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THE INCREASING INFLUENCE OF THE NON-STATE ACTORS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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Abstract

The Non-state actors (NSAs) are concurrently considered as heroes and baddies in international politics. The prominence of the NSAs during the post-Cold War epoch has challenged the assumptions that international politics is state centred. The emergence of economic liberalism convinced many states to outsource their obligations mainly related to the delivery of social services and the security to the NSAs. Similarly, the establishment of international institutions, globalisation and emerging complexities in national, regional and international governance are some of the factors that contributed significantly towards enhancing the value of the NSAs on the chessboard of world politics. The NSAs further contributed to the development of new theories in international politics. In fragile and transitional contexts, the NSAs sometimes receive more eminence than states. In normal contexts, states still have influence over the political matters as compared to the NSAs. Some of the NSAs such as multinational and international corporations have obtained more power and resources than many states in the developing world. Critically, the NSAs are still unable to answer the questions about their authority, legitimacy and representation in international politics.

Keywords: Non-state actors, economic liberalism, chessboard, transitional contexts, legitimacy

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Introduction

The construction of the term Non-State Actors (NSAs) clearly separates these political actors from states. In other words, what all NSAs have in common is that they are not states. The NSAs are simultaneously considered as protagonist and antagonist in different chronicles of international politics.[1] A continuing debate about the origin and emergence of the NSAs in international politics demands broader discussion with clear divisions:

- one who considers Non-state actors as an ancient political actor that existed before the emergence of states,[2] and;
- the second group that considers them as a modern player that emerged in international politics in the post Westphalian world.[3]

Similar debates exist whether who to include in the non-state category. A range of political actors including non-governmental organisations, transnational and multinational corporations, think tanks, academia, media, and certain other groups are eligible to be included in this category. Broadly, we can divide the NSAs into two major categories; those who accept the legitimacy of states and those who challenge the legitimacy of the states. Non-governmental organisations, academia, charities and multinational corporations are categorised under first group while criminal groups are categorised as group two. Similarly, at a functional level, the NSAs can be divided into two groups; those who operate at the national level and those who work at transnational or international level. These debates, on the one hand, contribute to creating a rich legacy of knowledge generation around the NSAs and on the other hand, create complexity and pose many open-ended questions to find answers.

A range of political events in the history of international politics contributed to the rise and eminence of the NSAs. Key events include the creation of League of Nations, World War I and World War II, Cold War, the

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[1] Daphne Josselin and William Wallace, *Non-State Actors in World Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 1.

[2] Jakub J. Grygiel, *Return of the Barbarians: Confronting Non-State Actors from Ancient Rome to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 37.

[3] Bas Arts, *"Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Three Faces of Power"* (Preprints aus der Max-Planck-Projektgruppe Recht der Gemeinschaftsgüter, No. 2003/4, Max-Planck-Projektgruppe Recht der Gemeinschaftsgüter, Bonn, 2003), 3.

fall of Iron Curtain and the War Against Terrorism. Importance of the NSAs normally enhances during the transition phase of the states where they play their role either as a productive partner or spoiler.[4]

The paper is an attempt to answer the pertinent questions about the NSAs, the prevailing debates about the origin of the NSAs and how the NSAs relate to contemporary international politics. The objective is to conceptually describe the diverse range of the NSAs in International Relations and their role within and their impact on international politics. The paper illustrates that NSAs is at three different levels. At first, it defines through the lens of three popular theoretical approaches of International Relations: realism, liberalism and constructivism. At the second level, it defines the various categories of the NSAs as defined by various scholars and academicians, and finally goes on to explain the relationship between non-state actors and international politics. Examples from the academic literature will help to understand the phenomenon. The paper does not argue on normative grounds that the NSAs should have a relationship with international politics rather explains on pragmatic grounds that they, in fact, have a strong linkage with international politics.

Understanding Non-State Actors
The existing literature related to NSAs is very diverse and scattered. Majority of the writers consider all actors as NSAs who fulfil the following two criteria:

- they are neither the states nor their representatives, and;
- have the potential to influence national and international politics.[5]

The National Intelligence Council of the United States defines non-state actors as, "*non-sovereign entities that exercise significant economic, political, or social power and influence at a national and at international levels*".[6] It further categorised these in two major categories; those who

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[4] Rosen Smits and Deborah Wright, *Engagement with Non-State Actors in Fragile States: Narrowing Definitions, Broadening Scope* (Clingendael The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' Conflict Research Unit, 2012), 5.

[5] Elliott R. Morss, "The New Global Players: How They Compete and Collaborate", *World Development* 19, no. 1 (1991): 55-64.

[6] Teresa La Porte, "The Legitimacy and Effectiveness of Non-State Actors and The Public Diplomacy Concept", *Public Diplomacy Theory and Conceptual Issues,* ISA Annual Convention, San Diego, 2012, 4.

want to play a productive role and are aligned with the state's political agenda, and; those who want to destabilise the states such as terrorist and criminal groups. Malik labels the second category as anti-state actors[7]. He segregates anti-state actors from non-state actors and argues that they accept the legitimacy of the states while anti-state actors seek to challenge the authority and sovereignty of states and wants to establish their own supremacy. The NSAs who accept the legitimacy of the states often possess some form of legal identity or capacity under national or/and international law. The capacity of the NSAs to impact international politics depends upon their size, recognition and impact on the political agenda of the states.[8] These include a range of groups, organisations, individuals (especially in the debates of International Law), entities, inter alia, institutions, corporations, groups of organisations, non-governmental organisations, trade associations, regimes, movements, diaspora, various clubs, criminal organisations, faith-based organisations, media, academia, community-based groups and terrorist groups. These groups within the NSAs sometimes coexist together or compete. Some NSAs are formally constituted with the support of states such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and corporations, while some are informal groups such as spontaneous movements or neighbour watch groups. The NSAs interact with states at local, sub-regional, regional and global levels. Social, political, cultural, environmental or economic factors affect the behaviours of the NSAs.[9]

North-South debate further adds complexity to the discussion of defining non-states actors. Karp explains that global North is still attached to the Westphalian definition of the state thus there is a clear segregation of state and the NSAs. Rest of the world has diverse models of states, especially where states are labelled as failed or fragile states by the Northern countries. In such condition when a state is hard to meet the criteria of the Westphalian model, segregating NSAs from the state is hard.[10]

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[7] Mohan Malik, "The Stability of Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia: The Clash Between State and Antistate Actors", *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 30, no. 3 (2003): 177-199.

[8] Bas Arts, "Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Three Faces of Power", Hdl.Handle.Net, 2019, 5.

[9] Smits and Wright, "Engagement with Non-State Actors in Fragile States", 5-6.

[10] David Jason Karp, "The Concept of Human Rights Protection and The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights", in *Human Rights Protection in Global Politics Responsibilities of States and Non-State Actors*, eds. Kurt Mills and David Jason Karp (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), 152.

National and international NSAs are developing close ties over the period of time. During the apartheid movement in South Africa, national NSAs established alliances with influential individuals and organisations in Western countries especially in the United States and the United Kingdom. This relation has strengthened the position of national NSAs and simultaneously supported them in highlighting their issues in media and at various diplomacy forums in Western countries[11].

Non-State Actors; origin of the concept NSA
There are two main schools of thought in international politics related to the origin of the NSAs; one who considers these as ancient political actors even playing their roles before the emergence of modern states, while the second group considers the NSAs as a modern phenomenon that emerged during the complex political events in the 17th century. Grygiel argues that the NSAs existed when human started settlements and initiated the civilised communities.[12] Due to larger territorial spaces, a large number of the NSAs used to exist either peacefully or warring with the settled communities. Geographically complex regions and terrains provided even more opportunity for the NSAs to flourish. Before the emergence of nation-state, kingdom, estates or monarchies used to deal with these actors through various strategies including paying in cash or kind, managing armies to compete or making agreements to live peacefully together.

The second school of thought links the emergence of the NSAs with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 that is considered as the basis for the emergence of modern nation states. Since then, until the end of Cold War, the states were considered as the only actor in international politics and the unit of analysis in international relations. The monopoly of states as the sole actor in international politics was challenged by the eminence of the NSAs during post World War II era. Discussions in transnational relations during the early 1970's highlight a set of new the NSAs in international relations.[13] Interaction among the NSAs or between states and the NSAs across the national boundaries gave rise to the new debates of transnational politics. This further resulted in the emergence of

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[11] Eytan Gilboa, "Diplomacy in The Media Age: Three Models of Uses and Effects", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 12, no. 2 (2001): 6.
[12] Grygiel, *Return of The Barbarians*, 37.
[13] Arts, "Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Three Faces of Power", 9.

new theories in international politics such as transnationalism and neoliberalism.[14]

There are many examples in the history of international politics where the NSAs were interacting with monarchies and rulers, and signing treaties. The East India Company, a corporation made subjugations and signed treaties in India with native princes of Indian States. East India Company developed its armed force and acquired authority over a large portion of India. Similarly, much of the credit of development in the last 500 years, especially during the late twentieth century, goes to these non-state actors. Industrial revolution in Europe, scientific and intellectual development and the development of the system of modern communication, all are the work of the NSAs.[15]

Types of Non-State Actors
The division of the NSAs into a diverse range of categories by many scholars based on their orientation, functions, legal status, geographical scope, interaction with states and level of operations entails their types. Revision of the existing literature, confer the NSAs ranging from two to nine different types. Lakhany divides the NSAs into two major groups including international intergovernmental organisation (IGOs) and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs). The IGOs are created and recognised by states while the INGOs are created by individuals, businesses and other social forces. The INGOs are transnational organisations and have no legal bonds with the states.[16] Higgott, Underhill and Bieler also divide the NSAs into two categories; private sector actors that include transnational corporations and multinational corporations, and the NGOs.[17] Vyas while agreeing to this division further adds a third category as a mix of both the companies and the NGOs. He argues that the NSAs may be influenced by

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[14] Ibid 10.

[15] Fred Halliday, "The Romance of Non-State Actors", in *Non-State Actors in World Politics*, 1st ed. (repr., New York: Palgrave Publishers Ltd, 2019), 22-28.

[16] Farida Lakhany, "How Important Are Non-State Actors" *Pakistan Horizon* 59, no. 3 (2006): 39.

[17] Richard A. Higgott, Geoffrey R. D. Underhill and Andreas Bieler, "Introduction: Globalisation and Non-State Actors", in *Non-State Actors and Authority In The Global System*, 1st ed. (repr., New York: Routledge, 2003), 1.

states through various measures taken by states in the name of registration, taxes and other legislation.[18]

Bas divides NSAs into five categories. These include INGOs, transnational corporations (TNCs), international Governmental organisation (IGOs), epistemic communities and a wide-ranging category comprises of all other actors. General category includes liberation movements, terrorist groups, guerrilla organisations, and professional groups.[19] Bas's classification of NSAs is debatable. He includes the IGOs in the list of the NSAs. This makes the classification contested as IGOs straightforwardly promote the states' agenda and are directly financed and supported by the states. Moreover, the INGOs can also be divided into different subgroups with diverse even opposing objectives. This huge diversification within the subgroups of the INGOs indicates that not all the INGOs can be considered as the NSAs. The INGOs that are fully sponsored by some states (mostly the developed) and are implementing the agenda of their donors (states) cannot be considered as other than states. Moreover, the majority of the NSAs including companies, the NGOs, think tanks and other organisations are registered with the states under some legislation and this makes these political actors subordinate and accountable to the states. This phenomenon sometimes hinders the autonomy of an NSA in their work as an independent political actor.

The paper for theoretical analysis will broadly divide the NSAs into two major categories; first who work in alignment with the political agenda of the states and second that challenge the state's political agenda and work to destabilise the states. The paper will further focus on the first group.

A theoretical perspective
Realists, Socialists and Marxists consider the state as an only legitimate actor in international relations and do not generally recognise the NSAs. Terrorist groups, however, who challenged the states' authorities, have forced the realist school of thought to notice their existence as a non-state actor. Declaration of 'war on terror' by the United States and the emergence of the idea of soft power have sought the attention of realists to notice these actors in order to maintain the balance of power. However,

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[18] Utpal Vyas, *Soft Power in Japan-China Relations*, 1st ed. (repr., New York: Routledge, 2011), 6.

[19] Arts, "Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Three Faces of Power", 3.

the majority of the realists still believe states as monopoly controller of power and consider the emergence and influence of the NSAs as a proxy of nation states to achieve their objectives.[20] For realists, states interact in anarchy, behave alike and act as a unitary actor. This approach does not require analysts to open up the unit of state while explaining and understanding international politics. Structural realist, Kenneth Waltz recognises the NSAs as an important factor in politics but restricts it to the domestic politics of any state.[21]

Constructivists such as Wendt acknowledge the contribution of the NSAs in initiating the process of social change but consider the state at the centre of any system-level change. This places states at the core of the international political system and as main responsible for the making of foreign policy as described by the constructivists.[22] In contrast to other theories of international relations, liberalism acknowledges and values the role of the NSAs. Liberalism explains that states' preferences in international politics are not induced by hierarchy but by their dominant societal and political actors known as the NSAs. Democracy provides a vehicle to these actors to translate their interests into the state's priorities.[23] Economic liberalism also encourages multinational and transnational companies, INGOs, media and other the NSAs to actively play their roles in international politics and make governments accountable.

Non-State Actors in International Politics
The emergence of these actors in international relations especially during the post-World War II era weakened the "state-centric" definitions of international politics and contributed to the evolution of "transnational" systems where relationships were more complex due to the enhanced number of connections among individuals, groups, societies and states. Rise of international organisations during this time has further enhanced the complexity of international politics through the enhanced transaction by creating diverse platforms and agendas. Over a period of time, they are gaining autonomy from states and have started defining and revising their roles in the decision-making process of international politics. There are

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[20] Utpal Vyas, *Soft Power in Japan-China Relations*, 16.
[21] Arts, "Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Three Faces of Power", 8.
[22] Ibid, 8.
[23] Frank A. Stengel and Rainer Baumann, "Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy", *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Politics*, 2017, 14.

many examples where they have shaped the decision making in international politics. According to Bas that terrorist groups are persuading the security and foreign policies of many countries and even the world's super power such as the United States is fighting (and negotiating) with the NSAs (terrorists).[24] Similarly, multinational corporations are lobbying with the states' authorities and manipulating their economic and foreign policies. Scientific organisations are manipulating the policy decisions by states by providing various alternative solutions and scoping various problems. The NGOs are co-writing international treaties such as the Anti-Torture Convention. Individuals and groups claiming and protesting for human rights are also included in the category of the NSAs. Peter Willets also highlights the importance of the NSAs through sharing many examples where the NGOs are affecting UN organisations and policies. The NGOs have provided consultations in the processes of developing policies related to human rights, environment and refugees. Keck and Sikkink also share many examples where "transnational advocacy networks" have contributed to changing policies of states both at domestic and international levels. Issues related to the child rights, women rights, environment and the slavery are effectively highlighted and incorporated in policy decisions as a result of the campaigns by the advocacy networks.[25] Correa argued that the NSAs have significantly contributed in the areas of protection and fulfilment of human rights. During this process, some of them competed with other the NSAs and the states' institutions.[26] The NSAs such as multinational corporations or the INGOs when face restrictions or curtailment in any country due to the taxation, registration or environment protection policies (in case of corporations), move their factories and offices to other countries where the situation is comparatively flexible. This also indicates the flexibility of the NSAs and their transnational linkages. An NSA such as media, especially the social media, is shaping the public discourses on international politics.[27]

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[24] Arts, "Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Three Faces of Power", 3.

[25] Ibid, 8.

[26] Flor González Correa, "Human Rights Ltd.: An Alternative Approach to Assessing the Impact of Transnational Corporations on Human Rights", in *Human Rights Protection in Global Politics Responsibilities of States and Non-State Actors*, 1st ed. (repr., New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 159.

[27] Alan R, Kluver, "The Logic of New Media in International Affairs", *New Media & Society* 4, no. 4 (December 2002), 505.

Shaping Public Opinion on National and International Issues

NSAs such as companies that are providing the information and communication technologies have gained significant importance in twenty-first century. Technologies have transformed international relations by providing an easy and rapid flow of information and transportation. Technology has simultaneously created opportunities and risks for the world. Internet, for example, reduces the exclusive control of state on the dissemination of information and international decision making. It has made international politics more complex through multiplying and intensifying the number of interests and voices in international policy making. Similarly, spread of free information at the fastest speed through the internet, whether correct or incorrect, have a direct impact on the strategies to manage any political event and its consequences.[28] The NSAs, especially media, both as an independent actor and as a method, have an influence on foreign relations through shaping the public opinion.[29] Colin Powell, a retired general in the US army speaks about the power of media. He said that *"live television coverage doesn't change the policy, but it does create the environment in which the policy is made"*.[30] The iconic image of Alan Kurdi, a three years old Syrian boy provides a hands-on example of the power of media. This picture highlighted the Syrian crises especially the Syrian migrants who were trying to reach to Europe and Canada to save their lives. As Alan and his family were trying to reach Canada, this issue became an election agenda point during 2015 Canadian Federal Election.[31]

The Internet has gained a prominent position in today's daily social and political affairs. It has made the world "flat" as proposed by Thomas Friedman. He argues that the internet has made possible for everyone to take part in international political and economic transactions. This has resulted both in the strengthening of positive NSAs as well as negative actors engaged in frauds, and terrorism.[32]

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[28] Nicholas Westcott, "Digital Diplomacy: The Impact of the Internet on International Relations*"* (July 1, 2008). *OII Working Paper* No. 16, 3.

[29] Kluver, "The Logic of New Media in International Affairs", 505.

[30] Timothy McNulty, "Television's impact on executive decision making and diplomacy", (1993), Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, 17, 80.

[31] Temitope S. Bodunrin, "Alan Kurdi: A Frame of the Migration Crisis" *Granite Journal*, (2018), 22.

[32] Nicholas Westcott, "Digital Diplomacy: The Impact of the Internet on International Relations" (July 1, 2008), *OII Working Paper* No. 16, 3.

Influencing Diplomatic Processes

Technocrats, diplomats and politicians normally represent the states during the bilateral and multilateral negotiation and communication processes. Gilboa introduces the concept of 'public diplomacy' that engages with both the state and the NSAs. An NSA such as media is used to influence public opinion and mobilise their support during diplomatic processes. He further shares that public diplomacy is being reformed through shifting relationships between states and the NSAs, setting collaborative policy goals, adapting new techniques and means, and institutionalisation of the process through setting up public relations departments in public and private organizations.[33] Kluver highlights that television influenced the decision-making process of diplomats on certain issues. Introduction of new technologies within media has further sharpened this process.[34]

Non-State Actors and Conflicts

Conflicts are the breeding grounds for these actors as compare to in peaceful situations. During the time of war or conflict, the states sometimes could be non-existent. This means that during the conflicts, the states almost lose their authority and writ over the geography and population. In a state of anarchy, the NSAs emerge and start performing some of the state's functions through different national and international organization such as services delivery, maintaining law and order, conflict resolution, providing employment opportunities and filling the gaps especially at local levels. These make the NSAs crucial to fragile contexts and require to include them in decision-making during transition phases. In fragile condition or in transition phases, the political environment becomes complex and the states and the NSAs sometimes perform invisible and overlapping functions. The NSAs sometimes gain power and function as a "second state". In most fragile contexts, the NSAs serve as the only form of authority with substantial power, local accountability and legitimacy. In such a complicated context, the NSAs often have more knowledge related to local issues and culture than of the states. This makes states to depend on these actors or engage with them in the state-building process. In Afghanistan, local the NSAs are very influential for the successful implementation of transitional programmes.[35]

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[33] Eytan Gilboa, "Diplomacy in the media age: Three models of uses and effects*", Diplomacy & Statecraft*, (2001), 4.

[34] Kluver, "The Logic of New Media in International Affairs", 505.

[35] Smits and Wright, "Engagement with Non-State Actors*", 6.

Rubinstein and Kudesia indicates a different dimension of the role of the NSAs in conflict-affected countries. The NSAs such as international companies and non-governmental organisations offer comparatively high salary packages that attract talented and skilled workforce from public sector departments to join. This, on the one hand, creates a skills gap in the public sector and on the other hand enhances the exposure, skills and competencies of indigenous human resource.[36]

War on Terror

The declaration of global 'War on Terror' by Bush Administration has brought terrorist groups corresponding and challenging the states authority. They were now labelled as "enemy combatants" almost equal to the category of US military personnel. This declaration has also challenged the centuries-old tradition where states hesitate to prevent their enemies from acquiring the equivalent status and label their opponents as 'criminals'. Violent struggles by these "criminal" groups were never characterised as 'war'. Bush Administration soon after the 9/11 attacks declared a global 'war on terror' and its opponents as 'enemy combatants'. This declaration has elevated the role and importance of the NSAs in the study of international politics.[37]

Globalization and Global Economy

In the last 10 years or so the influence of social media through different means brought governments to a different level of operations. These new characters in the life of a state such as social media and internet have influenced the states in countries like China, Indonesia and the Philippines and forced the government-controlled media to become more transparent and responsive.[38] Porte shares likewise the example of Google that present how it has challenged the strong state of China to relax its policies related to the use of social media. According to Gilboa, the pictures of starving children from Somalia influenced the US government to immediate humanitarian interventions.[39] The cyber space particularly, is dominated by

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[36] Brown, Stuart S., Katrina Burgess, Beatriz Tinajero, Hongying Wang, Steven R. Brechin, Suprita Kudesia, Robert A. Rubinstein, and Arthur C. Brooks. "Non-State Transnational Transfers: Types and Characteristics", *International Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2009), 433.

[37] Mary Ellen O'Connell, *Enhancing the Status of Non-State Actors Through a Global War on Terror?*, 43 Colum. J. Transnat'l L. 436.

[38] Kluver, "The Logic of New Media in International Affairs", 505.

[39] Gilboa, "Diplomacy in the media age", 24.

new characters and the states are forced to work with them either through cooperation, negotiation or coercion. This indicates that these actors will be more prominent in international politics in the foreseeable future.

Technology has also contributed to globalisation that is somehow challenging the sovereignty of the states. The emergence of multilateral and international fora is supporting states, particularly since post World War II, in providing different services to their citizens. Complex interdependence in globalisation causes to emerge new issues of global nature such as climate change, piracy and spread of infectious diseases that require states to enter in cooperation with other states. This further gives rise to the evolution of many International Organisations such as the European Union, G8, International Monitory Fund, World Trade Organisation and others.[40] New state actors contribute to the emergence of new theories and concepts in international relations such as complex interdependence and soft-power. This requires the students of international relations to think more critically and be able to collect the most reliable information to understand the process of decision making.

Globalisation has also placed the NSAs such as multinational companies (MNCs) at the centre of the international economy. The UN data (2010) indicates that there were 82,000 MNCs in the world with over 810,000 subsidiaries. The MNCs account for one-third of the total world trade and provide employment to around 80 million persons.[41] The Amsterdam University published a list of top 100 economies including the state and companies. The ranking was based on the criteria of revenue generation (tax collection for states) during 2016. Researchers find that out of the top 100 revenue generators, 71 are the companies. This indicates the power of New State Actors in the global economic system. Interestingly, most of the revenues (taxes) collected by states also come from these companies. States in many ways depend upon these big companies to earn revenue to run the state's affairs and provide services to the citizens. The companies, in turn, can easily influence the decisions and development agenda of the

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[40] Nicholas Westcott, "Digital Diplomacy: The Impact of the Internet on International Relations" (July 1, 2008). *OII Working Paper* No. 16, 4.

[41] Edwards, Tony, Paul Marginson, and Anthony Ferner. "Multinational Companies in Cross-national Context: Integration, Differentiation, and the Interactions Between MNCs and Nation States: Introduction to a Special Issue of the ILR Review". *ILR Review* 66, no. 3 (2013): 548.

states.[42] Anderson and Cavanagh explored the relationships of the companies and governments. They found that out of top 200 companies in the world, 94 had government relations departments, located in the lobbying capital of the world in Washington DC's K Street Corridor. Brussels, where the European Union has its headquarters, hosts nearly 15,000 lobbyists with their annual expenditures of one billion Euros. This equals to one lobbyist for each staff member of the European Commission. Lobbyists representing the various companies and businesses account for around 70% of the total lobbyist community.[43]

Role in International Negotiations
The emergence of new issues that are not confined to the boundaries of states such as climate change enhanced the importance of the NSAs. Rio process brought the NSAs from the position of observers to agenda setters. The NSAs participated in official negotiations and provided their technical support to the states and their forums. Agenda 21, Rio Declaration 1992 and Stockholm Declaration 1972 are some of the examples where international NGOs played a very vital role in the decision-making processes.[44]

The emergence of transboundary issues such as organised crime, pollution and migration, invited the NSAs to interfere and mediate the negotiations among states. These regional issues also require new regulations and standard settings to manage. The NSAs are mostly dominating this process as compared to national level regulations where states still have dominancy.

Non-State Actors in Foreign Policy Making
It is difficult to explain and understand the foreign policy in the 21st century without taking into account the NSAs. Problems associated with the development framework of the 21st century, such as climate change, require states to engage with international and transnational actors. The

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[42] Babic, Milan, Eelke Heemskerk, and Jan Fichtner. "Who Is More Powerful – States or Corporations?" Web log. The Conversation (blog). July 11, 2018. See https://theconversation.com/who-is-more-powerful-states-or-corporations-99616.

[43] Khalid Rahman, "MNCs and TNCs: Their Role and Socioeconomic Impact on Host Societies." *Policy Perspectives* 4, no. 2 (2007), 116.

[44] Markus Wagner, "Non-State Actors", Researchgate, 2009, 10, at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308874846_Non-State_Actors.

NSAs such as ethnic, religious and business groups influence the process of both national and international foreign policymaking. For the convenience of analysis in understanding the role of the NSAs in the national policymaking process, we can divide the NSAs into two main groups; group one that is directly engaged in the policy-making and group two that indirectly take part in the process. Direct involvement refers to the participation of the NSAs in the institutionalised process of foreign policy making. Indirect involvement is related to lobbying or advocacy without directly engaging in the process of foreign policymaking.[45] The NSAs such as scientific experts and think tanks indirectly impact the policymaking process through defining the policy issues and providing technical inputs to the policy makers. On the other hand, in developed countries, the NGOs sometimes influence this process directly through participating in consultative meetings arranged by the government during the process of policy development. Stoddard shares an example of the United States where the NGOs provide information to the policy makers for decision making. He explains that the information related to humanitarian crises in Bosnia was widely shared by International Rescue Committee with the members of Congress, the White House and the Pentagon. This information helped and convinced the US armed forces to initiate humanitarian interventions in Bosnia.[46]

In developing countries, although limited to the phase of policy implementation and monitoring in most cases, NGOs are continuously increasing their spaces in the policy formulation process. In case of emergencies and humanitarian crises, states and the NSAs such as NGOs, IGOs, media and corporations work together. During disasters, the NSAs actively contribute to the formulation of policies to provide maximum support to the disaster-affected communities. According to Avey and Desch (2014), policymakers both in humanitarian and development contexts, mostly rely on the information provided by the NSAs for decision making and policymaking. This information also helps decision makers to prioritise and comprehend the policy issues.[47]

The emerging concept of "compound warfare" clearly highlights the involvement of the NSAs along with regular armed forces in military and

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[45] Stengel and Baumann, "Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy", 14.
[46] Ibid, 8.
[47] Ibid, 9.

security interventions. Huber (2002) defines "compound warfare" as, "*the simultaneous use of a regular or main force and an irregular or guerrilla force against an enemy*".[48] Overthrow of Taliban in 2001 through coalition forces along with Northern Alliance is an example of "compound warfare". US defence policy significantly relies on security contractors and commercial service providers to supplement US armed forces. Western countries started delegating the implementation of foreign policy tasks to the NSAs such as private military and security companies. These companies are engaged in the protection of state officials, communication, investigations, intelligence operations and weapon maintenance. International Security Advisory Board of the US State Department provides an "*independent insight and advice on all aspects of arms control, disarmament, non-proliferation, international security, and related aspects of public diplomacy*".   Representatives of think tanks, academia, foundations (such as Ploughshares Fund) and corporation (for example Hart International) are the members of this advisory board. Most states include the representatives of business companies in their state delegations that engage in foreign policymaking.[49]

Non-State Actors Influencing International Governmental Organisations
The NSAs have been influencing the International Governmental Organisations (IGOs) since decades. The US development agenda from 1933 to 1939 under 'New Deal' proposed various strategies to engage with NSAs. The Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) values the role of NSAs in trust building and providing opinions into social, political and economic power dynamics. OECD considers active civil society as central to the development of government systems that are transparent and accountable to its citizens. Similarly, the World Bank also stresses the role of civil society in encouraging local accountability and overall capacity in state-building processes. Promoting partnerships among states and the NSAs at national and international levels is therefore crucial to the international development agenda. The UK's Department for International Development (DFID) puts emphases to partner with the NSAs to promote a culture of accountability, poverty alleviation, dissemination of knowledge and promoting innovation in development. Development policies of various

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[48] Thomas M. Huber, "Compound Warfare: A Conceptual Framework"*, Compound Warfare: That Fatal Knot*, (2001), 1.

[49] Stengel and Baumann, "Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy", 9-10.

governments, such as the Netherlands and Australia, state that the NSAs can be powerful change agents especially for the delivery of social services, promoting inclusive development and making governments accountable and effective.

Unconventional Way of Operations
NSAs are also a significant source of knowledge transfer. Multinational companies of technologically advanced countries transfer knowledge and technology to their local subsidiaries in developing countries. This knowledge transfer, either through formal means or as a result of spill-over effect, contributes to strengthening knowledge economy of host countries. Developed countries too, sometimes, are able to access the indigenous technologies of developing countries through their partners in those countries.[50]

Non-governmental organisations have gained importance with the rise of humanitarian emergencies in natural disasters and political failures of the state in the time of genocide. Many studies have proved that non-governmental organizations remained quicker and more efficient than states while responding to humanitarian emergencies.

The growth of globalisation and liberalisation of trade led to the scenario where the states themselves are legitimating and empowering the NSAs through outsourcing their responsibilities. This simultaneously contributes to the transformation of the roles of states in international politics. Even in some areas of services delivery, states entered into the partnerships with the NSAs. These partnerships are mostly titled as public-private partnerships. Over the period of time, the line between public and private sectors is becoming thinner making it difficult to segregate both from each other.[51]

The international politics has changed in the twenty-first century and hence the role of international organisations. During the last century, the

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[50] Jasjit Singh, "Asymmetry of Knowledge Spill-overs between MNCs and Host Country Firms" *Journal of International Business Studies* 38, no. 5 (2007), 764.

[51] Anne Peters, Lucy Koechlin and Gretta Fenner Zinkernagel. "Non-state Actors as Standard Setters: Framing the Issue in an Interdisciplinary Fashion", *Non-State Actors as Standard Setters,* ed. Anne Peters, Lucy Koechlin, Till Forster and Gretta Fenner Zinkernagel, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1, 2.

majority of the institutions were focusing on promoting interstate cooperation. The twenty-first century has seen the rise of new NSAs with more complexities such as transboundary issues in international politics.[52] The key factors contributing to this transformation process of international politics from the twentieth century to the twenty-first century, include globalisation, climate change, demographic imbalances, and resource politics. According to Nijman by 2025, the international political system will have changed and adjusted the NSAs at much prominent place as compared to the last century but this will be an uneven and incomplete transformation.[53] Gartner, however, concludes that greater participation of the NSAs such as civil society organisations can lead to greater transparency and accountability, effective implementation of programs and earning larger public trust.[54]

Conclusion
The evolution of nation-states, new state actors and non-state actors simultaneously indicative of the fact they are getting prominence in international politics and challenging the contours of Westphalian system. The increasing number, and diversity within, these actors has enhanced with the increase of complexity in international politics, with the increasing a number of political issues. Contemporary academic literature shares various examples where the NSAs such as think tanks, academia, charities and international NGOs have contributed significantly in public diplomacy process through shaping public opinion, making governments accountable, influencing foreign policy making, transferring of knowledge and delivery of social services. Many examples can be cited where the NSAs such as criminals or terrorist groups have influenced the foreign policy of the United States. Emerging role of the NSAs in international politics has obligated many theorists to update their state-centric theories.

In spite of their importance in international politics, the NSAs also receive criticism. The NSAs, especially the corporations and the NGOs, sometimes lack transparency in funds management and internal decisions related to

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[52] David Gartner, "Beyond the Monopoly of States", *Journal of International Law 32*, no.2 (2010-11), University of Pennsylvania, 596.

[53] Janne E Nijman, "Non-state Actors and the International Rule of Law: Revisiting the 'Realist Theory' of International Legal Personality", *Non-state Actor Dynamics in International Law: from Law-takers to Law-makers*, ed. Math Noortmann, 2010, 2.

[54] Gartner, *Beyond the Monopoly of States*, 606.

the staff recruitment, selection of geographical areas and choice of issues to work on. Recently, the governments in many countries in South Asia and East Asia, including Pakistan, have started regulating the NSAs more strictly, especially the charities and the NGOs with allegations of working against the national interests. This indicates the state power has not significantly diffused. Other NSAs such as multinational corporations are gaining more importance in international politics as both the developing and developed countries depend upon their financial support in form of taxes to run the state affairs and deliver public services. Although states are making efforts to regularise multinational corporations through institutions and regulations, yet they still are emerging as powerful actors on the world stage. The NSAs claim that they don't have any power to force anyone to behave in a certain way. Instead, they use the power of attraction or persuasion to mobilise the public support for their agenda. This further raises the question about the legitimacy of the NSAs for attaining a self-proclaimed status of people's representatives.