ISSN (Online) : 2455 - 3662
SJIF Impact Factor :4.924

EPRA International Journal of

Multidisciplinary Research

Monthly Peer Reviewed & Indexed
International Online Journal

Volume: 4 Issue:8 August 2018

Published By :
EPRA Journals

Volume: 4 | Issue: 8 | August 2018 SJIF Impact Factor: 4.924 ISSN (Online): 2455-3662

EPRA International Journal of

Multidisciplinary Research (IJMR)

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS ON INVOLVEMENT OF NGOs IN WORLD POLITICS

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INTRODUCTION

Non-government agencies which are considered in the category of non-state actors play a dominant role in mitigating the relations between the states in civil society. The involvement of non state actors in world politics has become a critical phenomenon due to its impact on most important fields in world politics. This study basically examines how the theories of international relations evaluate the functioning of NGOs in world politics according to different perspectives. The assumptions of realism, transnationalism, constructivism, global governance and institutionalism have been utilized to analyze the relationship between the NGOs and world politics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The term NGO (Non-government Organizations) cannot be defined in a specific nature and the definitions of NGOs widely vary. Its ambiguity has long fascinated many rich and varied interpretations with substantive characteristics. The term NGO officially appeared in 1945 in United Nations Charter in differentiating the participations rights for intergovernmental specialized agencies and international private sectors. United Nations describes NGOs as "a non-profit entity whose members are citizens or associations of citizens of one or more countries and whose activities are determined by the collective will of its members in response to the members of the one or more communities with which the NGO cooperate" (Simmons, 1998). For Charnovitz "NGOs are group of individuals organized for the myriad of reasons that engage human imagination and aspiration" (Lewis, Kanji, 2009). According to Clarke (1998) NGOs are "private, non-profit professional organizations with a distinctive legal character, concerned with public welfare goals".

The emergence of NGOs dates back to 18th century and NGOs were active in 18th century in Western countries and national level based organizations focused on abolition of slavery. The concept of "humanity" became popularized in the 18th century. It paved the way for the formation of number of organized nonprofit organizations which addressed the issues of slavery. The founding of ICRC by Henry Dunant in 1864 became the one of the leading humanitarian NGOs in the conflict areas (Potapkina, 2006). During the 1st World War, ICRC assisted a huge number of prisoners of war captured during the conflict. Although the ICRC was never directly appointed the task of caring for POWs, it assisted communications between POWs and their families, campaigned for the repatriation of gravely sick and wounded soldiers and helped to unite families (Davey, Borton, Foley, 2013). The first wave of humanitarian reforms came with the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, which regulated the end of the 1st World War and inspired the creation of League of Nation to address the humanitarian issues. NGOs as non-state actors became prominent during the League of Nations and active in labor rights, protection of minorities and displaced people in Europe, and treatment of indigenous inhabitants in colonial territories. According to Bill Seary (1996) the interaction between the League of Nations and international NGOs changed from one of NGOs supporting and contributing to the policy work of the League to one where the League was less interested in the opinions of the League to one of NGOs supporting and contributing to the policy work of the League to one where the League was less interested in the opinions of NGOs but more willing to provide information for and about them. Establishment of United Nations further strengthened the humanitarian

activities and most of the disastrous conflicts and crises paved the way for the creation of notable humanitarian NGOs like Médecins Sans Frontieres, Action Contre la Faim, Merlin and GOAL. But again NGOs lost its influence with the Cold War tensions. After 1970s NGOs intensified their involvement by approving certain policy statements regarding their role under UN system.

There are different types of NGOs and the classification of NGOs in to certain levels basically depends upon different topologies. One basic distinction common in the literature is that between ‘‘Northern NGO’’ (NNGO) which refers to organizations whose origins lie in the industrialized countries, while ‘‘Southern NGO’’ (SNGO) refers to organizations from the less developed areas of the world. Another key distinction is between membership forms of NGO, such as community based organizations or people’s organizations, and intermediary forms of NGO that work from outside with communities, sometimes termed grassroots support organizations (GSOs). Willetts (2001) categorizes NGOs as local, provincial, national, regional, and global NGOs, depending on their areas of project coverage. Local NGOs include organizations which have community-based programs and focus on smaller regions. National NGOs usually cover one nation. Regional and global NGOs’ projects cover more than one country and they are often called INGOs. Another category is operational and advocacy NGOs. The main purpose of those NGOs is to defend or to promote a specific cause or policy. Operational NGOs achieve small scale changes directly through projects and advocacy NGOs promote large scale change indirectly through the influence on the political system. Another classification was introduced by Lewis, 2007 in his book “Management of Non-governmental Development Organizations”. He categorized foundations, religious organizations and NGOs as third sector organizations and cascaded NGOs into three groups as environmental NGOs, development NGOs and human rights NGOs (Varol, 2013).

The functioning or the modes operandi of NGOs can be illustrated according to several aspects. The organization structure, functioning, budget and operating areas of NGOs fall into this category. NGOs are not regarded as organizations which make profits and the organization structure is similar to a profit generating organization. The sources of income of NGOs are differing from profit making agencies and NGOs receive funds from members, governments, private co-operations, foundations, and foreign sources. NGOs maintain organization structure especially for fund raising and marketing, strategy management, monitoring, evaluation and accounting. When the number and growth of NGOs increases, the competitive pressure arose between NGOs for the resources, mainly for the funds. The main goals of NGOs rely upon relief, social and economic development and political roles. But NGOs cover all most all the fields irrespective of the national boundaries of contemporary nation states. Some of the organizations were formed to interest of a professional group, advance a movement or function as pressure groups or public opinion. The active participation or contribution of NGOs is observable in emergency situations.

P.J.Simmons demonstrates a taxonomic approach in his article of “learning to live with NGOs” describing key functions of NGOs; setting agendas, negotiating outcomes, conferring legitimacy and making solutions work. NGOs have long played a key role in forcing leaders and policy makers to pay attention. Instead of holding marches and hanging banners now they use computers, cell phones to launch global public relations blitzes that can force issues to the top policy makers “to do” lists. In negotiating outcomes, NGOs helps governments to understand the science behind the issues and build trust and break deadlocks when negotiations have reached an impasse. Conferring legitimacy states that NGOs judgments can be decisive in promoting or withholding public and political support. Lastly, in making solutions work NGOs on the ground often make the impossible possible by doing what governments cannot or will not. Some humanitarian and development NGOs have a natural advantage due to their neutrality and experience. For example, the International Committee of the Red Cross is able to deliver health care to political prisoners and Oxfam International provides rapid relief during humanitarian disasters with or without UN partners (Simmons 1998). Clarke (1991) states that NGOs can fulfill three main roles according to the liberalist view; complementing, reforming, and opposing the state. The idea of complementing is NGOs filling gaps left by the civil society as service providers and implementers of development activities. Reforming allow NGOs to act as agents of advocacy and represent the interests of people. NGOs can contribute for the public whether the policies are fits for the real life. Finally NGOs has the right to oppose the state and acting as watchdogs through lobbying, supporting adversary groups and holding it to be accountable (Lillehammer, 2003).

Since the beginning of 20th century several attempts were made to define NGOs and codify the legal status. But NGOs have not yet recognized by states as having an international legal personality. Even though there is no defined convention that describes the nature and the laws of NGOs and generally it is said to be use the UN criteria for NGOs. The discussion of the legal personality of NGOs traces back to early 19th century and in 1912 the first treaty draft on international legal personality of NGOs was developed (Martens, 2003). Similar attempts were made to codify the status of NGOs but none of the attempt became a reality due to the lack of consent of states. And the article 71 states that “The Economic and Social Council may take suitable

arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned matters within the competence". In resolution 1996/31 of 25 July 1996 of ECOSOC specifies NGOs as, "any such organization that is not established by a governmental entity or intergovernmental agreement including organizations that accept members designated by governmental authorities, provided that such membership does not interfere with the free expression of views of the organization. The basic resources of the organization shall be derived in the main part from contributions of the national affiliate any financial contribution or other support, direct or indirect, from a Government to the organization shall be openly declared to the United Nations". The arrangements for consultation with NGOs are made in accordance with UN ECOSOC resolution 1296.

- The organization shall be concerned with matters falling within the competence of the Economic and Social Council with respect to human rights.
- The organization shall be of representative character and of recognized international standing; it shall represent a substantial proportion and express the views of major sections of the population in different regions of the world.

The rights that NGOs have as consultation bodies include; to receive the provisional agenda of ECOSOC or other subsidiary bodies to propose new agenda items, to attain public meeting of ECOSOC, submit statements, to make oral statements, participate in discussions, and propose ideas in the discussions. There are main three methods that ECOSOC grant consultation status for NGOs such as General Consultation Status, Special Consultation Status and Roster Status. The General Consultation Status reserved for larger international NGOs, which have a large geographical reach who cover most of the issues in the agenda for ECOSOC and its subsidiary bodies. NGOs that cover a few of the fields of the activity of ECOSOC and tend to be smaller and recently established received Special Consultation Status. Organizations that apply for consultation status but do not fit in any of the other categories since they have a technical focus granted the Roster Status.

The state-NGO relationship has become a critical argument since the end of the 2nd World War with the increased growth of NGOs across the world. In international politics states are considered as the central actors. Even though states are the central actors in decision making process other actors especially NGOs plays a dominant role in international arena and they influence the behaviors of states (Kim, 2011). Kenneth Waltz explained this approach as "States are not and never have been the only international actors, but then structures are defined not by all the actors that flourish within them but by the major ones" (Ahmed, Potter, 2006). Most of the international relation theories interpret the state-NGO relations. The state- centric theory neglects non-state actors and adopts the realist view of states as unitary rational actors. But transnationalists pay much attention on non-state actors and Nye and Keohane (1971) argues that non-state actors play a significant role in international affairs and they can be one of the main forces which can change state behaviors. The general state-NGO relationship varies according to the ways in which state and NGOs interact and influence each other.

Friendly co-existence occurs between NGOs and the governments when NGOs requires of the government little more than the freedom to get on with its chosen task and the act is not actually hampered by the government actions. In turn, a government is happy with such a relationship when it feels neither threatened nor challenged and when the NGO's tasks are not compatible with its own objectives (Clark, 2006). Greatest tensions arise when NGOs subscribe for a different opinion or action towards a government decision. This is especially parallel with the NGOs which strengthening the people's participation, democracy and empowerment. The role of NGOs in strengthening civil society to regain and retain hegemony over the state and private enterprises is another critical strategic function (Tandon, 1991). Risse-Kappen (1995) argues that domestic structures, state structures and policy networks can impact upon NGOs and characteristics of NGOs. According to his argument as transnational actors NGOs has to obtain access to political system of the country and gain support from general public to influence the government. In plural and open societies, NGO can easily access to the political system compared with the other authoritarian regimes.

Rajesh Tandon has describes how NGOs interact with three categories of governments; authoritarian regimes, single party states and liberal democracies. There is some limited scope for collaboration between NGOs and government when the country is ruled by authoritarian regime. Therefore NGOs are likely to side with the political opposition of the country. Single party states may mistrust autonomous structures and government only tolerates as far as the NGOs facilitate their own programs. It may place little emphasis on democratic principles, human rights, gender equality, and environmental issues. NGOs can play an important role in such situations, especially where the party leadership becomes divorced from the grassroots. The situation in liberal democracies is complex and sometimes NGOs collaborate with governments while challenge them in other areas. It is possible that an NGO might find sympathy from a central government, but apathy or hostility from local government officials. NGOs find it easier to survive in liberal democracies and may offer help and considerable endorsement by the state (Clark, 2006).

Hadenuis and Uggla define a continuum of five stages from a situation in which the state- civil society relationship is hostile or benevolence. They argued that state does not tolerate independent civil society or formation of autonomous organization is a hostile state. Moreover they explain four situations where state and civil society has benevolent relationships with each other; the states accepts autonomous organizations but withdrew opening up space for independent activity, a space for independent activity exists, but the practice of government does not promote autonomous organizations, the state provides favorable structures, but no active support, and the state actively support autonomous organizations (Lillehammer, 2003). O' Donnell and Schmitter pointed out that civil society experiences hard times under non-democratic regimes and further they explained that the authoritarian governments strive to destroy self-organized and autonomous associations and replace them with state-funded organizations with prescribed goals and tightly monitored activities (Perinova, 2005).

Dennis R. Young attempts to conceptualize three ways of understanding the relationship between non-profit organizations including NGOs and states; operate independently as supplements to governments, work as complements to government in a partnership relationship and engage in an adversarial relationship of mutual accountability with government. In the supplementary model NGOs are seen as fulfilling the demands for public goods left unsatisfied by the government. In the complementary view NGOs are seen as the partners of the government and there is a direct relationship between the two. In the adversarial view, NGOs can monitor the governments and sometimes criticize their accountability to the public. NGOs can influence the government by criticizing the policies and actions of the government (Young, 2000). In turn, governments can influence the behavior of the non-profit sector by regulating its services and responding to its advocacy initials. Barnett reflects two defining features of state-NGO relationship in recent years. He stated that "the purpose of humanitarianism is becoming politicized, and the organization of humanitarianism is becoming institutionalized" (Barnett, 2005). He explained that humanitarian NGOs have become institutionalized and many resources from donors expand the activities of NGOs into several areas. NGOs are willing to co-operate with states and NGOs do not aspire to maintain their basic principles of such as neutrality, independence and impartiality. Moreover NGOs interact with states to politicize their agendas and seek to achieve their agendas effectively.

NGOs influence the state behavior, foreign policy and state policies in different mechanisms. Worldwide INGOs probably have the ability to influence the states with their resources, media and interactions with international community rather than the local NGOs of a country. When it is comes to resources most of the NGOs receive massive funds from states and organizations. NGOs functions as a tool through which states contributes aid to other countries. Therefore the donor interests should be regarded as a main determinant in this context. They man have development interests, economic interests, political interests, security interests, hidden objectives and evaluation of democratic values. The relationship between state, NGOs and donors prevails under the terms of bargaining, negotiation and at times coercion is a possible strategy (David Hulme, n.d.). Therefore NGOs can influence the donors to change their mandates including reducing the aid and relief to a respective country. This strategy is very common when the critical situations are coupled by Human Rights violations, war crimes and other humanitarian malpractices. They have the capacity to influence the interstate actions and relations between Governments and certain financial organizations. Most of the developed countries and financial institutions are concerned about the human rights and good governance of states to which they usually provide aid and funds. When NGOs reveals the hidden picture of states in domestic level to those donor states and organizations, they impose strict regulations and alternative policies to those states.

Mass media is an effective tool of most NGOs influencing and interacting with the society, public, organizations and states. Main strategy of NGOs is the widespread campaign movements which facilitate to convey the messages to general public. As voluntary actors NGOs make use of the general public to influence the Governments. They evaluate, criticize, lobby, protest for decisions and activities of the states and maintain a better linkage with the society to operate as a single unit to convey the public opinion to Governments. From grassroots organizations up to international organizations NGOs interact with each other and provide necessary information and evidence regarding the issues which the organizations are concerned. NGOs periodically publish reports, publications on critical issues of the states and evaluate the good and bad aspects of situations. They propose recommendations for respective parties to a durable solution and provide necessary information for international investigations as well. Moreover, today NGOs use social media like Facebook, twitter and blogs to make people aware of critical situations and encourage people to talk about the important incidents. On the other hand, they have a widespread communication channels to drag information quickly and they demonstrate views and opinions to general public through those channels. This can be concluded as the most effective strategy of NGOs.

According to Michele Betsill and Elisabeth Corell NGOs functioned through "track two diplomacy". They explain that NGOs directly engaged in one of the most traditional diplomatic activities and formal negotiations. NGO diplomats

perform many of the same functions as state delegates, the represent the interests, they engage in information exchange and they negotiate and provide policy advices. As UN members only states have formal decision making power during international negotiations. Ultimately it is states that vote on whether to adopt a particular decision. NGOs often participate in the process as observers and the findings of NGOs influence in international environment negotiations. As most of the researches on NGOs are concerned about the state-NGO relations in foreign policy and peace process, this study evaluates the state-NGO relations in Sri Lanka in state behaviors. Some researches address the how NGOs fulfill the interests of the donors and how they influence the foreign policy changes of a country. On the other hand, researches were based on development NGOs which contributes for the sustainable development of states and how they facilitate the development goals. Moreover, researches address environmental NGOs facilitate the environmental protection and how they generate policies to environment protection. This study clearly examines how humanitarian NGOs influence the state behaviors of Sri Lanka and whether it becomes a threat to state sovereignty. Furthermore this study examine the state NGO relations of Sri Lanka in different time periods and from what kind of perspectives humanitarian NGOs influence the state behavioral changes in Sri Lanka during the post war period. The study evaluates whether humanitarian NGOs use any kind of strategies to fulfill the interests of their donors as well. Rather than examining the all humanitarian NGOs active in Sri Lanka, this study is based on selected humanitarian NGOs prevailing in Sri Lanka.

ANALYSIS

1. Realism (state-centric view)

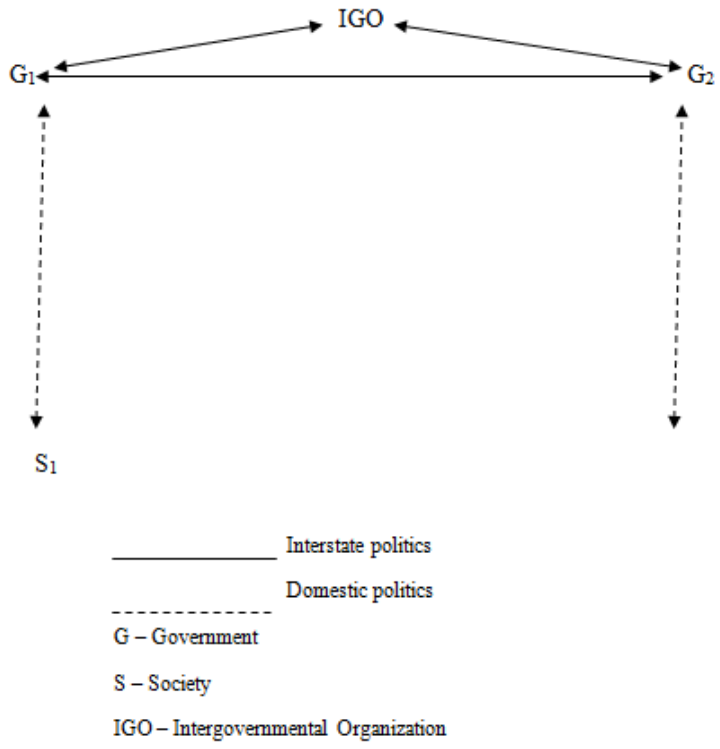
Realism is one of the most prominent paradigm or a theory in the field of international relations. Realist ideas can be found in the views of Thucydides in the Melian Dialogue and it was further demonstrated by Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbs. Realism has five main premises in which it describes the assumptions of realism. First realism holds that nation states are the major actors in international relations. There is no authority or an institution above the level of states and states coexists in a self-help world. State sovereignty allows states to fulfill the interests with state preservations being the ultimate national interests. International politics is therefore a power game in which military power and economic power are used to ensure state survival and in which conflict is the expected mode of state interaction (Ahmed, Potter, 2006). Secondly, realism assumes that international system is anarchy where there is no central authority which is capable of preventing the emergence of war and use of force. According to Kenneth Waltz “In an absence of a supreme authority, there is the constant possibility that conflicts will be settled by force” (Canestaro, 2007). In an anarchic system, state power is the key indeed, the only variable of interests; because only through power can states defend themselves and hope to survive (Slaughter, 2011). The intentions of states can be change benign to hostile and the formation of alliances can be influenced by potential adversaries. Thirdly, states are preoccupied with power and they attempts to secure the security while prompt the conflicts. In realism states always maximize its power and preventing others from gaining the advantages. But stability and peace occur as a result of balance of power in which states collectively arrange themselves as a group to prevent an aggressor or collectively attacking a common enemy.

Forth realism adopts the assumption of egoism implies that the preferences of actors in world politics are based on their assessments of their own welfare, not that of others (O.Keohane, 1984). States aware of the strategic environment and utilize and maximize its capabilities to survive independently. They do not subordinate their interests to the interests of other states or to those of the so-called international community (Canestaro, 2007). Finally according to realists states asserts to institutions and norms only to affect the aspects of cooperation. Even though states have common interests they may be fail to secure cooperation. Uncertainty, long term alliance formation, cheating and exploitation eliminate the chances for cooperation. There are six different variants in realism; classical realism, neo realism, offensive structural realism, defensive structural realism, rise and fall realism and neo classical realism. According to the assumptions of realism, realists concentrate on state as rational actors and basically ignore the non-state actors. Classical realists, most notably Morgenthau emphasize the roots of power politics in human nature (Buzan, 1996).This starting point leave all types of non-state actors apart and they assume international affairs as a struggle for power among self-interested states generally pessimistic about the prospects of avoiding war and conflicts. Prominently the neoclassical variant is willing to give theoretical space for non-state actors as a component explaining the state behaviors in international politics. Realists revote more emphasis on international organizations and institutions rather than NGOs and MNCs. Neo realism, offensive structural realism, defensive structural realism and rise and fall realism particularly do not provide room for non-state actors but classical realism and neo classical realism provide substantial attention to non-state actors. Glaser argues that “Realism is designed to understand relations and interactions between states; we should not be surprised that it has less to tell us about on-state actors” (Laksmana, 2013).

Realism as a whole, view international organizations as actors which strengthen the interests of states. Neo realism, offensive realism, defensive realism, and rise and fall realism do not admit that

international organizations affect the states independently. The structural realists and rise and fall realists pay no concern of NGOs and for them states are the unitary and rational actors. Under the propositions of neo realism, offensive structural realism and rise and fall realism NGOs has no or a little role to play. Defensive structural realism is more optimistic than the offensive structural realism in managing with international organizations as a way of enhancing cooperation and tackling great power relations. According to E.H. Carr and Robert Gilpin classical realism predicts that even though international organizations are not entirely independent, they still can modify the behavior of states (Laksmana, 2013). Similarly to classical realists it is difficult to take into account about the role of NGOs in international system. Neo classical realists pay an intermediate vision on international organizations and they argue that state behaviors are closely associated with the international organizations. Neo realism gives space to NGOs as actors in international affairs apart from other five realist variants. But neorealist main focus is given to states while it make some emphasis on NGOs as well. This contradiction mainly occurs due to the main assumption of realism on they interested in, which consider stateness and states as unitary rational actors in the international politics. But neo realism concerns about NGOs, MNCs, and pressure groups in a view that these actors influence the foreign policy of states and finally affect the state behavior. Apart from other five realist variants neo realism evaluate international politics including foreign policy behaviors of states. This phenomenon can be evaluated through the state centric paradigm of realism.

Figure 01: A state-centric interaction pattern



Source: Transnational Relations and World Politics (Nye, Keohane, 2003)

It is another approach to look at the interaction between states and transnational actors including INGOs, NGOs and other non-state actors. It focuses on government as the agencies through which society deal politically with each other. According to the state centric paradigm interstate politics indirectly links with domestic politics. The dotted lines of the paradigm indicate that interstate politics links with domestic politics. It further explains that transnational interactions are ignored in the state centric view. But states interact with international organizations.

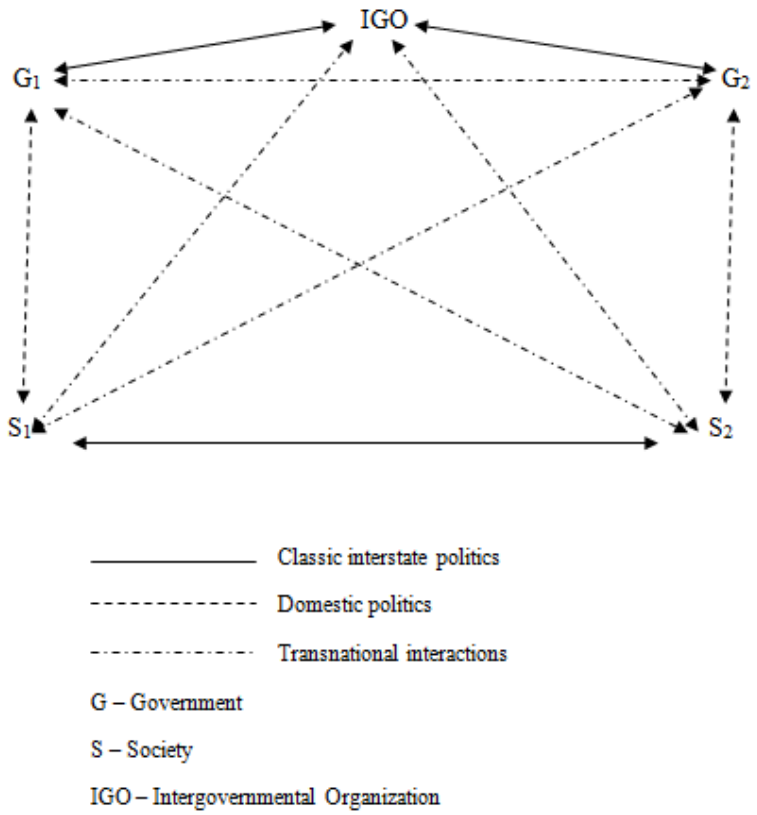
2. Transnationalism

Since last few decades the technological developments have enriched the states to interact globally across the borders in most of the fields. Global interactions occur particularly due to major four reasons: communication, the movement of information; transportation, the movement of physical objects including materials and personal

property; finance, the movement of money and credit; travel, the movement of people. Global interactions may possess all these four dimensions for interacting mainly initiated by the governments of nation states. We consider these interactions as interstate relations or interstate interactions. Other interactions which involves with nongovernmental actors or organizations are known as transnational. Thus transnational interactions can be described as the movement of tangible or intangible items across the states at least one actor is a non-state actor(Nye, Keohane, 2003). It is clear that transnationalism means the interaction across boundaries in which at least one member is not a state. Transnationalism as a doctrine gained strength after the end of the 2nd World War, and its philosophical roots traces to President Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points in 1918 and Atlantic Charter in 1941(Canestaro, 2007). In establishing the Atlantic charter Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill asked states to refrain from using force with each other and promote human rights standards and trade liberalization. This scenario was further strengthened by Bretton Woods conference and establishment of Declaration of Human Rights. The most precious period of transnationalism occur after the end of the Cold War. During that period most authors praise that the influence of transnational actors has left their mark in the international system while theorizing contemporary world without the influence of transnational actors is unable(Risse, 2012).The increasing influence of international institutions allows transnationalists to believe about a just international society. Transnationalism became a dominant theory in 21st century coupled with liberal ideologies that democratic and prosperous states are unlikely to fight each other and international institutions are avoiding conflicts and wars and building cooperative relations with states (Canestaro, 2007).

The first principle of transnationalism explains that states are codified under the norms and moral obligations of international law. States bind to follow customary international law because they have given their content to be bound such norms and obligations. Transnationalists have great faith in interstate cooperation than realists and believe international organizations facilitate cooperation prospects between states avoiding the motives for war. The establishment of institutions helps states to obtain form power maximizing and war prone state behaviors. Transnationalists favor the continued erosion of sovereignty of the state in favor of non-state actors (Canestaro, 2007). They appreciate the growth of non-state actors and admired the involvement of non-state actors in the functions which were previously viewed under the exclusive domain of states. Because most of the time, international institutions manage the global issues better than the nation states. On the other hand, transnationalists ignore the argument of realism that war is inevitable in an anarchic international system and explains that institutions like United Nations and legally binding norms eliminate the possibility of war. Finally, under a liberal economic order long term stability will flourish rather than violence and revolutions. According to Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane the transnational interactions can be analyzed as below.

Figure 02: Transnational Interactions and interstate politics



Source: Transnational Relations and World Politics (Nye, Keohane, 2003)

The additional lines which appears in the paradigm compared to the figure 1, are the transnational interactions. In this paradigm at least one of the lines interacts is neither a government nor an international organization. J. David Singer's distinction between two ways in which individuals and organizations in a given society, can play roles in world politics (Nye, Keohane, 2003). Most of the time NGOs participate in coalitions and influence governments to narrow down the gap between local and international decision making and foreign policy. They play direct roles with foreign societies or foreign governments and those interactions are considers as transnational. In the point of Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane: "Transnational relations by our definition therefore include the activities of transnational organizations, except within their home states, even when some of their activities many not directly movements across state boundaries"(Nye, Keohane, 2003, p.335).

3. Constructivism

The end of the Cold War produced a major reconfiguration of debates within the dominant American discourse of international relations theory, prompted by the rise of a new constructivist school of thought (Reus-smit, 2005). It is relatively a new theory that widely grown during 1980s and most scholars argue constructivism is an explanation of which international relations exists rather than a theory. Scholars like Foucault, Derrida, as radical constructivists contributed for the formation of constructivism and Karl Deutsch et al and Ernst Haas anticipated modernist constructivism (Adler, 2002). Constructivists are divided between modernists and post-modernists and generally constructivism is mostly considered as an approach rather a theory. Constructivism is concerned not with levels per se but with underlying conceptions of how the social and political world works (Checkel, 1998). It is based on the environment in which states take action insocial as well as material and the setting provide understandings of their interests. Walt highlights that constructivism inherited the mandate of radical theory from a defunct Marxism. Both Marxism and constructivism seek a blueprint for fundamentally transforming the existing international order (DeMars, Dijkzeul, 2015).

Constructivists give significant weight to social or subjective forces, not just for objective or material forces. Constructivists understand the world

as coming into being interactive process between agents: individuals, states, and non-state actors. There is a process of mutual constitution between agents and objective forces result is the creation of an overarching structure. Constructivists have explored three main ontological propositions about social life, which they claim illuminate more about world politics and rational assumptions. First, constructivist holds that normative and ideational structures are important as material structures. Neo realists emphasizes on the material structure of the balance of military power while Marxists stress the material structure of the capitalist world economy. But constructivists argue that systems of shared ideas, beliefs and values also have structural characteristics that powerful enough to influence on social and political action. Normative and ideational structures are important to constructivists due to the fact that these are thought to shape the social identities of political actors. Second, constructivists argue that understanding how actors develop their interests is crucial to explaining a wide range of international political phenomenon. Third, constructivists contend that agents and structures are mutually constituted (Reus-smit, 2005).

When the assumptions of constructivism applied to NGOs, apart from realism and transnationalism, constructivism possess high consideration on NGOs. Scholars like Stephen Walt and Jack Snyder place transnationalism and NGO scholarship in the constructivist camp (DeMars, Dijkzeul, 2015). Constructivists criticized the realist assertion that anarchy drives for self-help security dilemma and conflicts between states. A major constructivist insight is that the international system is not fixed and the environment of the international system is determined through the interactions between states and other key players in the system. They point out that states define their relationships with one another as competitive or cooperative depending on how they define identities towards each other (Ahmed, Potter, 2006). Constructivists emphasize the importance of NGOs as actors which channeled with specific norms, ideas and values shaping the world politics. The boom of NGOs in world after the Cold War allowed NGOs to participate in global governance and the idealist constructivism derived into two camps; pluralist and globalist. In the pluralist view NGOs are determined as organized elements of transnational civil society acting largely independent from government control. Mainly as servants of poor voiceless people or voices which is lobbing the governments, or United Nations. Pluralist constructivists highlight the political conflict between society and states and power flows bottom-up from society to states. They exaggerate homogeneity of NGO networks and complexity of NGO power relations. In turn, globalist constructivists prejudge that NGO power as flowing largely from international norms downwards to states. NGOs and other international organizations socialize states into accepting and complying with global norms. Global norms are implemented by NGOs collecting information on norm compliance by states, multinational co-operations and other actors. This process leads to global governance above the states. Idealist constructivism recognizes that NGOs and networks exists an exercise agency in world politics, but truncates NGO politics to fit theoretical perceptions.

As Alexander Wendt observers "A fundamental principle of constructivist social theory is that people act towards objects, including other actors, on the basis of meaning that the objects have for them" (Wendt, 2007). In the discussion of constructivism about NGOs critical questions were put forward that what kind of power NGOs has and how useful is NGOs as actors in the international system. NGOs are not sovereign entities like states to adopt laws and they do not have any coercive power as states. But NGOs are influential in international politics because they exercise power through communication. When people, governments and non-state actors communicate with each other, it creates common behaviors and roles. The power of NGOs is the persuasion in which they organize social and political arrangements. Primarily NGOs educate the public, advocacy, monitoring international agreements, empowering people and interest with other civil society actors to persuade and make persuasive communication. Therefore NGOs function through constitutive norms and they are appropriate objects of the international politics.

4. Institutionalism

According to the scholars who concerns on institutionalism have various view on the theory and they have found various types of institutionalism as old institutionalism, new institutionalism, neo institutionalism, historical institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, institutionalism on political parties and institutional economies (Varol, 2013). During the interwar period, the creation of first chairs in international politics focuses formal structures and normative bias as the old institutionalism. Building strong institutional frameworks globally based on international law as League of Nations focused on new institutionalism (Christer Jönsson Jonas Tallberg, n.d.). Institutionalism explains the cooperation between states and other actors basically institutions and addresses security and stability. Institutionalists shared most of the realist assumptions that international system is anarchic states are self-centered rational actors that seeking their survival while increasing their material capacity (Slaughter, 2011). The institutions are considered as the agent's resources and rational actors to obtain the achievement of their objectives. Institutionalists argue that institutions increase information about state, especially about state behaviors. They clearly examine the behaviors of state and may complain or non-complain regarding the actions of state.

Moreover, institutions increase efficiency establishing platforms of forums for states to solve many issues and minimize the cost of c-ordination. Institutionalists argue that regimes and institutions are useful, because they do not rest on appeals and values, but because they rather serve on mutual interests (Mauersberger, Segbers ,Hoffmann, 2006).

Dimaggio and Powell (1986) defined institutions in a neo-institutionalists view as "The new institutionalism in organization theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supra-individual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individual's attributes or motives" (Varol, 2013). Scott identified three pillars of institutional order as regulative, normative and cultural and cognitive elements (Powell, 2007). Regulative elements explain rule setting, sanctioning, while normative elements includes an evaluative and obligatory dimension. Finally cognitive factors involve shared conceptions and frames through which meaning is understood.

5. Global governance

The term global governance was first coined by World Bank in 1990s, as a prerequisite for sustainable economic development in a new era of public affairs (McArthur, 2008, p.54). This concept emerged during the post-Cold war period due to the result of inadequate explanation of classical realist and functional paradigms to describe the existing word order. There are several different understandings for global governance from the beginning of its literature. The concept of global governance refers to the minimal state, redefining the nature of public responsibilities and private interests in the provision of goods and services. It is also related to the emergence of new public management strategies which introduced commercial management practices to the public sector taking up debates cost and efficiency in the public domain. Under co-operate governance large co-operations are directed and controlled and including issues of accountability and the transparency of transnational business actors. Another usage of the term governance relates to a new process of co-ordination and co-operation in decentralized networks involving a wide variety of actors from state bureaucracies to regional authorities and firms to advocacy networks and other non-governmental actors (Pattberg, 2006, p.3). Therefore the way of describing the concept of global governance relies on the way of defining the prevailing global order. More significantly, global governance is interested in that they challenged the limits of traditional international relations theory to explain a world where the shape and importance of individual states is changing and the role of agents below and above the state is increasing (Lennox, 2008).

The thinking of world politics as global governance which is closest to a theory mainly linked with the work of Rosenau. According to Rosenau (1992), the concept of governance is more inclusive than government as it embraces "government institutions and informal, non-government mechanisms whereby needs and wants are fulfilled". For him global governance is "governance without government". Moreover he explained that the United Nations system and national governments are surely central to the conduct of global governance, but they are only part of the full picture. He sums up his understanding of global governance in his definition stating that "global governance is conceived to include systems of rule at all levels of human activity from the family to the international organization in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions" (Dingwerth, Pattberg, 2006, p.189).Finkelstein (1995) define global governance as "governing without sovereign authority, relationships that transcend national frontiers and global governance is doing internationally what governments do at home". In the words of Gerry Stoker, governance can be conceptualized as that part of human activity concerned with "creating for ordered rule and collective action and the outputs of governance are not therefore different from those of government, it is rather a matter of a difference in processes"(Dingwerth, Pattberg, 2006, p.188). The content of global governance embraces the totality of laws, norms, policies, and institutions that define, constitute, mediate relations between citizens, societies, markets, and states in the international system(Thakur, Job, Serrano, Tussie, 2014).

As the traditional theories of international relations concentrate on the sovereign states and pays little attention to non-state actors. But global governance attaches equal importance to non-governmental organizations, transnational co-operations and other scientific actors. More actors populate the universe of global governance including supranational bodies, judicial actors, intergovernmental organizations, hybrid and private organizations, other institutions and mass media. Therefore global governance implies a multi actor perspective in world politics. According to the terms of international relations the international interactions can be analyzed in different levels. In global governance, local, national, regional and global levels are interconnected and it is mainly multilevel system. While the traditional concepts of international relations linked to interstate power relations, global governance starts from the assumption that a wide variety of forms of governance exist next to each other and that a hierarchy among these various mechanisms. As the phenomenon of authority of international relations has a close connection with the states rational self-interest, global governance allows the emergence of

new spheres of authority in world politics independent of sovereign nation states.

NGOs in global governance are universe and implies on an absence of authority, seek need for corporation and collaboration among other governments or actors which encourage to common practices and goals addressing the global issues. Basically this corporation leads to multilateral systems, global interdependence and sustainable development. It's always about coordination not about control. According to the report of Commission on Global Governance, involvement of NGOs can benefit the global governance. In their wide variety, they bring expertise, commitment, grassroots perceptions, that should mobilize the interests of better governance. Most of the time, NGOs and NGO associations engage in global governance with government authority, sometimes without the government authority as well.

CONCLUSION

When reviewing the theories and concepts state centric view of realism, states as rational actors and ignore non-state actors. Classical realism and neo realism provide substantial attention to non-state actors. But neo classical realist argues that state behaviors are closely associated with the international organizations. Transnationalism favors the erosion of sovereignty of states in favor of non-state actors like NGOs. On the other hand, constructivism posses high consideration on NGOs and actors which channeled with specific norms, ideas, and values shaping world politics. In institutionalism, NGOs examine the behavior of state and complain or non-complain regarding their actions. According to global governance, NGOs are regarded as important actors similar to the states and facilitate the global norms with other actors.

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