II	197
8	Analysis	201
8.1	Similar Movement Activities and Scope Conditions.....	202
8.2	Counter Mobilization by the World Bank Bureaucracy.....	206
8.3	Contested Multilateralism and the rise of China in Development Cooperation	211
8.4	Wag the Dog – The Quiescence of Liberal Member States	216
	Conclusion	223
	Theoretical Implications	223
	Policy and Strategy Implications for Transnational Social Movements	227
	Liberal Democratic Mobilization and the End of U.S. Hegemony	228
	Engaging China	229
	Bolster Strong Regional Networks.....	230
	Engaging MDB Bureaucracies	232
	Limitations and Future Research	233
	References	239
	Appendix: List of Interviewees and Background Conversations	271

